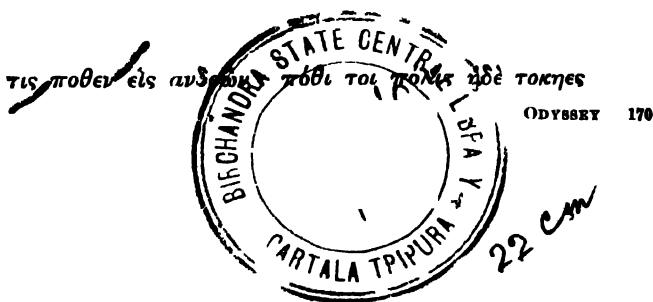


THE
TRIBES AND CASTES OF BENGAL

By H H RISLEY
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE OFFICER D'ACADEMIE FRANCAISE

ETHNOGRAPHIC GLOSSARY

Vol I



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THE MEMORY OF

Dr. Wm. W. W. W.

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PREFACE

THE following volumes contain the results of what is I believe the first attempt to apply to Indian ethnography the methods of systematic research sanctioned by the authority of European anthropologists

I am painfully aware that in many respects the work is exceedingly imperfect and can hardly claim to do more than map out and define in view of further inquiry the large field of research which had to be covered. In attempting within a brief time to draw up an ethnographic description of the various castes and tribes found among the seventy millions of people inhabiting the territory administered by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, it is difficult on the one hand to secure complete information regarding all the facts which have to be dealt with and on the other to avoid making general statements concerning castes as a whole, which are only true of particular sections of those castes. For this reason it has been decided to bring out at first an official edition, and to invite criticism with the object of supplying omissions and correcting mistakes. All suggestions will be carefully considered, and the conclusions to which they give rise embodied in a second edition. It is hoped that criticisms may be sent in promptly enough for this second edition to be brought out within eighteen months or two years' time. All communications on this subject should be addressed to me at the Bengal Secretariat, Calcutta.

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

CASTE IN RELATION TO MARRIAGE

ON a stone panel forming part of one of the grandest Buddhist monuments in India—the great tope at Sanchi—a carving in low relief depicts a strange religious ceremony. Under trees with conventional foliage and fruits, three women attired in tight clothing without slits kneel in prayer before a small shrine or altar. In the foreground the leader of a procession of monkeys bears in both hands a bowl of liquid and stoops to offer it at the shrine. His solemn countenance and the grotesquely adoring gestures of his comrades seem intended to express reverence and humility. In the background four stately figures—two men and two women—of tall stature and regular features, clothed in flowing robes and wearing most elaborate turbans, look on with folded hands and apparent approval.

The race basis of this remarkable act of worship. Antiquarian speculation has for the most part passed the panel by unnoticed, or has sought to associate it with some pious legend of the life of Buddha. A larger interest, however, attaches to the scene if it is regarded as the sculptured expression of the race sentiment of the Aryans towards the Dravidians, which runs through the whole course of Indian tradition and survives in scarcely abated strength at the present day. On this view the relief would belong to the same order of ideas as the story in the Ramayana of the army of apes who assisted Rama in the invasion of Ceylon. It shows us the higher race on friendly terms with the lower, but keenly conscious of the essential difference of type and not taking part in the ceremony of which they appear as patronising spectators. An attempt is made in the following pages to show that the race sentiment, which thus

curious sculpture represents, so far from being a figment of the intolerant pride of the Brahman, rests upon a foundation of fact which scientific methods confirm, that it has shaped the intricate groupings of the caste system, and has preserved the Aryan type in comparative purity throughout Northern India

Some nine years ago, when the vast array of figures called up by the last census of India was being gradually worked into shape, it occurred to the Census Commissioner that this costly statistical material might be made the basis of an attempt to extend and systematise our knowledge of the customs, beliefs and occupations of the Indian people. In August 1882, while the statistics of the census of

1881 were still under compilation, Sir William Plowden reported that the local census officers throughout India had been directed not only to show the major castes and the occupations under large general heads in their statistical tables, but also to give in the body of their report the numbers of all castes recorded, and the names of all occupations followed by 10 000 persons or more in each province. He then suggested that lists should be drawn up for each district, showing separately the castes and occupations found in each, with their vernacular designations, to be followed by an abstract showing clearly to what larger head, if any, each caste or occupation had been attached. Finally, he proposed that when these lists had been made out, detailed enquiries should be instituted locally regarding any special caste or occupation about which further information might seem desirable, and that the result of these enquiries should be embodied in a memorandum to be appended to the district lists in question. In a subsequent letter he drew attention to Mr Denzil Ibbetson's Memorandum on Ethnological Enquiry in the Panjab,¹ and

¹ The admirable paper reprinted with Mr Ibbetson's permission as Appendix III to the second volume

suggested that copies of it should be circulated to the district officials in other provinces, in order to assist them in collecting information regarding the castes and occupations of the people. The Census Commissioner's proposals were generally approved by the Government of India and commended to the consideration of the Local Governments and Administrations in India, but in no Province besides Bengal was it found possible to initiate any large scheme of enquiry. Early in 1884 the Government of Bengal recommended to the Government of India the appointment of the present writer for a period of two years to conduct an enquiry into castes and occupations throughout Bengal. "The results of the enquiry," it was said, "would be of great value in connection with the next census, but it is still more important to observe that if the enquiry is postponed till after the next census it will be impossible to make it so complete as it can now be made. The late census showed how rapidly the old aboriginal faiths are being effaced and what progress is being made in the absorption of the primitive races in the great system of Hinduism. At the same time the opening of communications, the increase in the facilities for travel and the spread of education are tending to obliterate the landmarks of the Hindu faith, to slacken the bonds of caste, and to provide occupations unknown to the ancient polity. There is nothing to be gained, and much to be lost, by postponing this important work. If it is not undertaken now, a mass of information of unpassed interest will be lost to the world." While thus laying stress on the importance of the work the Lieutenant Governor considered that the officers of the regular staff had not sufficient leisure to prosecute ethnographic enquiries in addition to their ordinary duties, while many of them had no special taste for such enquiries. Moreover as the chief value of the work would consist in the comparative treatment of the customs of the same or different castes in different districts of these provinces it was essential that this comparison should be made by a single

officer, who would have before him a large body of facts, and would not be confined to the data obtainable within a single district. The scheme was sanctioned by the Government of India and the Secretary of State but, owing to administrative reasons effect was not given to the appointment till early in February 1885

After making some experimental enquiries in Behar and North Eastern Bengal, and preparing a scheme for collecting information regarding the castes and occupations of the people in a systematic manner I visited Lahore in March 1885 for the purpose of conferring with Mr Derzif Ibbetson Director of Public Instruction in the Panjab and Mr J C Nesfield Inspector of Schools in Oudh both of whom had considerable experience in similar enquiries, and were in a position to offer valuable advice on the subject. The

Conference sat from the 18th to the 22nd March, and drew up proceedings which will be found in Appendix II to the second

volume. One chief object of our deliberations was to secure, so far as might be possible that ethnographic researches carried on in different Provinces of the Bengal Presidency should proceed on the same general lines in order that their results might be of some service to students of comparative ethnology in Europe. We considered the question as to the best means to be adopted to collect original data in addition to those already on record in books, reports, and publications of learned societies. For this purpose two sets of questions were drawn up, which form annexures B and C to the proceedings. The general series (annexure B) was framed with the object of bringing out by as few and as simple questions as possible the leading characteristics of any particular caste. The special series (annexure C) goes into more minute detail, and attempts to cover the main heads of ethnographic enquiry in India. The former represents the amount of original enquiry which we considered might fairly be imposed upon the district staff while the

latter was intended for use only by those whom inclination might lead to pursue the subject further. In order to guard against the confusion which may arise from the ambiguous use of words we also prepared a note upon certain doubtful points of ethnographic nomenclature, in which we attempted to define for the purpose of the proposed inquiries, the principal terms ordinarily used to denote the various forms of social organization prevalent in India. The endeavour throughout was not so much to strike out new lines of inquiry as to adapt the methods already sanctioned by the approval of European men of science to the special conditions which have to be taken account of in India. Considerable use was made of the series of questions or heads of enquiry prepared by a committee of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1874, and to this doubtless owing the fact that when the proceedings of the Conference were submitted for criticism to a number of scientific experts and learned societies in Europe we received comparatively few complaints that subjects had been omitted or inadequately dealt with. Use was also made of the set of questions given in Mr C. L. Tupper's volumes on the Customary Law of the Punjab.

The scheme of inquiry sketched by the Conference may seem at first sight to cover a far wider range than can have been contemplated by the Census Commissioner and the Government of India. But this apparent extension was found to be unavoidable directly the attempt was made to give effect to the general idea thrown out by Mr Plowden. In dealing with the intricate fabric of social usage, it is difficult to define the component parts of the main subject closely enough to distinguish minutely the point where administrative utility fades away into scientific interest. Most of all in the East where religion, law, custom, and morality are all inextricably mixed and jumbled up together would the attempt to attain such precision be futile and

misleading. It was understood, therefore, from the first that the objects to be aimed at in the enquiry were partly scientific and partly administrative. From the standpoint of the modern science of anthropology, it was hoped that it might be possible, by careful observation and record of the social practices now prevailing in Bengal, to arrive at fresh data throwing light on the ethnological problems which scientific men, such as Sir John Lubbock, Sir Henry Maine, Mr F B Tylor, Herr Bachofen, M Fustel de Coulanges, and Herr Adolf Bastian, have discussed in Europe. The principal points, which it was supposed a record of Indian custom might help to clear up, are the early history of marriage, the development of the family, modes of relationship, the early history of inheritance and the growth of property in land. These are some of the questions which European ethnologists are interested in, and a distinct hope has already been expressed by Sir Henry Maine that something may be done to render available, for the use of scientific men in Europe, the large body of barbarous or semi barbarous custom both Aryan and non Aryan, which still survives in India. It was felt that many of the ethnological speculations of recent years have been based too exclusively upon comparatively unverified accounts of the customs of savages of the lowest type, that the unrivalled opportunities for observation which European officials in India possess have hitherto been imperfectly utilised and that such results as have been obtained have been recorded in publications not readily accessible, and without sufficient regard to the lines of investigation pursued by ethnologists in Europe. It was also apprehended that the rapid spread of education, and the growth of practical intelligence in India, may lead, within the next generation, to the abandonment of many practices which are of special interest to ethnologists. Besides the general problems enumerated above there are various questions of special interest to students of Indian history and literature, which may be rendered more intelligible by an accurate record of the

actual facts existing at the present day in respect of caste arrangements

From the administrative point of view, on the other hand, many persons will set down the enquiry as practically useless. Indian administration, it will be said, is not made any more efficient by the elucidation of historical or pre historic

problems. Such researches are in the nature of luxuries. Government may countenance them in the same way and to the same extent as it patronizes learned societies but they have no direct bearing upon the actual work of administration. This view is at first sight, plausible enough, but it ignores the important fact that native society is made up of a net work of subdivisions governed by rules which affect every department of life, and that in Bengal at any rate, next to nothing is known about the system upon which the whole native population regulates its domestic and social relations. If legislation, or even executive action, is ever to touch these relations in a satisfactory manner, an ethnographic survey of Bengal and a record of the custom of the people is as necessary an incident of good administration as a cadastral survey of the land and a record of the rights of its tenants. The census provides the necessary statistics. It remains to bring out the facts which lie behind the statistics. The relations of different castes to the land, their privileges in respect of rent their relations to trade, their social status their internal organization, their rules as to marriage and divorce,—all these are matters intimately concerned with practical administration. For instance, the marriage and divorce customs of the lower castes are constantly coming into the criminal courts, and it would be a decided advantage to judicial officers if accurate information could be made available on the subject. Again, the distribution of the various castes

in each district has a direct and important bearing on the relief of distress, as different classes of the population may require

different modes of relief. In order to deal effectively with a famine, we want to know what is the characteristic occupation of each caste in the distressed area, what is their social status, and from whose hands they can take cooked food or sweetmeats, respectively, without losing caste. To our ignorance of these peculiarities is due the loss of life which so often results from the reluctance of people to come to relief camps where they think their notions of purity of diet are likely to be disregarded or their caste endangered by work which to them is degrading. There exists now in Orissa a caste called *Chattar khāi*, recorded in the lists of 1911 which is made up of people who lost their caste in 1866 for eating in relief kitchens (*chattras*). The caste is divided into an upper and a lower sub caste—the former comprising Brahmans, Karans, Khundaitis and Gop Goals the latter consisting of the castes ranking below these in the social scale. Members of each sub caste marry within that group irrespective of the caste to which they originally belonged but no intermarriage is possible between members of the two sub castes. All *Chattar khāis* are entirely cut off from their original castes. It can hardly be doubted that much social misery must have been endured before these people adopted a solution so entirely at variance with the principles in which they had been brought up, and that for one who became a *Chattar khāi* many died of want. The same argument applies to the working of primary village schools, and to some kinds of land questions. Thus the Murdas in Lohardugga and the Santāls in the Santal Parganās and elsewhere put forward apparently fantastic claims to privileges in respect of land, the clue to which is probably to be sought in some traditional customary law peculiar to the Dravidian races of Central India. Under the head of marriage, again, an accurate knowledge of the practices actually prevailing among the main body of the people as distinguished from the literate castes could hardly fail to be an important factor

On land questions
and marriage

in any influence that Government or unofficial bodies might at any time bring to bear with the object of discouraging infant marriage or promoting the remarriage of widows. Social reforms are beginning to be discussed by the leader of native society, and a time may come when Government will be invited to exercise its influence in such matters. It is clear, at any rate that the more Government officers know about the religious and social customs of the people of their districts, the better able they will be to deal either with the possible social problems of the future, or with the practical questions referred to above.

For these reasons it was decided by the Government of Bengal to publish and circulate the questions framed by the members of the Conference, and to enlist the aid of the district officers and of others who were in a position to help in obtaining answers to them. Experience had shown that a single person can do very little towards collecting the requisite information within a given time. To elicit facts by oral inquiry is necessarily a lengthy process and accuracy can only be secured by testing the statements of particular individuals or groups of individuals by numerous independent observations. On the other hand, it was essential that no more labour than was absolutely necessary should be thrown upon the regular administrative staff, and particularly upon the district officers. Every district officer was therefore requested to nominate from among his subordinates one or more officers who were qualified and willing to assist, in addition to their ordinary work, in collecting information for their respective districts or subdivisions. The names of the officers selected were reported to Government. They corresponded direct with the officer in charge of the enquiry, who supplied them with copies in English and vernacular of the general series of ethnographic questions (enclosure B to the proceedings of the Conference), and indicated what use should be made of these questions in each district. The functions of the district officer in the

matter were limited to seeing that the selected officers did what was required of them within a reasonable time

Through the agency of the district officers supplemented by a good deal of personal enquiry and correspondence, were secured the services of 190 correspondents scattered over every district of Bengal and communicating in their turn with an indefinite number of representatives of the tribes and castes which formed the subjects of enquiry¹ Operations were based in the outset on a series of statistical memoranda prepared by the Census Office showing for every thana (police circle)

B d on C nsus subdivision, and district the strength or
t t t each caste, the number of Mahomedans (who in theory, at any rate, do not recognize caste), and the occupations of both Hindus and Mahomedans Copies of these memoranda were sent to the correspondents in each district and they were asked to obtain by

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personal enquiry, or by any means that seemed likely to yield accurate results replies to the shorter series of questions for certain specified castes, and to elucidate as briefly as possible, the numerous obscure and unintelligible entries in the memoranda which purported to be caste designations, but could not readily be recognized as referable to any known caste. Correspondents were also invited, if disposed to travel beyond the range of the shorter questions, to make use of the special questions annexed to the proceedings of the Lahore Conference. With regard to the obscure entries, it

should perhaps be explained that all of them were originally written in the local vernacular by the Census enumerators, were then transliterated into English by temporary clerks, who often wrote from dictation instead of reading the entries themselves, and were set up in type from manuscript copied from this transliteration. In this way the process of compilation of itself opened the door to all kinds of mistakes. An unusual caste appellation misunderstood and misspelled by an ignorant enumerator might be misread by a clerk of small local experience and finally be transformed past all recognition by a printer's error. For instance, in one of the police circles of the Patna district a number of persons were entered under the name *tyra*. No such caste or sub caste as *tyra* exists, and the word was therefore taken to be a misprint for *hyra*, a eunuch or hermaphrodite. It being however, *prima facie* unlikely that so many as 139 persons of both sexes in one *tháná* should come under this category, I made further enquiry into the matter, and ascertained that the people in question were *Dosádhs* who had described themselves by the common *padabí* (title) of *Háyra*. What seems to have happened is this. The enumerator who filled in the Schedule wrote *Háyra* in Urdu, possibly omitting the *alif*. This was transliterated as *Hyra*, and eventually printed as *Tyra*. The case is worth quoting as an instance of the transformation which perfectly simple words may undergo

when the process of transliteration has to be performed by a temporary establishment of clerks on a large scale and under great pressure as to time. But actual errors and misprints, though they form a large proportion of the unintelligible entries in the schedules of an Indian census by no means account for the whole. Names of small castes, of religious sects, of sections or septs, titles, family names, names of occupations, trades, etc., are, in our present stage of knowledge regarding the internal structure of Indian social groups, almost equally difficult to identify, even when no clerical error has occurred in the triple process of writing in the local vernacular, transliterating and finally printing them. Before such names are finally banished in the Census Report to the large group set down as "unknown" elaborate attempts have to be made to elucidate them, and the correspondence carried on with this object between the Deputy Superintendent of Census and the district officers adds materially to the cost of the census, so the work of tabulation is delayed and an expensive establishment maintained while enquiries are being carried on. It was therefore for sound administrative reasons that Mr J A Bourdillon Deputy Superintendent of Census for Bengal, expressed a hope that "something would be done before the next census comes round to prepare a dictionary of castes and a proper classification of occupations. Hundreds of names of castes, clans or families (containing, however, very few members in most cases) have been unavoidably relegated to the 'unknown' group, because no one could say to what main caste they belong. As to occupations, as has been explained long since, the English system of classification is utterly unsuited to this country and completely destroys all sense of proportion between the different groups, as may be judged from the fact that, according to it, 'tenant cultivator,' 'farmer's daughter,' 'hangman,' and 'crocodile catcher' are all placed upon the same level, and are all considered as principal occupations of the people of these provinces."

In organizing the enquiry the object kept in view throughout was to multiply independent observations and to give as much play as possible to the working of the comparative method. The local correspondents were instructed to extend their inquiries over a wide field, to mistrust accounts published in books, to deal with the people direct, and to go for their information to the persons most likely to be well informed on questions of custom, such as priests, marriage brokers, genealogists, headmen of caste *pancháyats* and the like. When reports were received, they were tested by comparison with notes on the same caste collected by myself with reports by other correspondents in the same or different districts, with accounts already published and with Dr Wise's unpublished notes. Correspondents were invited to clear up discrepancies thus brought to notice, and frequently an entire report was sent back, with marginal annotations, for further inquiry upon points which appeared to be doubtful. As the inquiry proceeded, several special subjects were taken up and examined in circular letters addressed to all correspondents with the object of summarising the general results ascertained up to a certain stage and thus indicating lines of inquiry which might lead to fuller results.

An elaborate study of the castes of Eastern Bengal was made by the late Dr James Wise who was for ten years Civil Surgeon of Dacca, and in that capacity had great opportunities of observing the social life of the people. I quote from a letter written to me by him in July 1885 not long before his death a description of the admirable method which he adopted for the collection of evidence of custom — "My system was as follows. Mr H M Weathrall District Superintendent of Police at Dacca, on my day, who spoke rural Bengali as well as any native, accompanied me whenever I started on a tour. Having ascertained where any caste predominated, we went there, and invited the Purohit and headmen to meet us. Having

wrung from them every particular and written down the result at once, we did the same wherever another settlement of the caste was found. On comparing the records we arrived at the conclusion given in my notes. If still in doubt, we tested the facts by a third or even a fourth visit. I know of no plan so likely to elicit truth as this." Working on these lines, Dr. Wise collected during his residence at Dacca a very considerable mass of original information concerning the religion, customs, and occupations of the population of Eastern Bengal as represented by the inhabitants of the Dacca district. His notes also contain copious references to the special literature of the subject, and indicate very wide reading. It seems to have been his intention to prepare an exhaustive illustrated monograph on the ethnography of that part of Bengal, and with this view he employed a professional photographer to take a series of nearly two hundred photographs of representative types and groups of all classes of the people. The greater portion of his materials was provisionally worked up by him into a volume, which he modestly designated "Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of Eastern Bengal," but only a dozen copies of this appear to have been printed, and Dr. Wise declined to publish any part of it until it had been tested by further and fuller enquiry. In the cold weather of 1884-85 he visited India, and made a tour in Dacca with this object; but even then, from mistaken diffidence as to his literary capacity, he deferred the commencement of his systematic work, and it is impossible to gather from his papers what form he had intended it to take. In the course of this visit to India Dr. Wise discussed with me the scheme of an ethnographic survey of Bengal which was then under consideration and made over to me the printed portion of his notes for any use that I might think fit to make of them. At the time of his death, which occurred suddenly on the 11th of July 1886, he had before him, and was, I believe, inclined to accept, a proposal which I made

to him, that we should collaborate for the production of a book on the ethnography of the territories under the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Some months later the whole of his papers were made over to me by Mrs Wise on the understanding that after testing the data contained in them as far as possible in the manner contemplated by Dr Wise himself, I should incorporate the results in the ethnographic volumes of the present work and, by dedicating those volumes to Dr Wise, should endeavour to preserve some record, however imperfect of the admirable work done by him during his service in India. Mrs Wise also sent me the negatives taken under her husband's supervision in or about 1874 in the belief that these could be used for the purpose of illustration. For several reasons this has been found impossible. Not only would the expense of reproducing them by any permanent process be greater than the Government of Bengal could properly be asked to incur, but the introduction of photographs of the types of one (and that by no means the most interesting) part of Bengal would necessarily have involved the preparation of similar illustrations for the other parts—an undertaking which would have cost a very large sum, and would have indefinitely delayed the completion of the present work.

During several years of district work in Chota Nagpore, and again while organizing the recent inquiry, some special opportunities have come in my way of observing the progress of the great religious and social movement described by Sir Alfred Lyall as the gradual Brahmanising of the aboriginal, non-Aryan, or casteless tribes.¹ That this movement is progressing on a large scale is beyond doubt, but it by no means maintains a uniform character throughout its sphere of action and it includes in Bengal

at least four distinct processes which may be analysed as follows —

1 The leading men of an aboriginal tribe, having somehow got on in the world and become independent landed proprietors, manage to enrol themselves in one of the leading castes. They usually set up as Rajputs, their first step being to start a Brahman priest, who invents for them a mythical ancestor, supplies them with a family miracle connected with the locality where their tribe are settled and discovers that they belong to some hitherto unheard of clan of the great Rajput community. In the earlier stages of their advancement they generally find great difficulty in getting their daughters married, as they will not marry within their own tribe, and Rajputs of their adopted caste will of course not intermarry with them. But after a generation or two their persistency obtains its reward and they intermarry, if not with pure Rajputs at least with a superior order of manufactured Rajputs whose promotion into the Brahmanical system dates far enough back for the steps by which it was gained to have been forgotten. Thus a real change of blood may take place, while in any caste the tribal name is completely lost, and with it all possibility of accurately separating this class of people from the Hindus of purer blood and of assigning them to any particular non Aryan tribe. They have been absorbed in the fullest sense of the word and henceforth pose, and are locally accepted, as high caste Hindus. All stages of the process, family miracle and all, can be illustrated by actual instances taken from the leading families in Chota Nagpore.

2 A number of aborigines embrace the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal name and becoming Vaishnavs, Ramayats, and the like. Whether there is any mixture of blood or not will depend upon local circumstances and the rules of the sect regarding intermarriage. Anyhow the identity of the converts as aborigines

is usually, though not invariably, lost, and this also may therefore be regarded as a case of true absorption

3 A whole tribe of aborigines or a large section of a tribe enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism under the style of a new caste which, though claiming an origin of remote antiquity, is readily distinguishable by its name from any of the standard and recognized castes Thus the great majority of the Kochh^h inhabitants of Rungpore now invariably describe themselves as Rajbansis or Bhangá Kshatriyas—a designation which enables them to represent themselves as an outlying branch of the Kshatriyas who fled to North Eastern Bengal in order to escape from the wrath of Parasu Ráma They claim descent from Raja Dasarath, father of Ráma they keep Brahmans imitate the Brahmanical ritual in their marriage ceremony and have begun to adopt the Brahmanical system of *gotras* In respect of this last point they are now in a curious state of transition as they have all hit upon the same *gotra* (Kasyapa) and thus habitually transgress the primary rule of the Brahmanical system which absolutely prohibits marriage within the *gotra* But for this defect in their connubial arrangements—a defect which will probably be corrected in a generation or two is they and their *purohits* rise in intelligence—there would be nothing in their customs to distinguish them from Aryan Hindus, although there has been no mixture of blood and they remain thoroughly Kochh under the name of Rajbansis

4 A whole tribe of aborigines or a section of a tribe, become gradually converted to Hinduism without like the Rajbansis abandoning their tribal designation This is what is happening among the Bhumij of Western Bengal Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language, and now speak only Bengali they worship Hindu gods in addition to their own (the tendency being to relegate the tribal gods to the women) and the more advanced among them employ Brahmans as family priests They

still retain a set of tetemistic exogamous subdivisions closely resembling those of the Mundaś and the Santāl, but they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the subdivisions denote and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned in favour of more aristocratic designations. The tribe will then have become a caste and will go on stripping itself of all customs likely to betray its true descent. The physical characteristics of its members will alone survive. After their transformation into a caste, the Bhumij will be more strictly endogamous than they were as a tribe, and even less likely to modify their physical type by intermarriage with other races.

There is every reason to suppose that the movement, of which certain phases are roughly sketched above, has been going on for many centuries, and that, although at the present day its working can probably be most readily observed in Chota Nagpore, the Orissa hills, and parts of Eastern and Northern Bengal, it must formerly have operated on a similar scale in Bengal Proper and Behar. The well known tenth chapter of Manu, which endeavours to account for the existence of the non Aryan castes by representing them as the offspring of marriages between the four original castes, gives clear indications that in Manu's time, fixed by Burnell at 500 A.D. some of the non Aryan races had already begun to intrude upon the Brahmanical caste system, while others were still in the tribal stage. Arguing from facts now observable, it seems likely that some of the castes alleged by Manu to be the result of more or less complicated crosses are really tribes which had lost their identity like the Rajlansis, for at the present day, if we look merely to customs, ceremonies, and the like, we find in the majority of cases that the admission of a tribe into the Hindu community results after a generation or two in the practical disappearance of the tribe as such. Its identity can no longer be traced by direct enquiry from its members, or

Probably typical of
its advance in the
past

inferred from observation of their usages. The Rajbansi and the Bhumi are instances of tribes in an early stage of transition, whose antecedents can be accurately determined. Later on not only do distinctive customs fall into disuse, but the tribe itself, after its promotion to the rank of a caste, breaks up into a number of endogamous groups, each of which practically forms a separate caste. But even in this extreme case the physical characteristics which distinguished the tribe tend on the whole to be preserved, and it is this persistence of the type which accounts for the differences of feature which though only definable by scientific methods, are marked enough to render it possible within certain limits to make a fair guess at a man's caste from his personal appearance.

These general impressions regarding the differences of physical type observable within the range of the recognized caste organization coupled with the difficulty of throwing much light upon the true origin of the lower and intermediate castes by collating customs and ceremonies which they have borrowed in the most liberal fashion from the higher castes suggested to me the possibility of applying to the leading tribes and castes of Bengal the methods of recording and comparing typical physical characteristics which have yielded valuable results in other parts of the world. Those methods might, it seemed, enable us to detach considerable masses of non Aryans from the general body of Hindus and to refer them, if not to the individual tribes to which they originally belonged, at least to the general category of non Aryans and perhaps to such specific stocks as Dravidian, Lohitic, Tibetan, and the like. If, for example, in Europe, where the crossing of races constantly obscures their true affinities the examination of statistics drawn from physical measurements has been found to throw light upon the distribution of different race stocks in the population, a similar analysis of the leading tribes and castes in Bengal, where crossing

operates only on a comparatively small scale, would *prima facie* appear likely to enable us to determine the divergence of each of these aggregates from known Aryan or non Aryan types. Such an analysis would, it was thought, be regarded with approval by the leaders of the Hindu community in all parts of Bengal among whom both the orthodox and the advanced lay considerable stress upon the purity of their Aryan descent. It would appeal in some measure to scientific men in Europe, and the results would command whatever political value may attach to the demonstration that a given population either is or is not composed of homogeneous ethnic elements.

The necessity of applying some exact method was strengthened by the publication of Mr J
 Mr Nesfield's theory of caste
 C Nesfield's '*Brief View of the Caste System of the North Western Provinces and Oudh*'

In this remarkable work which bears throughout the impress of Comte's historical and philosophical speculations, the view is put forward that 'the bond of sympathy or interest which first drew together the families or tribal fragments, of which a caste is composed, and formed them into a new social unit, was not, as some writers have alleged, community of creed or community of kinship, but community of function. Function, and function only, as I think, was the foundation upon which the whole caste system of India was built up.' In introducing his theory Mr Nesfield points out in language which leaves little to be desired on the score of clearness and emphasis, that it is incompatible "with the modern doctrine which divides the population of India into Aryan and aboriginal. It presupposes an unbroken continuity in the national life from one stage of culture to another analogous to what has taken place in every other country in the world whose inhabitants have emerged from the savage state. It assumes, therefore, as its necessary basis, *the unity of the Indian race*. While it does not deny that a race of 'white complexioned foreigners,' who called

themselves by the name of Arya, invaded the Indus valley *via* Kabul and Kashmir some four thousand years ago and imposed their language and religion on the indigenous races by whom they found themselves surrounded it nevertheless maintains that the blood imported by this foreign race became gradually absorbed into the indigenous, the less yielding to the greater so that almost all traces of the conquering race eventually disappeared just as the Lombard became absorbed into the Italian the Frank into the Gaul the Roman (of Romanum) into the Slav the Greek (of Alexandria) into the Egyptian the Norman into the French man the Moor (of Spain) into the Spaniard and as the Norwegians Germans, etc. are at this day becoming absorbed into Englishmen in North America or as the Portuguese (of India) have already become absorbed into Indians I hold that for the last three thousand years at least no real difference of blood between Aryan and aboriginal (except perhaps in a few isolated tracts such as Rajputana where special causes may have occurred to prevent the complete amalgamation of race) has existed and the physiological resemblance observable between the various classes of the population from the highest to the lowest is an irrefragable proof that no clearly defined racial distinction has survived—a kind of evidence which ought to carry much greater weight than that of language, on which so many fanciful theories of ethnology have been lately founded Language is no test of race and the question of caste is not one of race at all, but of culture Nothing has tended to complicate the subject of caste so much as this intrusion of a philological theory which within its own province is one of the most interesting discoveries of modern times, into a field of enquiry with which it has no connection The ‘Aryan brother’ is indeed a much more mythical being than Rama or Krishna, or any other of the popular heroes of Hindu tradition whom writers of the Aryan school have

vainly striven to attenuate into solar myths. The amalgamation of the two races (the Aryan and the Indian) had been completed in the Panjab (we may gather from the Institutes of Manu) before the Hindu who is the result of this amalgamation, began to extend his influence into the Ganges valley, where by slow and sure degrees he disseminated among the indigenous races those social and religious maxims which have been spreading wider and wider ever since throughout the continent of India absorbing one after another, and to some extent civilizing, every indigenous race with whom they are brought into contact, raising the choice spirits of the various tribes into the rank of Brahman or Chhatra and leaving the rest to rise or fall in the social scale according to their capacities and opportunities.

A theory which assumed so scientific a form and led up to such important social and political conclusions was obviously entitled to be tried by a more precise test than the vague personal impressions concerning the physical type and race affinities of particular castes or tribes which figure so largely in Indian ethnological literature. Evidence showing resemblances or differences of custom, religion, social status, culture and profession would clearly afford no sure grounds for criticizing an hypothesis based on the assumption of the substantial identity in physical type of the numberless distinct aggregates which make up the population of India. Once concede this identity of type, and the question of the real origin of Indian caste recedes into a dim prehistoric distance, where it would be waste of labour to attempt to follow it. If it were really true as Mr Nesfield supposes that "the great majority of Brahmans are not of lighter complexion or of finer and better bred features than any other caste," if, to quote another passage a stranger walking through the class rooms of the Sanskrit College at Benares

"would never dream of supposing that the students seated before him were distinct in race and blood from the scavengers who swept the roads" we might either accept Mr Nesfield's hypothesis on the ground that it is as likely to be true as any other, or might put the problem aside altogether for the sufficient reason that no data would be available for its solution. If on the other hand, as many competent observers hold marked differences of type may be traced within the limits of the caste system, the modern system of anthropometry might it seemed be relied upon if applied on a sufficiently large scale to distinguish some of the leading types, and perhaps even to furnish a clue to their origin. It would at any rate form an effective, if not a conclusive test of the validity of the assumption on which Mr Nesfield's theory rests, while it might at the same time contribute materially to the solution of other problems concerning the true affinities of particular tribes or groups of tribes.

Starting with this general idea I wrote to Professor Flower F R S, Director of the Natural History Department of the British Museum, explaining the nature of the enquiry on which I was engaged and the particular difficulty which I desired to overcome, and asked for his advice as to the character and number of the measurements to be taken, the apparatus which should be used, and the form in which the results should be recorded. In a long letter discussing the subject very thoroughly, Professor Flower observed — "I entirely agree with you that physical characters are the best—in fact I may say the only true—tests of race—that is, of real affinity. Language, customs, etc., may help or give indications, but they are often misleading. Therefore the physical examination which you propose to make of the tribes of the Indian empire will be most important. The difficulty, however is to define and test these characters. I have endeavoured in my last address to the Anthropological Institute, to formulate what

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is known of the differences between the great divisions of the human race, and these are easy enough when we meet with pure examples. There is of course no mistaking a Mongol Tartar a pure Caucasian, or a Negro. But the differences you will meet with among the different tribes of India are much more difficult of discrimination, for although you may have a Mongolic element along the northern and eastern frontier and possibly a Negro or Negrito element forming a substratum of the population in the southern part of the Peninsula. I take it that the great mass of the people of India Proper belong to the great division of the human species, which (for want of a better name) may still be called Caucasian and whether Aryan Dravidian, or whatever else, will be found to agree in their main physical characteristics, although they may possibly be separated by slight characters which would be elucidated by such an investigation as that you have in hand. Such characters will in my opinion be found chiefly in the features and not in the proportions of the cranium. The shape of the nose, mouth, and cheeks, though so difficult of definition, are wonderfully characteristic of all races. Of course they vary individually, but averages can be obtained from large numbers which should be pretty constant. The nasal index (height and breadth of nose compared) is perhaps the most valuable means of distinguishing races in the skull and I should think it ought also to be the same in the living. As far as I have been able to observe, the proportions of the cranium (when a sufficient number are observed) are pretty constant throughout the whole Indian peninsula, ranging between dolicho and mesocephaly the only tendency to brachycephaly being where the Mongolic element has been introduced in the north."

For fuller instructions concerning the mode of operations to be followed, Professor Flower referred me to the exhaustive work "*Les Éléments d'Anthropologie Générale*," by

Dr Paul Topinard, Professor of the School of Anthropology and Secretary to the Anthropological Society of Paris Having satisfied myself that Professor Topinard's instructions for dealing with living subjects, and the instruments prescribed by him, were applicable to Indian conditions, I proceeded, after making some experimental measurements in Rangpur, to frame a complete scheme for giving effect to his system in Bengal. This scheme was submitted to Professors Flower and Topinard for criticism and, after having received their approval was sanctioned by the Government of Bengal the services of Civil Hospital Assistant Babu Kumud Behari Sámanta then attached to the Tibet Mission being placed at my disposal for the purpose of taking measurements. After some experience had been gained in the working of the system in Bengal proposals were drawn up for extending it to other parts of India. In the North West Provinces Sir Alfred Lyall sanctioned a special grant of Rs 1,000 for instruments measuring agency, etc, and a fine series of measurements were taken by Chandí Singh an ex pupil of the Balrampur Medical School under the supervision of Mr J C Nesfield, Inspector of Schools for Oudh, himself a high authority upon the castes of that part of India. A small but interesting set of measurements was also taken in the Panjab by Civil Hospital Assistant Alá ud din under the supervision of Deputy Surgeon General Stephen. In every case the measurers were taught the use of the instruments by me and were supplied with printed instructions, defining the procedure with extreme minuteness of detail, and discussing at length a variety of difficulties which experience had suggested to me.

Before attempting to sketch the main results of the Bengal inquiries we may pause for a moment to take stock of our terminology. Thanks to Sir John Lubbock and Dr E B Tylor, the study of ethnography has of late years begun to be understood in England. 'It embraces,' says M. Elisée Reclus, "the

Ethnography defined

descriptive details, and ethnology the rational exposition, of the human aggregates and organizations known as herds, clans, tribes, and nations especially in the earlier, the savage, and barbarous stages of their progress." In other words, ethnography collects and arranges large masses of social data, ethnology applies the comparative method of investigation, and frames by this means hypotheses concerning the origin of the tribes themselves.

The less familiar anthropometry has an ancient and curious history. By its aid the Egyptian sculptors of Carnac and Memphis worked out an artistic canon of the ideal proportions of the human figure, the influence of which may be traced in Greek art which was studied by Da Vinci and Durer, and which has descended to French studies in the form given to it by their contemporary Jean Cousin. Its latest application may be witnessed in a branch of the Prefecture of Police at Paris, where the features and limbs of convicted criminals are measured under scientific supervision, and the results recorded with a view to tracing their identity

in future. For our present purpose anthropometry may be defined as the science which seeks, by measuring certain leading physical characters, such as the stature and the proportions of the head, features and limbs, to ascertain and classify the chief types of mankind, and eventually by analysing their points of agreement and difference to work back to the probable origin of the various race stocks now traceable. Like ethnography and ethnology, it forms part of the circle of studies grouped together under the head of anthropology.

Looked at merely as a scientific experiment, an anthropometric examination of even a small fraction of the people of India promised to yield results of no ordinary interest. Nowhere else in the world do we find the population of a large continent broken up into an infinite number of mutually exclusive aggregates, the members of which are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside of the group

to which they themselves belong. Whatever may have been the origin and the earlier developments of the caste system, this absolute prohibition of mixed marriages stands

forth at the present day as its essential and most prominent characteristic, and the feeling against such unions is so deeply engrained in the people that even the Theistic and reforming sect of the Brahmo Samaj has found a difficulty in freeing itself from the ancient prejudices. In a society thus organized, a society sacrificing everything to pride of blood and the idea of social purity, it seemed that differences of physical type, however produced in past time, might be expected to manifest a high degree of persistence, and that the science which seeks to trace and express such differences would find a peculiarly favourable field for its operations. In European anthropometry has to confess itself hindered, if not baffled, by the constant intermixture of races which tends to obscure and confuse the data arrived at by measurement. In a country where such intermixture is to a large extent eliminated, there were grounds for believing that different types would reveal themselves more clearly, and that their characteristics would furnish some clue to their original race affinities.

Apart from these special conditions, the necessity of having recourse to methods of research more exact in their character and less misleading in their results than the mere collation of customs and beliefs is brought into prominence by the transformation which religion is gradually bringing about in Indian society. At the risk of driving patient analogy too hard, we may perhaps venture to compare

the social gradations of the Indian caste system to a series of geological deposits.

The successive strata in each series occupy a definite position determined by the manner of their formation and the varying customs in the one may be said to represent the fossils in the other. The lowest castes preserve

the most primitive customs, just as the oldest geological formations contain the simplest forms of organic life. Thus the totems or animal names, by which the Mundas and Oraons regulate their matrimonial arrangements, give place, as we travel upwards in the social scale, to group names based upon local and territorial distinctions, while in the highest castes kinship is reckoned by descent from personages closely resembling the eponymous heroes of early Greek tradition. Even the destructive agencies to which the imperfection of the geological record is attributed have their parallel in the transforming influence by which the two great religions of modern India, Brahmanism and Islam, have modified the social order. A curious contrast may be discerned in their methods of working and in the results which they produce.

Islam is a force of the volcanic sort, a burning and integrating force, which, under favourable conditions, may even make a nation. It melts and fuses together a whole series of tribes, and reduces their internal structure to one uniform pattern, in which no survivals of pre-existing usage can be detected. The separate strata dis-

Hinduism and Islam appear, their characteristic fossils are crushed out of recognition, and a solid mass of law and tradition occupies their place. Brahmanism knows nothing of open proselytism or forcible conversion and attains its end in a different and more subtle fashion, for which no precise analogue can be found in the physical world. It leaves existing aggregates very much as they were, and so far from welding them together, after the manner of Islam, into larger cohesive aggregates, tends rather to create an indefinite number of fresh groups, but every tribe that passes within the charmed circle of Hinduism inclines sooner or later to abandon its more primitive usages, or to clothe them in some Brahmanical disguise. The strata, indeed, remain, or are multiplied, their relative positions are, on the whole, unaltered, only their fossils are metamorphosed into more advanced forms. One by one the

ancient totems drop off, or are converted by a variety of ingenious devices into respectable personages of the standard mythology the fetish gets a new name and is promoted to the Hindu Pantheon in the guise of a special incarnation of one of the greater gods the tribal chief sets up a family priest, starts a more or less romantic family legend and in course of time blossoms forth as a new variety of Rajput His people follow his lead, and make haste to sacrifice their women at the shrine of social distinction Infant marriage with all its attendant horrors is introduced, widows are forbidden to marry again and divorce which plays a great and, on the whole, a useful part in tribal society is summarily abolished Throughout all these changes which strike deep into the domestic life of the people, the fiction is maintained that no real change has taken place, and every one believes or affects to believe that things are with them as they have been since the beginning of time

It is curious to observe that the operation of these tendencies has been quickened, and the sphere of their action enlarged, by the great extension of railways which has taken place in India during the last few years Both Benares and Manchester have been brought nearer to their customers, and have profited by the increased demand for their characteristic wares Siva and Krishna drive out the tribal gods as surely as grey shirtings displace the more durable hand woven cloth Pilgrimages become more pleasant and more popular and the touts, who sally forth from the great religious centres to promote these pious excursions find their task easier and their clients more open to persuasion than was the case even twenty years ago A trip to Jagannath or Gya is no longer the formidable and costly undertaking that it was The Hindu peasant who is pressed to kiss the footprints of Vishnu or to taste the hallowed rice that has been offered to the Lord of the World may now reckon the journey by days instead of months He need no longer sacrifice the savings

of a lifetime to this pious object, and he has a reasonable prospect of returning home none the worse for a week's indulgence of religious enthusiasm. Even the distant Mecca has been brought by means of Messrs Cook's steamers and return tickets, within the reach of the faithful in India, and the influence of Mahomedan missionaries and return pilgrims has made itself felt in a quiet but steady revival of orthodox usage in Eastern Bengal.

Rapidly as the levelling and centralising forces do their work, a considerable residue of really primitive usage still resists their transforming influence. The

Race in relation to
caste

race element remains, for the most part, untouched. Diversity of type is still the rule, and identity the exception among the manifold groupings of the Indian people. To a practised eye the personal appearance of most Hindus gives a fairly accurate clue to their caste, and within certain limits it is even possible to determine the strata of the population to which given sections of Mahomedans must have belonged before their conversion to Islam.

The scientific methods which anthropometry prescribes attempt to fix vague personal impressions

The method of anthropometry

by reducing them to statistical formulas. No one could mistake a Brahman for a Kol, but the most minute verbal description of their characteristic differences of feature falls far short of the numerical analysis that can be arrived at by measuring specific dimensions of the head, nose, cheekbones, orbits, forehead, and zygomatic arches, and working out their proportions by the system of indices invented by the Swedish anthropologist, Anders Retzius, in 1842. Add to these weight, stature, and the facial angle devised by Cuvier, extend the observations to about a hundred specimens of each group, and it will be found that the averages calculated from his mass of figures bring out a uniform tribal type to which all individuals tend to conform. The data thus obtained from nearly

6,000 persons representing 89 of the leading castes and tribes in Northern India, from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Afghanistan, enable us to distinguish two extreme

Three types Aryan
Dravidian and Mongoloid

types of feature and physique, which may be provisionally described as Aryan and Dravidian. A third type which in some respects may be looked upon as intermediate between these two while in other, and perhaps the most important points it can hardly be deemed Indian at all is found along the northern and eastern borders of Bengal. Its most prominent characters are a relatively short (brachycephalic) head, a broad face, a short, wide nose, very low in the bridge, and in extreme cases almost bridgeless, high and projecting cheekbones, and eyelids peculiarly formed so as to give the impression that the eyes are obliquely set in the head. With this type, which may conveniently be described as Mongoloid we have for our present purpose no immediate concern. Except in the districts of Assam and North Eastern Bengal, it has contributed comparatively little to the evolution of caste as it now exists in India, and may be left out of consideration in the attempt to trace the stages of growth by which the prevailing state of things has been arrived at.

In adopting even tentatively, the designations Aryan and Dravidian I am aware that I am disregarding advice which Professor Max Muller was good enough to give me, about three years ago in a letter since published (I believe) in an Appendix to his latest work. He warned me against the confusion which might arise from using philological terms to denote ethnological conclusions. I am entirely sensible of the value and the necessity of the warning, and fully recognize his right to speak with authority on such questions. But we must have some general names for our types: it is a thankless task to invent new names and I trust to justify my invasion of the domain of philology by the universal practice of the Indians themselves, and by the example of Professor Sayce, who did not hesitate, on

a recent occasion to speak of the Aryan race as an established ethnic aggregate

The Aryan type, as we find it in India at the present day, is marked by a relatively long (dolichocephalic) head a straight, finely cut (lepto rhine) nose, a long, symmetrically narrow face, a well developed forehead regular features, and a high facial angle The stature is fairly high, ranging from 171 6 centimeters in the Sikhs of the Panjáb to 165 6 in the Brahmans of Bengal, and the general build of the figure is well proportioned and slender rather than massive In the castes which exhibit these characteristics the complexion is a very light transparent brown—"wheat coloured" is the common vernacular description—noticeably fairer than that of the mass of the population Colour, however, is a character which eludes all attempts to record or define its gradations, and even the extreme varieties can only be described in very general terms As representative Aryan groups we may name the Sikhs and Khatris of the Panjab and the Brahmans, Kayasths, Babhans, and Chattris of Bengal and the North West Provinces A larger series of measurements would probably add several more castes to the list especially in the Panjáb where the observations were greatly restricted by financial difficulties

In the Dravidian type the form of the head usually inclines to be dolichocephalic, but all other characters present a marked contrast to the Aryan The nose is thick and broad and the formula expressing its proportionate dimensions is higher than in any known race, except the Negro The facial angle is comparatively low, the lips are thick, the face wide and fleshy the features coarse and irregular The average stature ranges in a long series of tribes from 156 2 to 162 1 centimeters, the figure is squat, and the limbs sturdy The colour of the skin varies from very dark brown to a shade closely approaching black The most characteristic Dravidian

tribes are the Male Paharias of the Rajmahal hills, and the Mundas and Oraons of the Chota Nagpur plateau. The two latter are better known under the general name of Kol, which, according to Herr Jellinghaus, a good authority on this subject, means "pig killer" or "pig eater" and belongs to the large class of epithets by which, since Vedic times, the Aryans have expressed their contempt for the voracious and promiscuous appetite of the Dravidian. Others, however, and this is perhaps the better opinion, regard Kol as a corruption of Hor or Horo the Mundari word for 'man,' which has been adopted as the name of the tribes in question.

Between these extreme types, which may fairly be regarded as representing two distinct races we find a large number of intermediate groups each of which forms for matrimonial purposes a sharply defined circle, beyond which none of its members can pass. By applying to the entire series the nasal index or formula of the proportions of the nose which Professors Flower and Topinard agree in regarding as the best test of race distinctions some remarkable results are arrived at. The average nasal proportions of

the Malé Paharia tribe are expressed by

The nasal index the figure 94.5, while the pastoral Gujars of the Panjab have an index of 66.9 the Sikhs of 68.8 and the Bengal Brahmans and Kayasths of 70.4. In other words the typical Dravidian, as represented by the Malé Paharia has a nose as broad in proportion to its length as the Negro while this feature in the Aryan group can fairly bear comparison with the noses of sixty-eight Parisians, measured by Topinard, which gave an average of 69.4. Even more striking is the curiously close correspondence between the gradations of racial type indicated by the nasal index and certain of the social data ascertained by independent inquiry. If we take a series of castes in Bengal Behar, of the North Western Provinces and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top, and that with

the coarsest at the bottom of the list, it will be found that this order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence. The casteless tribes, Kols, Korwas, Mundas, and the like, who have not yet entered the Brahmanical system, occupy the lowest place in both series. Then come the vermin-eating Musahars and the leather-dressing Chamárs. The fisher castes of Bauri, Bind, and Kewat are a trifle higher in the scale; the pastoral Goala, the cultivating Kurmi, and a group of cognate castes from whose hands a Brahman may take water, follow in due order; and from them we pass to the trading Khatris, the landholding Bábhans, and the upper crust of Hindu society. Thus it is scarcely a paradox to lay down as a law of the caste organization in Eastern India that a man's social status varies in inverse ratio to the width of his nose. Nor is this the only point in which the two sets of observations—the social and the physical—bear out and illustrate each other. The character of the curious matrimonial groupings for which the late Mr J. F. McLennan devised the happy term *exogamous*, also varies in a definite relation to the gradations of physical type. Within a certain range of nasal proportions, these subdivisions are based almost exclusively on the totem. Along with a somewhat finer form of nose, groups called after villages and larger territorial areas, or bearing the name of certain tribal or communal officials, begin to appear, and above these again we reach the eponymous saints and heroes, who in India, as in Greece and Rome, are associated with a certain stage of Aryan progress.

It would be vain to attempt within the compass of this essay to analyse and compare the large mass of figures which has been collected, or to develop at length the inferences which they may be thought to suggest. I can only glance at a few of their more important bearings. In

The literary theory
of caste

the first place, it deserves notice that the data obtained by the most modern anthropological method agree in the main

not only with the long chain of Indian tradition, beginning with the Vedas and ending with the latest vernacular treatise on the theory and practice of caste, but also with the rationalised and critical story of the making of the Indian peoples, as it has been told by Sir William Hunter in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. Here the historian shows how through the veil of fable and miracle in which pre historic India is shrouded traces may be discerned of a protracted struggle between a lower and a higher race, which would have tended to produce much the same results as our statistics bring out. Studied in the light of these statistics it would seem that the standard Indian theory of caste may deserve more respectful consideration than has been accorded to it of late years.

The division of the people into four classes corresponding roughly to the chief professions or modes of life of the time is itself plausible enough, and is supported by parallel cases in the history of ancient societies. It is nowhere stated that these groups were rigidly exclusive like modern castes and the rules laid down to regulate their intermarriage show a general resemblance to those observed by the Kulin classes of to day. So far as anthropological considerations are concerned there would be no great difficulty in our recognizing the Brahmans, Rajputs and higher trading castes as descendants of the three upper classes—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas—of the ancient Aryan Commonwealth. The Sudras alone have no compact aggregate as their modern representative. But the fourth caste in the ancient system was apparently not of pure Aryan descent, and it is a plausible conjecture that it may have been constantly recruited by the admission of Dravidian elements.

Modern representative
of the four
principal castes

The dominant Aryan society must have exercised a strong attraction on the Dravidians, but the only caste into which the latter could ordinarily expect to be received would be the Sudra. Their admission into this group would doubtless have been facilitated by resort to the fiction, characteristic

of all early societies, that they had belonged to it all along. But such accretions must have swelled the caste to unwieldy dimensions, and thus have introduced the tendency to disintegration or fission, which affects all social aggregates in India. In course of time, as new groups split off and took to themselves new names, the original caste would have been, so to speak, lost in the crowd, and only a small nucleus would have retained its original designation. In support of the hypothesis that the survivors of the ancient Sudras are to be sought among the higher strata of the so called mixed castes, we may point to the fact that a group of castes, whose physical characters approach more closely to the Aryan than to the Dravidian type, still cling to the name Sudra and regard themselves as descendants of the classical fourth caste.

Modern criticism has been especially active in its attacks on that portion of the traditional theory which derives the multitude of mixed or inferior castes from an intricate series of crosses between members of the original four. No one can examine the long lists which purport to illustrate the working of this process without being struck by much that is absurd and inconsistent. But in India it does not neces-

sarily follow that, because the individual applications of a principle are ridiculous, the principle itself can have no foundation in fact. The last thing that would occur to the literary theorists of those times, or to their successors, the *pandits* of to day would be to go back upon actual facts, and to seek by analysis and comparison to work out the true stages of evolution. They found, as I infer from troublesome experience among some of my Indian coadjutors, the *a priori* method simpler and more congenial. That at least did not compel them to pollute their souls by the study of plebeian usage. Having once got hold of a formula, they insisted, like Thales and his contemporaries, in making it account for the entire order of things. Thus,

castes which had been developed out of corporations like the mediæval trade guilds, or which expressed the distinction between fishing and hunting agriculture and handicrafts, were all supposed to have been evolved by interbreeding

But the initial principle though it could not be stretched to explain everything was in the main correct. It happens that we can still observe its workings among a number of Diavidian tribes, which though not yet drawn into the vortex of Brahmanism have been in some degree affected by the example of Hindu organization. As regards intertribal marriages they seem to be in a stage of development through which the Hindus themselves have passed. A man may marry a woman of another tribe but the offspring of such unions do not become members of either the paternal or maternal groups but belong to a distinct endo union, designate the name of which often denotes the precise cross by which it was started. Among the large tribe of Mundas we find for instance, nine such groups—Khangar Munda, Kharia Munda, Konkpat Munda, Karanga Munda, Mahli Munda, Nibansi Munda, Oraon Munda, Sad Munda, Savar Munda—descended from intermarriages between Munda men and women of other tribes. The Mahlis, again, have five sub tribes of this kind, and themselves trace their descent to the union of a Munda with a Santal woman. Illustrations of this sort might be multiplied almost indefinitely. The point to be observed is that the sub tribes formed by intertribal crossing are from an early stage complete endogamous units, and that they tend continually to sever their slender connection with the parent group and stand forth as independent tribes. As soon as this comes to pass and a functional or territorial name disguises their mixed descent, the process by which they have been formed is seen to resemble closely that by which the standard Indian tradition seeks to explain the appearance of other castes alongside of the classical four.

From the literary theory of caste we are led on to speculate regarding the origin of caste itself. How comes it

that the Aryan race, which in South Europe, as Herr Ponka has shown, has modified its physical type by free intermixture with Turanian elements, displayed in India a marked antipathy to marriage with persons of alien race, and devised an elaborate system of taboo for the prevention of such unions? An explanation may, perhaps, be found in the fact

The origin of caste that in India alone were the Aryans brought into close contact with an unequivocally black race. The sense of differences of colour, which, for all our talk of common humanity, still plays a great, and, politically, often an inconvenient, part in the history of the world finds forcible expression in the Vedic descriptions of the people whom the Aryans found in possession of the plains of India. In a well known passage the god Indra is praised for having protected the Aryan colour, and the word meaning colour (*varna*) is used down to the present day as the equivalent of caste, more especially with reference to the castes believed to be of Aryan descent. Another text depicts the Dasyus or Dravidians as noseless others dwell on their low stature, their coarse features, and their voracious appetite. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that from these sources there might be compiled a fairly accurate anthropological definition of the Dravidian tribes of to day. When it is added that the aggregates which would be included in the definition represent the lower end of a long series of social gradations, which in their turn correspond not only to varieties of physical type, but also to peculiarities of custom and tribal structure, it is obvious, but a short step to the conclusion that the motive principle of Indian caste is to be sought in the antipathy of the higher race for the lower, of the fair skinned Aryan for the black Dravidian.

It will be said, reasonably enough, that this hypothesis, however applicable to certain larger groups, fails to account for the vast network of intricate divisions which the caste system now presents. The differences of type which distinguish the various trading, agricultural, pastoral, and fishing

castes from each other are, it may be argued, not sharp enough to have brought the sentiment of race antipathy into play. On what principle, then, were these multifarious groups separated from the larger aggregates of which they formed part? I would reply, by the influence of fiction—a

Influence of fiction

factor which Sir Henry Maine has shown to have contributed largely to the development of early societies. For illustrations of the working of this principle we need not travel far. The caste making impulse has by no means spent its force, and its operation can be studied in most Indian districts at the present day. In Bengal where the Aryan and Dravidian elements are in continual contact, it has created a series of endogamous groups, which may be roughly classified as *Ethnic*, *Provincial* or *Linguistic*, *Territorial* or *Local*, *Functional* or *Occupational*, and *Religious*. In the first of these classes the racial basis is palpable and acknowledged. The others have been generated by the fiction that men who speak a different language, who dwell in a different district, who worship different gods, who observe different social customs, who follow a different profession, or practise the same profession in a slightly different way, must be of a fundamentally different race. Usually, and in the case of sub castes invariably the fact is that there is no appreciable difference of race between the newly formed group and the aggregate from which it has been broken off.

If, then, caste was an institution evolved by the Aryans in the attempt to preserve the purity of their own stock, and afterwards expanded and adapted by the influence of a series of fictions, to fit an endless variety of social, religious and industrial conditions we may expect that the physical data recently collected will have some bearing on Herr Karl

Penka's
Herkunft
der Arier

Penka's speculations concerning the origin of the Aryans themselves. Clearly the Indian Aryans represent the furthest extension of the race towards the East. All along the eastern and

northern frontier of Bengal we meet with a fringe of compact tribes of the short headed or brachycephalic type, who are beyond question Mongolian. Starting from this area, and travelling up the plains of India north westward towards the frontier of the Panjab we observe a gradual but steady increase of the dolichocephalic type of head, which Herr Penka claims as one of the chief characteristics of the original Aryans. Bengal itself is mostly mesocephalic, and dolichocephaly only appears in some of the Dravidian tribes. In Behar dolichocephalic averages are more numerous; in Oudh and the North West Provinces this type is universal and it reaches its maximum in the Panjab. Assuming that

Prevalence of dolichocephaly in North Western India.

Herr Penka has correctly determined the original Aryan type to be dolichocephalic, and that the theory of caste propounded above is the true one, these are just the results which might be looked for. According to the French anthropologists the shape of the head is the most persistent of race characters, and the one which offers the greatest resistance to the leveling influence of crossing. That the Aryans should have retained this more durable character while undergoing a change in the more fugitive character of colour is in keeping with what we know of the conditions, social and climatic, to which they were exposed. In point of colour, indeed, the Aryan castes are by no means so dark as Europeans are apt to suppose. The complexion, moreover, tends to grow lighter the further north west we go, and survivals of reddish blonde complexion and auburn hair are met with beyond the frontier.

A possible objection may be disposed of here. It may be argued that if the Dravidians are dolichocephalic, the prevalence of this character in North Western India may be accounted for by the assumption of an intermixture of Dravidian blood. But if this were so, the proportion and degree of dolichocephaly would increase as we approach the Dravidian area, instead of diminishing, as is actually the

case. Moreover, it is impossible to suppose that the races of the North West, if originally brachycephalic could have acquired their dolichocephalic form of head from the Dravidians, without at the same time acquiring the characteristic Dravidian nose and the distinctive Dravidian colour.

Owing in the main to the labours of Broca and the French anthropologists, it is no longer necessary to challenge the assumption of the elder generation of philologists that affinity of language implies affinity of race. That view has now been abandoned by most if not all of the leading authorities on the subject, and the best opinion of the present day seems to regard the fact that races speak the same

language as proving little more than that

Language and race at some time or other they must have been in close local contact. Abundant illustrations of the working of this process can be given from tribes all along the frontier of Bengal. In the first place it is clear that the hitherto recognized distinction between Dravidian and Kolarian stocks, concerning which so much has been written during the last twenty years rests solely upon linguistic peculiarities, and does not correspond to any differences of physical type. The Málé of the Rajmahal hills and the Oraons of Chota Nagpore, both of whom speak languages classed as Dravidian are identical in point of physique with the Mundas and Santals who are classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian. Secondly, a number of tribes concerning whose non Aryan origin there can be no manner of doubt, have within recent times adopted Aryan dialects and abandoned their original languages. Thus the Dravidian Bhumij, Kurmī, and Mahli of Western Bengal now speak only Bengali, the most Aryan of the Indian vernaculars, while the Mongoloid Khambus and Murmis of the Darjiling hills have taken to Hindi, and the Maghs and Lipperahs of the Eastern frontier have adopted, or are on the way to adopt, Bengali.

It is now nearly thirty years since the late Mr J F McLennan introduced to the scientific world, in his well known essay on *Primitive Marriage*, the terms exogamy and endogamy. The laws governing marriage which these terms denote were, when Mr McLennan wrote, unnamed. He was, I believe, the first to draw attention to them, and the terms devised by him have been adopted by all who have since written on the same subjects. In the preface to

the latest edition of *Studies in Ancient History*, Mr D McLennan, brother of the author, complains that both terms have

in some cases been misunderstood and gives a definition of each which may conveniently be quoted here. Exogamy, he says "is prohibition of marriage between all persons recognized as being of the same blood, because of their common blood,—whether they form one community or part only of a community, or parts of several communities, and accordingly it may prevent marriage between persons who (though of the same blood) are of different local tribes, while it frequently happens that it leaves persons of the same local tribe (but who are not of the same blood) free to marry one another." Endogamy, on the other hand, "allows marriage only between persons who are recognized as being of the same blood connection or kindred, and if, where it occurs, it confines marriage to the tribe or community, it is because the tribe regards itself as comprising a kindred."

Seeing, then, that caste is mainly a matter of marriage special attention has been paid throughout the inquiry to the marriage usages of the tribes and castes concerned. Following up a suggestion made by Sir Henry Maine¹ questions were framed tending to elucidate the practice of every caste in respect of the outer or endogamous limit within which a man

¹Exogamy in Bengal
Totems of Santál and
Orisons

must marry, and the inner or exogamous limit within which he may not marry. Taking the exogamous limit first, we find

the non Mahomedan races of Bengal at the present time regulating their matrimonial arrangements by several different kinds of exogamous subdivisions. At the bottom of the social system, as understood by the average Hindu, stands a large body of non Aryan tribes and castes, each of which is broken up into a number of what may be called *totemistic* exogamous septs. Each sept bears the name of an animal, a tree, a plant, or of some material object, natural or artificial which the members of that sept are prohibited from killing, eating, cutting, burning, carrying, using, etc. Well defined groups of this type are found among the Dravidian Santáls and Oraons, both of whom still retain their original language, worship non Aryan gods, and have a fairly compact tribal organization. The following are specimens selected from among the seventy three Oraon and the ninety one Santál septs —

ORAON		SANTAL	
<i>Name of Sept</i>	<i>Totem</i>	<i>Name of Sept</i>	<i>Totem</i>
Tírki	Young mice	Mummu	Nilgáu
Ekka	Tortoise	Hansa	Wild goose
Kispotta	Pig's entrails	Máinhi	A kind of grass
Lakrá	Hyena	Besri	Hawk
Bagh	Tiger	Hemron	Betel palm
Kurjrá	Oil from <i>Kujá</i> tree	Saren	Eleon tillation
Gede	Duck		Indes
Khoepa	Wild dog	Sanhi	Caneshill
Munji	Eel	Gua	Arca nut
Churra	Squirrel	Kará	Buffalo
Ergo	Rat		

The Hos of Singbhum and the Mundas of the Chota Nagpore plateau have also exogamous septs of the same type as the Oraons and Santáls with similar rules as to the totem being taboo to the members of the group. The lists given in Appendix I contain the names of 323 Munda septs and 46 Ho septs. Six of the latter are found also among

the Santals The other Ho septa appear to be mostly of the local or communal type, such as are in use among the Kankais, but this is not quite certain, and the point needs looking into by some one well acquainted with the Ho dialects, who would probably find little difficulty in identifying the names, as the tribe is well known to be in the habit of giving to places descriptive names having reference to their natural characteristics. Nearly all the Munda sept names are of the totem type, and the characteristic taboos appear to be recognized. The Tarwar or Talwar sept, for example, may not touch a sword; the Udbiru may not use the oil of a particular tree; the Sindur may not use vermilion; the Baghala may not kill or eat a quail; and, strangest of all, rice is taboo to the Dhán sept, the members of which must supply its place with *gondli* or millet.

A step higher in the social scale, according to Hindu estimation, the Bhumi of Western Bengal and Orissa mark an early stage in the course of development by which a non-Aryan tribe transforms itself into a full-blown caste, claiming a definite rank in the Brahmanical system. With the exception of a few residents of outlying villages bordering on the Munda country of Chota Nâgporâ proper, the Bhumi

have lost their original language (Mundali) and now speak only Bengali. They worship Hindu gods in addition to the fetishistic deities more or less common to them and the other Kolarians, but the tendency is to keep the latter rather in the background and to relegate the less formidable among them to the women and children to be worshipped in a hole and corner kind of way, with the assistance of a tribal hedge-priest (*Layá*), who is supposed to be specially acquainted with their ways. Some of the leading men of the tribe, who call themselves Bhuinhárs, and hold large landed tenures on terms of police service, have set up as Rajputs, and keep a low class of Brahmans as their family priests. They have, as a rule, borrowed the Rajput class titles, but cannot conform with the

Rajput rules of intermarriage, and marry with in a narrow circle of pseudo Rajput like themselves. The rest of the tribe numbering at the last Census 226 167 are divided into a number of exogamous groups, of which the following are examples. It is curious to observe in a tribe still in a state of transition, that one of the Brahmanical gotras Sandilya, has been borrowed from the higher castes, and in the process of borrowing has been transformed from a Vedic saint into a bird —

BHUMI	
<i>Name of Spt</i>	<i>Total</i>
Sakisi	S l fish
Hansda	Wild geese
Eng	Mushtoom
Sandilya	A bird
Hemron	Bet l palm
Lumarung	Lumpkin
Nag	Snake

At a further stage in the same process of evolution and on a slightly superior social level we find the Mahilis Koras, and Kurmi all of whom claim to be members of the Hindu community. They have totemistic exogamous sections, of which the following are fairly representative —

MAHILI			KORAS			KURMI		
<i>Name of Secto</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Name of Sect</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Name of Sect</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>Total</i>
I	D	f	K	y l	To to e	Kesar	A	Aras
Tu u.	Th	h	S	ul	S l f h	K r	B	El
K r	E	of y mal	K	b k	H ron	Dumu	D	f g
H d	W l d	g	H	d	W l d goose	C l n h	t	S l d
M	u	N l h	B	tk	l h	H	tow	T t
			S	l	Bull	J	ll u	N t
						S	kh	Sh ll or a ments
						B	h l anuar	T or
						I	at	Silk loth.

Of these three castes the Mahilis appear to have broken off most recently from the tribe. They still worship some

of the Santál gods in addition to the standard Hindu deities, they will eat food cooked by a Santál, their caste organization is supervised, like that of the Santáls, by an official bearing the title of Parganaít, they permit the marriage of adults and tolerate sexual intercourse before marriage within the limits of the caste, and they have not yet attained to the dignity of employing Brahmans for ceremonial purposes. If I may hazard a conjecture on so obscure a question, I should be inclined to class them as Santáls who took to the

Totems of the Mahli
K rí and K rmi of
Chota Nagpore

degraded occupation of basket making, and thus lost the *jus connubii* within the tribe. In the case of the Korás there is no clue to warrant their affiliation to any particular tribe, but their traditions say that they came from the Chota Nagpore plateau, while their name suggests a Dravidian origin, and it seems possible that they may be an offshoot of the Mundas, who somehow sank from the status of independent cultivators to their present position of earth cutting and tank digging labourers. They allow adult marriage their standard of feminine chastity is low, and they have not yet fitted themselves out with Brahmans. In the customary rules of inheritance which their *paichayát* or caste council administers, it is curious to find the usage known in the Panjáb as *chunda vand*, by which the sons, however few, of one wife take a share equal to that of the sons, however many, of another. The Kurmis may perhaps be a Hinduised branch of the Santáls. The latter, who are more particular about food, or rather about whom they eat with, than is commonly supposed, will eat cooked rice with the Kurmis, and according to one tradition regard them as elder brothers of their own. However this may be, the totemism of the Kurmi of Western Bēngal stamps them as of Dravidian descent and clearly distinguishes them from the Kurmis of Behar and the North West Provinces. They show signs of a leaning towards orthodox Hinduism, and employ Brahmans for the worship of Hindu gods, but not in the propitiation

of their family and rural duties, or in their marriage ceremonies

One more instance of totemism deserves special notice here, as it shows the usage maintaining its ground among people of far higher social standing than any of the castes already mentioned. The Kumhars of Orissa take rank immediately below the Karan or writer caste, and thus have only two or three large castes above them. They are divided into two endogamous sub-castes—Jagannathi or Uria Kumhars, who work standing and make large earthen pots, and Khattya Kumhars who turn the wheel sitting and make small earthen pots, cups, toys, etc. The latter are immigrants from Upper India, whose number is comparatively insignificant. For matrimonial purposes the Jagannathi Kumhars are subdivided into the following exogamous sections —

JAGANNATHI KUMHAR

<i>Name of section</i>	<i>Totem</i>
Kaundinyá	Tiger
Sarpa	Snake
Neul	Weasel
Goru	Cow
Mudir	Frog
Bhadbhadriá	Sparrow
Kurmmá	Tortoise

The members of each section express their respect for the animal whose name the section bears, by refraining from killing or injuring it, and by bowing when they meet it. The entire caste also abstain from eating, and even go so far as to worship, the *sál* fish, because the rings on its scales resemble the wheel which is the symbol of the craft. The Khattya Kumhars have only one section (Kasyapa), and thus, like the Rajbanis of Runpore, are really endogamous in spite of themselves. The reason, no doubt,

is that there are too few of them in Orissa to fit up a proper exogamous system and they content themselves with the pretence of one. Both sub-castes appear to be conscious that the names of their sections are open to mis-conception, and explain that they are really the names of certain saints who being present at Daksha's horse sacrifice, transformed themselves into animals to escape the wrath of Siva, whom Daksha, like Pelus in the Greek myth, had neglected to invite.* It may well be that we owe the preservation of these interesting totemistic groups to the ingenuity of the person who devised this respectable means of accounting for a series of names so likely to compromise the reputation of the caste. In the case of the Khatiya Kumhars the fact that their single section bears the name of Kasyapa, while they venerate the tortoise (Kachhap) and tell an odd story by way of apology for the practice, may perhaps lend weight to the conjecture, in itself a fairly plausible one, that many of the lower castes in Bengal who are beginning to set up as pure Hindus have taken advantage of the resemblance in sound between *Kachhap* and *Kasyap* (*kh* and *s* both become *sh* in colloquial Bengali) to convert a totemistic title into an eponymous one, and have gone on to borrow such other Brahmanical *gotras* as seemed to them desirable. If for example, we analyse the matrimonial arrangements of the Bhars of Mairbhumi many of whom are the hereditary personal servants of the pseudo Rajput Raja of Pachete, we find the foregoing conjecture borne out by the fact that two out of the seven sections which they recognize are called after the peacock and the *bel* fruit, while the rest are eponymous. But this is an exceptionally clear case of survival and I fear it is hardly possible to simplify the diagnosis of non-Aryan castes by laying down a general rule that all castes with a section bearing the name Kasyapa, who have not demonstrably

borrowed that appellation from the Brahmins, are probably offshoots from some non Aryan tribe

Among all the castes noticed above the exogamous rule is one idea in its operation. In no case may a man marry into his own section but the name of the section goes by the male side, and consequently, so far as the rule of exogamy is concerned, there is nothing to prevent him from marrying his sister's daughter, his maternal aunt or even his maternal grandmother. To bar alliances of this kind a separate set of rules is required, which usually overlap the exogamous rule to some extent. Marriage with any person descended in a direct line from the same parents is universally forbidden. To simplify the calculation of collateral relationship—a complicated business which severely taxes the rural intellect—

the following formula is in use throughout

C l l t i
l b t d l

l char — 'Chacherā mamera phupherā
masera η char nata bachale shādi hota hai'

('The line of paternal uncle maternal uncle paternal aunt maternal aunt—these four relationships are to be avoided in marriage) The first point to notice in this is, that in the first generation the whole of the paternal uncle's descendants both male and female, would be excluded by the rule prohibiting marriage within the section. In the second and subsequent generations a nation would be barred but descendants through females would not. For the maternal uncle's daughters having necessarily married out of the section, their children would belong to some other section, and thus second cousins would be able to marry. Another point is that the formula does not state the number of generations to which the prohibition extends and that different castes supply this omission in different ways. Non Aryan races generally incline to laxity. The Santals for example, in the Santal Parganas, are said to make up for their sweeping prohibition on the father's side by allowing very near alliance on the mother's side—a fact pointedly exemplified in their proverb No man heed to own track or reminds his

mother's sept' Many castes, again, exclude a smaller number of generations on the female side, while others profess to prohibit intermarriage so long as any relationship, however remote, can be traced between the parties

In the foregoing paragraphs I have attempted to follow the totemistic system of exogamy upwards from the well defined non Aryan tribes of Western Bengal, through a series of castes formed from the detritus of the tribe, and now undergoing a process of gradual stratification and upheaval into the Hindu system, to the highly respectable Kumhars of priest ridden Orissa. A fresh starting point may now be taken at the top of Hindu society. Here we find the Brah-

Exogamy among
the Brahmans

mans, and the large body of castes which ape Brahmanical customs, divided into exogamous sections (*gotras*), the members of which profess to be descended from the mythical *rishi* or inspired saint whose name the *gotra* bears. So a man belonging to the Bharadwaj *gotra* may not marry a woman of the same *gotra*, as both are supposed to be descended from the *rishi* Bharadwaja. Exogamous sections of this kind may conveniently be styled *eponymous*. Within the main class of eponymous sections we may further distinguish two sub classes—one tracing its descent to a wholly mythical eponym, and the other deriving its name from a historic or semi historic personage who is believed to have been the chief or founder of the clan. Many, if not most, of the Rajput septs are of the latter type, and were the materials for the history of India more abundant than they are, there would probably be no great difficulty in identifying the eponyms. As it is, we can trace some of them in books like *Tod's Rájasthan* and in local traditions of various kinds. In any case, the theoretical distinction between the two sub classes is clear. I do not propose to discuss the Brahmanical marriage system at length. Its leading features are well known, and have been described in several standard text books on Hindu law. It deserves notice that in the eponymous as

in the totemistic type of section the exogamous rule is often, though not invariably one sided and that intermarriage with the mother's relatives is guarded against by what Sir Henry Maine calls "a most extensive table of prohibited degrees"

Strictly speaking, as the eponyms of the Brahmanical *gotras* were necessarily Brahmans themselves, the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas could have no *gotras* of their own. By a sort of authorised fiction, however, these castes were permitted to adopt the *gotras* of the family priests of their ancestors, and this practice has now spread by imitation to other castes in Bengal. Thus the physician and writer castes (Baidyas and Kayasths), the Naba Sakha or nine castes (actually now

thirteen) from whose hands a Brahman may take water and many castes ranking even lower than these in the social scale, have exogamous sections bearing the same name as the Brahmanical *gotras*, and based upon similar traditions. The wide diffusion of these names is doubtless due in great measure to the influence of the *Patit* (fallen) or Varna Brahmans, who act as family priests to the lower castes, and gradually raise their standard of ceremonial purity. How clumsily these reforms are introduced, and how little their theoretical object is understood by the reformers or their clients may be gathered from the fact that the Hajbansi, a very numerous Dravidian caste of Runpore and Kuch or Kochh Behar, the Kamars of Bengal and several other castes have only one eponymous section which includes the entire caste, and thus while professing to practise exogamy of the Brahmanical type, necessarily and habitually transgress the exogamous rule which forms the essence of the *gotra* system.

Among several other castes, the exogamous sections belong to a different type. Their names denote neither mythical eponyms, nor historic founders of clans, but appear to refer to the original habitation of the members

or of some leader under whom they branched off from their parent tribe. Instances of this, which may perhaps be called the *territorial* class of names, are the Sesodia and Bñadauria septs of the Rajputs of Upper India, the Banodhia and Ujjaini sections of the Rajputs of Behar, and perhaps the Agarwálá and Agrahri Baniyas. It is rarely, however, that the members of a section can give an intelligible account of the meaning of its name or can quote any tradition distinct enough to enable a particular place to be identified. All one can say is that a particular name is certainly not the name of a man, and is therefore probably the name of a place. Moreover, the names preserved

in these section titles are as often as not compressed and mangled renderings of the names of obscure or abandoned villages or of those colloquial rustic names of particular tracts of country which are shown on no map, and can only be picked up, mostly by accident, from the people themselves. Until some scholar who knows both books and people as Mr. Beames knows them finds time to reconstruct the tribal geography of India on the basis of an etymological and antiquarian analysis of these *territorial* names, we can hardly expect to get much beyond conjecture as to the manner in which the castes arose among whom such names are found. Among the higher castes territorial names for exogamous sections or septs are curiously mixed up with names preserving the memory of a chief who founded or led the sept within historic times, and with the mythical eponyms of the Brahman. This is the case with the Rajputs and Bñbhans of Behar, both of whom prohibit marriage within the section of *either* father or mother, and thus practise what might be called *bi lateral* exogamy. In connexion with this rule a curious case has recently come to my notice illustrating the way in which a tribal series of sections—territorial or eponymous—comes to be overlaid by the Brahmanical system of *gotras*. Bñbu Ajodhia Singh, of Hujipur in Tirhut, being himself a Sulank

Rajput married a wife from the Chandel section, and his son, Bábu Baijnáth Singh has married into the same section. At the time of the latter's betrothal a question was raised as to the correctness of the procedure, and the Brahmans held that as the son's betrothed, though of the same *tribal sept* as his mother, belonged to a different Puranic *gotra*, the rule of exogamy would not be infringed by the marriage. The formula of prohibited degrees previously quoted is also recognized by the Tirhut Rajputs, who in theory consider it binding down to seven generations on the father's and five on the mother's side.

It would seem, then, from the facts sketched above, that we may trace in Bengal at the present time three distinct classes of exogamous septs or sections—(1) Totemistic, (2) Eponymous, (3) Territorial. The number may be raised to four if we choose to distinguish the mythical eponym of the Brahmanical or Puranic *gotra* from the more or less historic eponym of the Rajput sept. All three classes are based upon a fiction far removed from fact, and have certain characteristics in common which mark them off from other exogamous groups which I have still to describe. In the first place, the circle of affinity which each section encloses is an absurdly wide one including persons between whom there exists no relationship whatever in the ordinary sense of the word, who live hundreds of miles apart, and have no personal acquaintance with each other. Secondly, the centre from which the circle is drawn—be it totem, eponym, or birth place—is lost in a period of remote antiquity and cannot be identified by any process of genealogical or historical research. You could as soon bring back the Mastodon as the Murmu, and the most ingenious Euhemerist would be baffled by figures such as Bharadwaja and Kasyapa. Thirdly, the vitality of these groups is remarkable, while their number is small in relation to the tribes and castes whose marriages they control. Three years ago I came

Classification of exogamous groups

across a small colony of seventeen families of Oraons in the east of Rungpore who regulate their marriages by the totemistic septs already described. These people had long ago settled down as *Bunas* or clearers of jungle, and had no intention of returning to Chota Nagpore. Their neighbours in their new home were non Aryan Mahomedans and Rájahansis, both of whom know nothing of exogamy and rarely marry beyond the narrow circle of their own village and its immediate vicinity. For all this the Oraons showed no signs of relaxing their strictness, and three families of Christians among them, while free from prejudice in the matter of food and drink, still observed the totemistic rules of intermarriage which govern the main body of the tribe on the distant plateau of Chota Nagpore. Fourthly, the distribution of the groups has nothing to do with locality. In none of the castes or tribes hitherto mentioned do we find the members of a particular section dwelling in a particular village or tract of country. On the contrary, representatives of the various sections are scattered about through all the villages where the tribe or caste is found.

There seem to be indications in the history of the Rajputs that in former times a Rajput sept occupied a distinct area of country from which its members emerged on predatory excursions to capture wives and lift cattle. In Rajputana,

Rajput exogamy however, this state of things has long passed away and with it has passed the opportunity of enquiring more closely into an organization which has been believed by several authorities to be the primitive unit of human society. The local sept dwelling together as a group of blood relations in its own territory has everywhere been so completely broken up and scattered that critics of Mr McLennan's theory of primitive society have questioned whether it ever existed, and Mr McLennan himself was driven to account for the dispersion of these groups and their diffusion among a number of local tribes by assuming the universal prevalence of female kinship.

A fortunate combination of circumstances has preserved for us in the Kandhs of the secluded tract known as the Kandhmals in Orissa, a singularly perfect specimen of a tribe divided into local septs, each inhabiting the area from which it derives its name. The Kandhs are divided into fifty *gochis* or exogamous septs, each of which traces its descent from a common ancestor, and takes its name from the *muta* or circle of villages in which its members live. A man may not marry a woman of his own *gochi* or *muta*—the two words denoting the same set of facts regarded from different points of view. Until comparatively recent times the Kandhs of the Kandhmals dwelled apart in that state of nature which Hobbes teaches us to regard as a state of war. Contiguous septs were always at war with each other, wives were

captured, female infants were slain and

the incidents of primitive society as sketched by Mr McLennan were in full force. The *gochi* or exogamous sept is regarded by the Kandhs themselves as one of their most ancient and treasured institutions. Its members claim to be descended from a common parent, but the names of these ancestors have not been preserved and the name of the *muta* or group of villages in which the members of the *gochi* actually reside takes the place of the eponym in use among the higher Aryan castes. Every *gochi* again is divided into a number of sub-septs or *klambus*, each of which is called after one of the villages included in the *muta* and the members of which profess to trace their descent from an ancestor of much more recent date than the progenitor of the *gochi*, who is supposed to have founded the village from which the *klambu* takes its name. The *gochi* name descends in the male line, and there are no indications of the tribe having at any time been acquainted with the practice of reckoning kinship through females. As a man may not marry in his own *gochi*, still less may he marry within the limits of the *klambu*. The latter however, is by no means a useless or ornamental appendage, nor,

on the other hand, does it take the place of the *gochu*, as is the case among many castes which have found their original exogamous groupings inconveniently large. It serves a distinct purpose, and seems to have been consciously adopted in comparatively recent times to supplement the defects of simple exogamy by providing against consanguineous marriages on the mother's side. Not only is a man forbidden to marry within his mother's *klambu* but this prohibition is observed always for four and often for five generations in the descending line. It may fairly be inferred from these facts that the Kandh tribe has been organized from the earliest times on the sole basis of male kinship, and has only recently begun to recognize the idea of relationship on the mother's side. A similar arrangement exists among the Santals, with whom the *khunt* or sub-sept serves the same purpose as the *klambu* among the Kandhs. The prohibition of intermarriage is not, however, observed for so many generations, nor are the septs and sub-septs localised as with the Kandhs.

Among the numerous castes whose marriage system is not regulated by the large sections already described, we find what may be called *family* and *local* sections of a much more fluid and variable type. Instances of the former are the *thar* of the Darjiling hills and the *kul*, *mul* or *parich* of Behar. All these terms express a circle of

Family group agnatic descent, but the ancestor from whom the members of the *kul* are supposed to be descended is much less remote in point of time than the mythic progenitor of the Brahmanical gotra, or the semi-historic eponym of the Rajput clan. They are, in fact, very much what a Hindu joint family or a South Slavonic House community would be if it cast off the bond of community of goods and dwelling, and were held together by no stronger link than the rule of exogamy. Thus the Sribástab sub-caste of the Káyasths of Patna is divided for marriage purposes into a number of *kuls* one of which—the Akhauri—can be traced to the village of Churámanpur in Shahabád, where the family, which has

now expanded into the *Akhauri Tul* is said to have been settled a few centuries ago. Similar groups exist under the name of *mul* among the Bais, a cultivating caste of North Bhagalpur, who claim to be the descendants of the Vaisyas of early Arvan tradition. These groups are small and very numerous in relation to the size of the caste. A panjiar or marriage register of the Bais, who claims to have in his possession registers recording the alliances of three hundred families for the last hundred years, informs me that in applying the rule of exogamy regard is had to the following considerations. First, a man may not marry a woman who belongs to the same *mul* as himself, his mother, or his paternal grandmother. Secondly, he may not marry a woman whose mother or maternal grandmother belonged to any of the *mul*s prohibited to him. For instance (*vide* table below), the question is whether Propositus may marry Proposita. The capital letters show the *mul*s. Propositus himself does not belong to any of the three *mul*s A B D, which are barred on the male side. But her maternal grandmother belonged to D *mul*, which is barred for Propositus; consequently the marriage cannot take place. If *mul* of Propositus's maternal grandfather is not taken into account

Paternal	Paternal	Maternal	Maternal
Grandfather	Grandmother	Grandfather	Grandmother
A		1	
Father	= Mother	Father	= Mother
A		1	
1	1	Propositus	1
	A		1

The local type of exogamous section, usually called *lok*, seems to be based on the assumption that all the members of a caste residing in the same village must be more or less related, and that therefore intermarriages between them should be prohibited. In some cases these prohibitions are

singularly cumbersome and intricate. The Bugwar Gola in Bhagalpur exclude seven *dih*s on each side that is to say, if the proposed bride's *dih* is found within seven degrees of the bridegroom, or *vice versa*, no marriage can take place between the parties. Still more curious are the prohibitions on intermarriage arising from *mith* friendship or fictitious brotherhood among the Murmi, Manu, Gurung, Imbu'Ichha and other hill races in Darjiling.* Two men contract friendship by a special ritual, at which a Brahman or when the parties are Buddhists, a Lama, officiate and reads *mantras* or mytic formulae while the two friends exchange rupees handkerchiefs or scarves, and bedaub each other between the eyebrows with the paste made of rice and curds which is used in the marriage ceremony. The effect of the union is that the friends are reckoned as brothers and not only is intermarriage between the two families prohibited for several generations but the members of each family may not marry with the *thar* or exogamous section to which the other belongs. Any breach of the rule is punished in British territory by exclusion from caste. In Nepal, I am informed, more severe punishments, such as death or slavery, are inflicted. It is difficult to test the accuracy of a statement of this kind but the fact that it was made to me in perfect good faith by a number of Murmis living in British territory is of itself enough to show how thoroughly the fictitious kinship arising from *mith* was identified by my informants with the real kinship which it imitates.

A fifth class of sept names is found among the Libetans and Limbus of the Darjiling hills and the Chakmas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. These names are neither the personal names of the supposed ancestors of the group, nor the names of the village where he lived or the territory which he conquered. They are a sort of nicknames havin

* Compare the Slavonic co-faternity noted by Dr Henry May p. 258 of *Early Law and Custom*.

reference to some personal adventure or individual peculiarity of the ancestor himself, which now serves as the designation of the group of kindred who trace their descent from him. Many of them are of unflattering and indelicate character. Thus among the Lambus we

find Ieehenche the dissolute one, Seeling the thief, Yungam, the idler, Inglamphe, the liar, Lekhom, the man with swollen testicles, Thobuky, the man with skin disease, and among the Chakma Ichapcha, the man who ate rotten shrimps, Inubhang, the fat man who broke the stool, Aruy, the skeleton, Kuyy, the lizard one, and so forth. It is important to observe that side by side with these singular names, concerning the origin of which members of the tribe will often tell long and elaborate stories, there are also found names of the totemistic type. Thus the Lambus have Khem, the pheasant, as the name of one of their groups, and explain that the ancestor who bore this name went out to shoot pheasants in a fir copse, but found none, or missed what he found, and vowed on his return home never to eat a pheasant again. A similar story is told of the Sangma or buffalo sept of the same tribe. Among the Chakmas the plantain tree and several rivers appear as sept names. In this class may also be included certain exogamous groups which bear the names of village or communal officials, such as Manjhi village headman, Naiya or Laya, village priest, Manki, head of a group of villages, and the like. These names are commonly

found in castes in a state of transition from animism to Hinduism, which have, as Mr. Andrew Lang expresses it, 'sloughed off the totem,' but have not yet adopted the full blown eponym characteristic of those castes which are organized on a Brahmanical model. The theory of course is that the original progenitor of the septs held the office of which the sept bears the name, but I have never succeeded in verifying this in a particular case, and I believe the names to have been for the most part adopted at random. In the

case of the nickname septa of the Limbus and Tibetans, there are grounds for believing that the account given of the origin of the names is in the main true

As distinguished from the larger exogamous groups, the sections known as *thar*, *mul*, *kul* or *dih* enclose a much narrower circle of relations, and, as has been remarked above, seem to be little more than somewhat expanded joint families, kept together solely for the purpose of controlling matrimonial relations, and having no common interests in respect of property. Most of them are comparatively modern, and their origin can in many cases be ascertained. To complete the contrast with the larger groups it should be added that the *thars* are much more numerous in relation to the strength of the caste, and that their number admits of being added to. The hill Brahmans, for instance by no means a very large caste, are said to have more than 1,400 *thurs*. Similar statistics could I believe, be procured for many of the lower castes, were it not for the extreme ignorance of the people themselves.

Summing up the facts sketched we find the following types of exogamous groups existing in Bengal —

I *Totemistic* Confined for the most part to tribes and castes of Dravidian descent

II *Eponymous* the eponym being either a Vedic saint (as with the Brahmans and the castes who imitate them) or a chief of comparatively modern date, as with the Rajputs and others

III *Territorial*, referring either to some very early settlement of a section or to the birthplace of its founder prevalent among the Rajputs and the trading castes supposed to be allied with them and found also among the Kanchs of Orissa in a very primitive form the sept there residing in the local area whose name it bears

IV *Local, communal, or family* sections of small size and comparatively recent origin

V *Titular*, or *nickname* groups referring to some personal adventure of the founder of the sept or to some office which he is supposed to have held

Besides these we also find castes which have no sections of any kind or, which comes to the same thing, have only one section and habitually marry within it and simply reckon up prohibited degrees in much the same way as we do ourselves. Castes of this type are more numerous in Bengal Proper, particularly in Eastern and Northern Bengal than in Behar, Orissa, and Chota Nagpore. For this there seem to be two reasons. On the one hand, the tendency to imitate Brahmanical institutions has been stronger in the former area, so that people have adopted one or two of the standard *gotras* and abandoned their original section names while on the other hand the influence of Islam in districts where a large proportion of the population has recently become Mahomedan, and social intercourse goes on freely between votaries of the rival creeds may be expected to lead to sept names dropping out of use even among non Mahomedan groups.

On the question of the origin of exogamy itself I may be allowed to make a few general remarks. The first point to notice in the custom of exogamy is that in some form or other it is practically universal it is observed *semper ubique et ab omnibus*. Any cause therefore that is adequately to account for it must be also of universal operation. This disposes of a theory derived from the Aryan advance into India which I put forward in the *Asiatic*

Quarterly Review for July 1886, and which was discussed in the Academy shortly afterwards by Mr Andrew Lang. Mr Lang's own view has since been briefly stated in a note to one of the early chapters of *Myth Ritual and Religion*. He there explains exogamy as being an application to marriage of the principle of taboo of the totem. A man may not use his totem for food and so forth, and he may not use (in the Greek sense of *ἡ ἰσθαὶ γυναικὶ*) a woman

The origin of exogamy

who bears the totém name. But granting that this is the form which the prohibition ultimately assumes, we may fairly ask how it got started. The analogy of the animal world, of which savages are keen observers, and which they regard as closely akin to themselves, so far from suggesting objections to the marriage of a Swan man with a Swan woman, would rather encourage such intercourse. From the animal point of view, the union of a swan with a mongoose, or of either with a snake, would appear to be unnatural and illicit. We must look therefore for some wider cause, and it seems worth while to consider whether the habit of exogamy may not have arisen at a stage of social development antecedent to and incapable of anything like, the conscious adaptation of means to ends

and quite apart from the action of any influence save that of natural selection.

We know that changes of habits often occur in certain individuals or in whole species and that useful variations or those which are beneficial to the organism or species under the conditions to which it is exposed tend to be preserved. Finally, the hereditary transmission of such variations leads, as Mr. Wallace expresses it in his recent work on Darwinism, 'to the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life.' Now let us take a community, such as the local sept or *gochi* of the Kandh tribe, in a very rudimentary stage of evolution, when the proceedings of individuals are determined, not by deliberate calculation, but by so called instinct—when, in other words they are comparatively simple reflex acts. Suppose that in such a community certain individuals as the result of the inherent tendency to vary present in all organisms, varied physiologically so as to find the women of other communities more attractive than their own. They would naturally tend to marry according to their instinctive attractions, and the community would thus come to consist of an aggregate composed of families derived from one stock and of families

derived from the crossing of two stocks. Next suppose— which we have certainly some good ground to do—that the individuals belonging to the crossed families were at an advantage in the struggle for existence as compared with those of the pure families. As a result of the survival of the fittest they would tend more and more to replace the latter, and would at the same time tend to become more and more exogamic in habits, simply as the result of the cumulative hereditary strengthening of the original instinct. It would further appear that the element of sexual selection might also be brought into play, as an exogamous family or group would have a larger range of selection than an endogamous one, and would thus get better women, who again, in the course of the primitive struggle for wives, would be appropriated by the strongest and most warlike men.

It will of course be objected to this hypothesis that interbreeding is not necessarily injurious. To this I would reply, first, that the question is one of degree. Savages would probably interbreed very closely and freely, and we are not in a position to argue, from the comparatively limited amount of interbreeding observed among

the tribes of civilized races in modern times, what might have been the practice of an earlier generation of mankind. We can say that a limited amount of interbreeding is not necessarily injurious, but our instances are only occasional, and their influence is continually being counteracted by the effect of recurring crosses. Secondly, it may be answered that the question is one of conditions. The amount of interbreeding that is innocuous, or apparently innocuous, in civilized life might have been fatal in savage life, where the struggle for existence is infinitely greater, and where talent and brain power generally do less to mitigate the effects of congenital weakness.

This attempt to bring the phenomena of exogamy within the operation of a known general law is I need hardly say, put forward with the utmost diffidence, and

I am entirely conscious of the difficulties which surround the subject. But it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that here and there some half accidental circumstance such as the transmission of a physical defect or an hereditary disease might have given primitive man a sort of warning, and thus have induced the particular kind of variation we want, or at any rate have stimulated the general tendency to variation of habit which we are justified in assuming. We are also, it would seem entitled to contrast the remarkable stability of the habit of exogamy with the known instability of non adaptive characters and to conclude from this that exogamy is to be regarded as an adaptive character. Lastly it may be claimed for this hypothesis that it excludes the element of deliberate calculation on the part of the members of the exogamous aggregate, thus escaping the criticism which has assailed those theories which impute to primitive man a power of foretelling remote possibilities out of all proportion to his known improvidence. So far from doing this, the theory now presented goes rather into the opposite extreme, and places primitive man on much the same level as orchids and many other plants having most elaborate exogamic arrangements which no one dreams of ascribing to calculation. If then an elaborate system of exogamy has been evolved in plants by the action of natural selection, there can be nothing to prevent its having arisen in the earliest stages of human society by the same means.

One more objection may be noticed. It will be said, with truth, that the earlier forms of exogamy are always unilateral, that is to say that the totem or class name goes either by the male side only or by the female side only, and that the system as known to savages makes no attempt to deal with both paternal and maternal relations. Here I would reply that though unilateral exogamy is not a complete escape from the objections to consanguineous unions, it represents at any rate a considerable advance on promiscuity which in very small communities would probably have

disastrous cumulative results. The idea that parentage can be reckoned on the side of both parents is one of comparatively late development. Even the Athenians of the time of Aeschylus seem to have been hazy—witness the famous trial in the *Eumenides*—on this point. But certainly an imperfect check on promiscuity must have been better than none.

Finally, the hypothesis set forth above would tend to clear up one of the vexed questions of ethnology—the question of female infanticide and its relation to the custom of exogamy. Mr J. J. McLennan saw that the two usages often existed side by side and in the theory of exogamy put forward in his essay on *Primitive Marriage*, he argued that female infanticide as practised by savages disturbed the balance of the sexes and drove men to capture their wives from other tribes—a practice which

Female infanticide
and exogamy

in a course of time resolved itself into the systematic observance of exogamy. This view was open to the obvious rejoinder that if all tribes killed their female infants at an equal rate, there would soon be no women to capture and the race would die out. Even without pressing this point, it was difficult to see why primitive man should prefer the dangerous and inconvenient process of capturing a wife from a hostile tribe to the simpler method of marrying a girl belonging to his own local community. Given however, an adequate cause inducing people to practise exogamy—a force as effective as the influence of natural selection would unquestionably be—and it is easy to understand that in certain states of society a tendency to female infanticide would be a natural consequence—not as McLennan supposed a *cause*—of the custom of exogamy. For if men were restrained by inexorable usage from marrying the girls born in the sept or local group of blood kindred which we may assume to be the unit of early society, the temptation to kill these *bouches inutiles* would probably be very strong. Not only would

girl be useless to the men of the tribe as wives, but the more of them there were, the more would the tribe be preyed upon by neighbours in quest of wives. As a matter of fact, this was very much the view that the Kandhs took of the question. In 1842 they told Major Macpherson in so many words that it was better to destroy girls in their infancy than to allow them to grow up and become causes of strife afterwards. I am indebted to Sir John Edgar for a parallel instance from the Naga tribe. It seems that on a tour through the Naga country Colonel McCulloch, Political Agent for Manipur, came across a village which struck him as singularly destitute of female children. On making inquiries he found that there was not a single girl in the place, for the simple reason that the people killed all that were born in order to save themselves from the annoyance of being harried by wife hunting parties from a stronger tribe. Colonel McCulloch got hold of the mothers and managed to induce them to promise to spare their girls in future on the understanding that their neighbours should stop raiding and adopt a more peaceable method of wooing. By a judicious mixture of threats and persuasion the other tribe was led to agree to the arrangement, and many years after while staying in Manipur Sir John Edgar was present when a troop of Naga girls from the weaker tribe paid a visit of ceremony to Colonel McCulloch, bearing presents of cloth of their own weaving in token of their gratitude to the man who had saved their lives.

Instances of this sort vouched for by competent observers, and drawn from tribes dwelling so far apart and belonging to such widely different stocks as the Dravidian Kandhs of Orissa and the Mongoloid Nagas of Assam, may be regarded as crucial in their bearing on the question of the relation of female infanticide to the custom of exogamy. They seem to show that the practice of killing female infants is a consequence, not a cause—and assuredly not *the* cause—of the rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own tribe.

This consequence, moreover, ensues only so long as society is in a savage state, and tends to die out as it has died out among both Kandhs and Nagas, directly a *regime* of violence is succeeded by a *regime* of law. As soon as this change has been effected, the value of women tends to rise. They become a saleable commodity, which neighbouring tribes

will buy with a price, and the inducement to kill them in infancy ceases to exist. In other words, savage infanticide is an incident of the primitive struggle for bare existence which disappears when the severity of the struggle is alleviated by peace. There is, however, another form of infanticide which arises from wholly different causes and requires to be carefully distinguished from the savage type. Given a tribe like the Rajputs of Northern India, divided into a number of exogamous septs, and strongly impressed with the ideas of purity of blood and the importance of correct ceremonial observances, it follows of necessity that in course of time some septs will drop behind the others and will come to be regarded as socially inferior to the rest. Members of such septs will find difficulty in marrying their daughters, and will be obliged to buy husbands for them. This custom will spread, and the bridegroom price will tend to rise until it presses severely on the means of families unfortunate enough to have several daughters to marry. Family pride and the necessity of avoiding scandals render it impossible to let girls grow up with the prospect of remaining old maids, convents and sisterhoods are unknown and the only way out of the difficulty, as it presents itself to the Rajput father, is to permit no more girls to arrive at maturity than can certainly be provided with husbands. The ultimate result no doubt is much the same as is witnessed among savage people like Nagas and Kandhs, but it is arrived at in a different way and springs from a different principle. It may be added that this refined form of infanticide is far more difficult to suppress than the savage form. The one

dies out of itself as the forcible capture of wives falls into disuse, and life generally becomes easier the other tends to spread with the growth of family pride and personal luxury, and may even offer substantial resistance to attempts made to stamp it out by penal legislation

In the closing paragraphs of his work on *totemism*, Mr J G Frazer observes — 'No satisfactory explanation of the origin of totemism has yet been given Mr Herbert Spencer finds the origin of totemism in a misinterpretation of nicknames Savages first named themselves after natural objects, and then, confusing these objects with their ancestors of the same names, revered them as they already revered their ancestors' The objection to this view is that it attributes to verbal misunderstandings far more influence than, in spite of the so called comparative mythology, they ever seem to have exercised Sir John Lubbock also

thinks that totemism arose from the habit of naming persons and families after animals, but in dropping the intermediate links of ancestor worship and verbal misunderstanding, he has stripped the theory of all that lent it even an air of plausibility' In the face of this finding by so high an authority it would be almost presumptuous for me to approach the subject at all, were it not that the novel facts elicited by the Penzance inquiry seem to throw some fresh light upon the question In all the discussions that have hitherto taken place it has been assumed that the totem is a thing *sui generis* an isolated survival which stands by itself and cannot be compared with similar institutions for the sufficient reason that no similar institutions exist This is not the view which an examination of the Indian evidence seems to suggest The totem comes before us in India as only one class out of a number of different classes or types of sept names all of which serve the same purpose, that of providing the machinery

for giving effect to the rule of exogamy. None of the denominations are now used as personal names and but for the fact of their discharging special functions in respect of marriage they would doubtless have fallen long ago into disuse. All of them are in fact survivals which do for the people who use them precisely what is done for ourselves by the table of prohibited degrees at the end of the Book of Common Prayer. Now among these various classes of sept names we find the Tibetans and Limbus of the Eastern Himalayas and the people of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong using names which profess to be, and in fact are, nothing more nor less than nicknames of the original ancestors of septs. Other castes use names which are the names of certain village or communal offices which the ancestor of the sept is supposed to have held. Others, again, use names of villages, groups of villages, or tracts of country which are similarly explained to be the names of settlements founded by the common progenitor. What can be simpler than to apply the same principle to the animal names which are also used to regulate exogamy, and to assume that these also are the names of founders of septs? This, in fact, is the explanation which the Limbus do give of the names of this type which are used by them along with the unmistakable nicknames instanced above. I can see no reason for doubting its correctness, and I think we are justified in defining the totem as we find it in India as an ancient nickname, usually derived from some animal, of the supposed founder of an exogamous sept, now stripped of its personal associations and remembered solely in virtue of the part which it plays in giving effect to the rule of exogamy. To any one who deems it incredible that men should be called after animals, I would reply that if savages are capable of believing, as we know they are that men can transform themselves into animals at will, or can be so transformed by the agency of witchcraft, nothing would seem to them more natural and reasonable than to call a man by the name of

an animal to which he bears some ancient resemblance. If the man so named were the head of a sept, the name would be perpetuated by its use in connexion with the rule of exogamy long after the man who originally bore it had been forgotten, and in a large tribe where new septs are continually being formed the practice of naming them after animals would be kept alive by fiction and the force of habit after the fashion of giving such names to individuals has died out. Moreover, when sept names came to be adopted without reference to any particular individual, but merely as symbols marking off a particular group for the purpose of the rule of exogamy, any sort of distinctive designation would do as well as the name of an animal. This would account for the number of queer totems found among the Mundas, with regard to some of which it is difficult to see how, from any point of view they can ever have been looked upon as appropriate personal names.

This hypothesis, it seems to me explains in a simple and intelligible fashion all that needs explanation in the phenomena of totemism. It puts the totem on the same footing as the nicknames we find among the Mongoloid race, the eponyms of the Brahmanical system, and the territorial and local sept names of the Papuans and Kindhs, and it accounts for all of these on the well known principle of survival. Upon the religious aspects of totemism I do not propose to enter here. They are not very prominent in India, and the data requisite for full treatment of the subject are not yet available. But if the view put forward above is accepted, it would clearly account for the reverence with which the totem is regarded, and would explain why on occasion it receives divine honours. A man who is looked upon as a tiger during life clearly stands a fair chance of being worshipped as a tiger after he is dead. Some tribes, indeed, regard the sacrifices offered to ancestors as a sort of blackmail paid to the spirits of the dead for fear lest, if left unappeased they should enter into the bodies of wild

best and in that form make themselves unpleasant to the living.

Reference has been made above to the influence of fiction in bringing about within the limits of the caste system the formation of endogamous aggregates, each of which is regarded by its members as in some sense a collection of relatives, although in fact no relation

ship may be traceable. Such groups are extremely numerous, and fresh ones are continually being formed so that it seems worth while to attempt to classify them with reference to the principles upon which they are based. The following are the main classes which may be distinguished —

I *Ethnic* groups composed of the higher grades of Aryans or of non-Aryan tribes, like the Rajpoots Kutch, who have adopted Hinduism and transformed themselves into a caste. In the case of the latter the assumption of a common origin is borne out by what is known of the history and affinities of the tribe, but after having become a caste its members set to work to strip themselves of all customs likely to betray their true descent. At the same time the substantial landholders if there are any among the tribe usually break off from the rest and convert themselves into Rajputs.

II *Linguistic* or *Provincial* groups, such as Bengali, Oriya, and Pathuri or Telugu Brahmans Kayasths Kumbhars, etc. These classes are very large, and include whole castes, which in their turn are broken up into endogamous sub-castes. These groups arise partly from the fiction which assumes that men who live in a different part of the country and speak a different language must be of a different race and probably also in some measure to the inclusion of different stocks under a single caste name.

III *Territorial* or *local* groups, not corresponding to any distinction of language, such as the Barhi and Barondra Brahmans, the Uttariya and Dalshini (north and south of the Ganges) Domis of Behar, Tamaria and Sikharbhumi Bhumij

of Mámbhum, and numerous others. It is curious to observe that in some cases these groups are called after ancient territorial divisions, such as Rárh, Barendra, Sikhaibhum etc., which appear on no map and the names of which may possibly throw some light upon the early history of Bengal.

IV *Functional or occupational* groups, such as the Mech and Helo sub castes of Kaibarttas of whom the former sell fish while the latter confine themselves to cultivation the Dulia, M'ichhua and Mutial sub castes of Bagdi who are distinguished by carrying palanquins, fishing, and labouring as tank diggers and earth workers generally.

V *Sectarian* groups like the Kherwár or Safáhor revivalists among the Santáls, and the Vaishnava divisions of some of the Orissa castes. It is doubtful, however whether any groups based upon religious differences within the range of Hinduism are really endogamous.

VI *Social* groups marked off by abstaining from or practising some particular social or ceremonial usage. Thus the Sagáhut sub caste of Sunnis (traders and liquor sellers) of Behar allow their widows to remarry by the maimed rite of *sagai*, while another sub caste of Sunnis forbid widow marriage, and designate themselves Biyahut "the married ones," from *biyah*, the full blown wedding ceremony which no woman can go through twice.

Illustrations of these groupings might be multiplied almost indefinitely, and it might be shown how the fact of such separations having taken place has given rise to a variety of curious legends and traditions which seek to furnish a mythological explanation of existing facts. Thus in the district of Bankura, where the original structure of the caste seems to have been singularly well preserved we find the Bagdis divided into the following endogamous sub castes — (1) Tentulia, called after the tamarind tree (2) Kasaikulia,

Endogamous group
ings of the Bagdi caste

named from the Kasai river. These two groups work as masons, and also prepare the lime which is mixed with the betel

leaves and areca nut chewed by all classes of natives of India. (3) *Duhá* Bágdis carry palanquins or *dulis*, and in common with the other sub castes earn their livelihood by fishing, making gunny bags, weaving cotton, and preparing the red powder (*abur*) used in the Holi festival. The Bágdi fisherman uses the ordinary circular cast net but swings the net round his head before casting it, a practice which is supposed by the regular fishing castes of Bengal—Tiyar, Mál and Kaibartta—to be peculiarly dishonourable. Of the other sub castes—there are fourteen in all—the Máchhuá derive their name from fishing, the Matrál from earth working, the Kusmetea are called after the *Kusa* grass, the Ojha are or are supposed to have been, the priests of the tribe. Among the Bágdis of Orissa the grotesque tale is told how, once upon a time, the gods being assembled in council a goddess suddenly gave birth to three sons and feeling embarrassed by the situation, hid the first under a heap of tamarind (*tentul*) pods, the second in an iron pan, and the third under a hermit's staff. From these vicissitudes of their infancy the children got the names—Tentulia, Gulí mánjhi and Danda mánjhi—which the sub castes descended from them still bear. To us this apparently foolish story is of interest as marking the transition from the tribe to the caste. It can only have arisen when the Bágdis had in some measure cast in their lot with Hinduism, and had begun to feel the want of a mythical pedigree of the orthodox type. The mention of the tamarind pods in particular furnishes an excellent example of a myth devised for the purpose of giving a respectable explanation of the totemistic name Tentulia.

But of all the factors which have contributed to shape the internal structure of tribes and castes in Bengal, none has exercised so searching an effect as the custom prohibiting

the second marriage of widows and the parallel usage enjoining the marriage of a daughter before she attains physical maturity. Both customs appear to have been developed in

Widow and infant marriage.

the form which they now assume at a comparatively recent date under the pressure of peculiar social conditions Both, again, are looked upon by the people who observe them as badges of social distinction, and to the fact that they are regarded in this light is mainly due their rapid extension within the last two or three generations No excuse therefore is needed for examining their prevalence and its causes in some detail

For the ultimate origin of the prohibition of widow marriage among the higher castes we must look back, far beyond the comparative civilization of the Vedas, to the really primitive belief that the dead chief or head of the family will need human companionship and service in that other world which savage fancy pictures as a shadowy copy of this To this belief is due the practice of burning the widow on the funeral pile of her dead husband, which is referred to as an "ancient custom" (*dharma purana*) in the "Atharva Veda"* The directions given in the Rig Veda for placing the widow on the pile with her husband's corpse,

and then calling her back to the world of life, appear, as Tylor† has pointed out, to represent "a reform and a reaction against a yet more ancient savage rite of widow sacrifice which they prohibited in fact, but yet kept up in symbol" The bow of the warrior and the sacrificial instruments of the priests were thrown back upon the pile to be consumed the wife, after passing through the mere form of sacrifice was held to have fulfilled her duties to her husband and was free to marry again A passage in the Rig Veda quoted by Zimmer‡ shows that in some cases, at any rate, the widow married her husband's younger brother (*devar*), and it is not unreasonable to suppose that her obligations in this respect were very much what we now find among the castes which permit widow marriage

* Atharva Veda 18 3 1 quoted by Zimmer *Altindisch s L b n* p 331

† *Primitive Culture* 1 466

‡ *Altindisches Leben* p 329

At this point the historical record, such as it is breaks off, and conjecture alone can divine the precise motives which induced the Brahmans of a later age to revive that custom of primitive savagery which their ancestors had expressly condemned

Causes of its revival

Closer contact with more barbarous races, the growth of the sacrificial spirit the desire, as Sir Henry Maine has suggested, to get rid of the inconvenient lien which the widow held over her husband's property may all have contributed to this result. But when widow sacrifice had been thus reintroduced, it is *prima facie* unlikely that it should have been enforced with that rigid consistency which distinguishes the true savage and in fact, the texts prescribe for the widow the milder alternative of a life of ascetic self denial and patient waiting to join the husband who has gone before. According to some authorities, they also recognize, though as a less excellent path than the two former, the alternative of remarriage.

I will not attempt to enter upon the controversy as to the precise meaning of the passage in Parasara's Institutes, on which the modern advocates of widow marriage rely, still less to discuss its applicability to the present age of the world. It seems more profitable to state the causes which, irrespective of isolated texts, would in any case have favoured the growth of the modern custom which forbids the widows of the highest castes to marry again, and which shows signs of extending itself far beyond its present limits, and finally of suppressing widow marriage throughout the entire Hindu community of Bengal. Some at any rate, of these causes

Considerations of property of priestly caste of sacramental doctrine

are not far to seek. In the first place, the anxiety of the early Hindu law givers to circumscribe a woman's rights to property would unquestionably tend to forbid her to join her lot to a man whose interest it would be to assert and extend those rights as against the members of her husband's family. At the same time the growth of the

doctrine of spiritual benefit would require her to devote her life to the annual performance of her husband's* *srāddh*. Technical obstacles to her remarriage also arise from the Brahmanical theory of marriage itself. That ceremony being regarded as a sacrament ordained for the purification of women, and its essential portion being the gift of the woman by her father to her husband the effect of the gift is to transfer her from her own *gotra* or exogamous group into that of her husband's. The bearing of this transfer on the question of her remarriage is thus stated by an orthodox Hindoo at pp 276 77 of the *Papers relating to Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood* published by the Government of India —

Her father being thus out of the question it may be said that she may give herself in marriage. But thus she cannot do because she never had anything like disposal of herself. When young she was given away so the ownership over her (if I may be permitted to use the phrase) vested then in the father was transferred by a solemn religious act to the husband and he being no more there is no one to give her away and since Hindu marriage must take the form of a religious gift her marriage becomes impossible.

A powerful influence must also have been exerted by a cause which, so far as I am aware has not hitherto been noticed in this connection. This is the custom which Mr Ibbetson† has called "*hypergamy*, or the law of superior marriage"—the rule which compels a man to wed his daughter with a member of a group which shall be equal or superior in rank to his own, while he himself may take his wife, or at any rate his second wife, from a group of inferior standing. The Kulinism of Bengal is perhaps the best known illustration of this law but instances of its

* *T. Gore Law Lectu* 1879 pp 187 188

† *Panjab Census R p t p* 356. M. Ibbetson adds in a note — I am indebted to Mr Coldstream for these two words [*hypergamy* and *isogamy*]. *Hypergamy* indeed would appear rather to mean too much marriage than marriage in a higher rank but the highest classical authority in India prefers it to *anoterogamy* the only alternative which suggested itself.

working are found all over India, and it clearly may have arisen wherever great pride of blood co-existed with a mode

of life demanding the continual maintenance of a high standard of ceremonial purity. In a society so organized it must needs be that offences come, and that they affect the matrimonial status of the family by whom they come. The tribe or caste would then be broken up like the Jews in modern Germany into divisions of varying social position and purity of lineage, and intermarriage between these would in India be regulated by the law stated above which appears to owe its form to the passages in the early texts which admit of the marriage of a man of a higher caste to a woman of a lower caste, but condemn the converse practice in the strongest terms. The first consequence of this restriction would be a surplus of marriageable women in the superior groups, for the men of a given superior group might and presumably in some instances would marry women of an inferior group, while men of this group would be barred for the women of the superior group. Competition for husbands would follow the bride price of early usage would disappear, and would be replaced by the *bridegroom price* now paid among most of the higher castes in India and in extreme cases female infanticide would be resorted to. Widows certainly would be the first to be excluded from the marriage market for in their case the interests of the individual families would be identical with those of the group. The family would already have paid a bridegroom price to get their daughter or sister married, and would naturally be indisposed to pay a second, and probably higher, price to get her married again. The group in its turn, would be equally adverse to an arrangement which tended to increase the number of marriageable women. Members of the higher castes, indeed, have frequently told me that these reasons of themselves were sufficient to make them regard with disfavour the

modern movement in favour of widow marriage For, they said, we find it hard enough already to get our daughters married into families of our own rank, and things will be worse still if widows enter the competition with all the advantages they derive from having got over their first shyness, and acquired some experience of the ways of men The sentiments of Mr Weller sounded strange in the mouth of a Kulin Brahman, but the argument was used in entire good faith, and was backed up by much lamentation over the speaker's ill luck in being the father of four daughters, all unmarried

The considerations stated above are entitled to what ever support they may derive from the fact that the castes which permit widows to remarry know nothing of the custom of hypergamy and as a rule pay for brides, not for bridegrooms Among these groups the normal proportion of the sexes, whatever that may be at the age of marriage has not been affected by any artificial divisions, and there is every reason to believe that widows who are in other respects eligible have no particular difficulty in finding husbands Polygamy prevails on a limited scale and a large proportion of the men have two wives, the second wife being often a young widow chosen by the man himself for her personal attractions after the first wife, whom his parents selected for him has lost her looks and become little more than a household drudge Another point is that the lower castes seem to have a greater capacity than the higher for throwing off sub castes Deviations from caste usage, trivial changes of occupation, settlement outside the traditional habitat of the caste, and a variety of similar causes which in the higher castes would, as a rule, merely affect the standing of certain families in the scale of hypergamy, tend in the lower castes to form endogamous groups, the members of which intermarry only among themselves The difference is important, as the latter process does not disturb the balance of the sexes, and the former does.

Let me now state as concisely as possible the actual practice which rules in respect of widow marriage in the four great Provinces—Behar, Bengal Proper, Orissa and Chota Nagpore—which make up the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal. In Behar a fairly liberal tendency seems to prevail. All castes except Brahmans, Rajputs, Babhans, Káyasths, and certain castes belonging to the Baníyá class, which are not properly native to Behar, permit widows to marry again by the form known as *sagai*. The etymology of the word *sagai* is obscure. It has been supposed to be a corruption of *sa gotra* or *sva gotra* the idea being that as a woman passes by marriage into

Widow marriage in Behar

her husband's *gotra* or exogamous group, if she marries again *within that gotra* (as she usually does), she constitutes an exception to the ordinary rule of exogamy. The Bengal term (*sanga* or *senga*) does not, however, bear out this view and it seems probable that the word simply denotes cohabitation (*sanga*) and has reference to the fact that a widow marriage is established by the parties living together, and is accompanied by a very meagre ceremony, or none at all. The *phera* or pacing round the sacred fire is never practised on such occasions: the husband merely smears some vermilion on the woman's forehead and takes her to live with him.

Widow marriages in Behar are usually brought about by the relatives of the widow. In some cases she may herself take the initiative, "but," as one of my Behar correspondents writes to me, "public opinion is against love marriages." The *sardár* or head of the caste council (*panchayat*) has also to be consulted, but this is mostly a matter of form, as he rarely withholds his consent. Although

Its limits

by marriage every woman is supposed to pass into her husband's *gotra*, no regard is paid to that *gotra* in arranging for the remarriage of a widow. Whether her husband's death is supposed to dissolve the *gotra* or not is a point I am unable to

clear up. Certain it is that the persons whom she may not marry as a widow are the persons who would have been barred for her as a maiden. She may marry her late husband's younger brother, or younger cousin, and in some castes she is under a sort of obligation to do so. Marriage, however, with her late husband's elder brother or elder cousin, or with any of his direct or collateral ascendants, is strictly prohibited. To this extent her table of prohibited degrees is enlarged.

The ceremony varies in certain respects according as the bridegroom is himself a widower or a bachelor. If he is a widower, he goes at nightfall to the bride's house in his ordinary dress with a few of his friends. There they are feasted during the night. Towards daybreak the bridegroom, dressed in a new suit of clothes presented by the bride's relations, meets the bride, who wears a

new cloth (*sari*) given her by the bridegroom, in one of the inner rooms of the house. There in the presence of her female relations he smears powdered vermilion (*sindur*) on her forehead and the parting of her hair. This completes the ceremony. Some castes add to it the form of throwing a sheet (*chadar*) over both parties, and under this sheet the smearing of vermilion is gone through. Brahmans take no part in the ritual, nor are any calculations entered into to find out an auspicious day. Early next morning the married couple go home to the husband's house without the final ceremony (*rukhsati*) which is used in bringing home a virgin bride. Even in the case of a virgin widow no *rukhsati* is performed, but as a child widow is never married again until she has attained puberty, there is no necessity for a ceremony designed to celebrate that event.

When a bachelor marries a widow, the ritual is more elaborate. Astrologers are called in to fix a lucky day, a bridal canopy (*marwa*) is erected in the bridegroom's house, and his ancestors are solemnly propitiated by Brahmans. In

none of these ceremonies, however does the bride take part nor does she approach the *marwa*. She is brought to the house by night, and towards daybreak is conducted to an inner room, where the bridegroom puts vermilion on her forehead in the presence of the females of the family.

Such marriages are not considered disreputable. The *saga* bride has all the rights and position of a wife married by the full blown Brahmanical ceremony. Her children by her second husband inherit equally with any children whom he may have had by a former virgin bride, they offer sacrifices to their father and his ancestors, they are received as members of his *gotha* and they marry among the women of the caste. In these respects their position differs materially from that of the

widow's children by her late husband, who properly belong to his family and are usually taken care of by his relations. Should they decline the charge the children follow the widow, but they are not deemed members of the family into which she has married, and they are not allowed to join in the domestic worship or to share in the inheritance.

So far, it may be said, the question of widow marriage in Behar seems to rest upon a reasonable footing. Symptoms of a tendency in the opposite direction are, however, not wanting. The Kurmis are a case in point. Some months ago I had a large body of them before me, and was asking "what sort of Kurmis" they were. One group answered promptly, "We are Ayodhya Kurmis, we do not allow widows to marry again." Another group of Jeswar Kurmis, admitted with considerable reluctance that their widows did remarry. In fact, the tone in which both sets spoke on the subject made it clear that the Ayodhya had adopted this restriction in comparatively recent times, and were very proud

Tendency towards
prohibition of widow
marriage in Behar

of the distinction. The Jeswars, on the other hand, were rather ashamed of themselves and were particularly anxious to explain that they did not allow the widow to marry any

one she chose, but expected her to marry her deceased husband's younger brother. If she married an outsider, she forfeited all claim not only to her husband's property, but also to the custody of her children. It is possible that remarriage restricted by these conditions may represent an advance from the promiscuous remarriage practised by the lower castes towards the total prohibition in vogue among the higher castes. It should be mentioned that the Kurmis of Behar are a perfectly distinct race from the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpore and parts of Orissa, whose totemistic usages have been referred to above. Both Jeswa and Ayodhya Kurmis approach closely to the Aryan type of feature, and some of them are very fine looking men.

Other Behar castes in a state of transition as regards widow marriage are the Sonar, Sunris, Koiris, and Telis. Among the Sonar, the Bhojpuria and Kanaujia allow widows to remarry, while the Kamarkalla, Maith and Ayodhiabasi do not. All five sub castes are endogamous, and are subdivided into smaller exogamous sections, called *muls*. In Durbhanga, the Biyahut Sunris prohibit widow marriage, the Sagahut and Darchua allow it. In Gya, the Koiris belong for the most part to three sub castes—the Barkidangi, Chutkidangi, and Jaruhár, of whom the last mentioned practise widow remarriage, the former do not. So also the Telis of Saran have five sub castes, four permitting widow remarriage, and one the Behuta (corruption of Biyahuta, “the married ones”) forbidding it.

In Chota Nagpore the castes which are, or pretend to be, of Behar origin follow the Behar rules in the matter of widow marriage. The aboriginal tribes—Santals, Bhumij, Mundas, Oraons, and Hos—permit widows to marry again without imposing any restrictions on their selection of a second husband, except that the prohibited degrees must be avoided. They also sanction considerable liberty of divorce at the instance of either husband or wife and permit divorced wives to marry again. A step higher in the social

cale, the transition to orthodox habits is well marked by the Koiris of Mámbhum. These people, while retaining exogamous groups which stamp them as of aboriginal descent, forbid at least in theory, the remarriage of widows though they allow them to live in a sort of licensed concubinage not preceded by any kind of ceremony. In this concession is unknown to the Lohars and Dhobis, who though occupying a very low social position in relation to the higher castes have completely thrown off a practice which they regard as a badge of social degradation. They absolutely prohibit the remarriage of widows and divorced wives.

The tendency to imitate the usages of the higher castes, which has been remarked in Behar and Chota Nagpore, operates much more strongly in Bengal Proper and Orissa.

In Orissa for instance, the Goalás take a higher position than in Behar and In Bengal Proper and O rigorously prohibit widow remarriage.

Throughout Bengal the Kaibarttas though ranking below the Nabasakh or group of thirteen (formerly nine) castes from whose hands an orthodox Brahman can take water, marry their daughters as infants and forbid their widows to remarry. In Dacca the gunny weaving and mat making Kapalis, and the Chandals spoken of in Manu as 'the vilest of mankind,' have given up widow remarriage and the practice appears to be confined to the Gareri Rishi Koch Mandai, and other aboriginal and semi-aboriginal castes. Similar evidence of the gradual spread of practices prevalent among the higher castes comes to us from Northern Bengal. The Rajbansis of Hungpore people of distinctly non-Aryan type, who have abandoned their tribal name of Koch in quite recent times, now pose as high caste Hindus and affect great indignation if asked whether their widows can remarry. The Paliyas of Dinagpore, also demonstrably Koch fall into two sections—Kajbansis, Paliyas and Bhabhans, or

'common' Paliyas The latter practise widow marriage but are beginning to be ashamed of it and in this and other matters show signs of a leaning towards orthodox usage The former are as strict as the extreme ignorance of the 'fallen Brahmins who act as their family priests admits, and as education spreads among them, they will go on continually raising their standard of ceremonial purity

The present attitude of the Hindu community towards the recent proposals to recognize and extend the practice of widow marriage may, I think, be briefly stated somewhat to the following effect —The most advanced class of educated men sympathise in a general way with the movement, but their sympathy is clouded by the apprehension that any considerable addition to the number of marriageable women would add to the existing difficulty and expense of getting their daughters married Below these we find a very numerous class of men who are educated enough to appreciate

Feeling of the people as to extension of widow marriage

the prohibition of widow marriage supposed to be contained in certain texts, and who have no desire to go behind that or any similar injunction in support of which tolerably ancient authority can be quoted Then come the great mass of the uneducated working classes, with rather vague notions as to the Shastrar, but strong in their reverence for Brahmins and keen to appreciate points of social precedence To them widow marriage is a badge of social degradation, a link which connects those who practise it with Doms, Boonas, Bagdis and low people' of various kinds Lastly at the bottom of society, as understood by the average Hindu, we find a large group of castes and tribes of which the lower section is represented by pure aborigines practising adult marriage and widow remarriage, while the upper section consists of castes of doubtful origin, most of whom, retaining widow marriage, have taken to infant marriage, while some have got so far as to throw off

sub castes distinguished by their ab~~st~~ention from widow marriage

It is not suggested hat the groups indicated above can be marked off with absolute accuracy But without insisting upon this, it is clear that the tendency of the lower strata of Hindu society is continually towards closer and closer cōnformity with the usages of the higher castes These alone present a definite pattern which admits, up to a certain point, of ready imitation, and the whole Brahmanical system works in this direction Of late years, moreover, the strength of the Hinduisi~~ng~~ movement has been greatly augmented by the improvement of communications People travel more, pilgrimages can be more easily made, and the influence of the orthodox section of society is thus much more widely diffused The case of the Rajbansis—the fourth largest caste in Bengal—is an excellent illustration of the scale on which this force does its work

The practice of infant marriage has spread much further and taken root more deeply among the lower castes than its social complement the prohibition of widow marriage Both customs, the po~~si~~tive as well as the negative, have been borrowed from the higher castes, and are now regarded as paths leading towards social distinction But the one is much easier to follow than the other A man must get his daughter married at latest when she is fourteen or fifteen years old To marry her five or six years earlier causes him no particular inconvenience, and confers on him whatever consideration may attach to religious orthodoxy and social propriety On the other hand, to stop the remariage of widows, in castes where the balance of the sexes has not been disturbed by hypergamy, must at starting cause some practical inconvenience Among the lower castes women are much more of a power than they are

Prevalence of infant marriage among the higher, they assert themselves freely on a variety of public occasions, and in many cases they have secured for themselves the

right to initiate proceedings for divorce. One can hardly doubt that their influence would be exercised in favour of widow marriage, and that it would tend on the whole towards keeping that institution alive. Some allowance must also be made for the fact that the lower castes do not keep their women in seclusion. A good looking widow shut up in the family zenana can be more easily sacrificed to notions of social propriety than a woman who goes out and meets possible suitors every day of her life. To whatever cause the difference may be due, it is certain that of two customs, both adopted under pressure of the same motives, the one—infant marriage—is almost universal, while the other—the prohibition of widow marriage—has only the comparatively limited currency already explained. Infant marriage in fact is now so widely diffused as to have almost entirely displaced adult marriage within the limits of the caste system proper. The aboriginal races of Chota Nagpore and the Orissa hills, the semi-Mongolian tribes of the Himalayan region and the Indo-Chinese people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts still maintain a system of courtship and marriage between full grown youths and maidens which has been minutely described by several sympathetic observers. Directly we leave these tolerably compact tribes and pass on to the less definite groups which form a debateable land between the tribe and the caste, we find either infant marriage in undisputed possession, or a mixed system which tolerates adult marriage as a resource open to those who cannot afford to do anything better for their children, but at the same time enjoins the more respectable custom of infant marriage for all parents whose circumstances admit of it.

In the case of the lower castes there is little room for doubt but that the custom of infant marriage has been consciously borrowed from the higher castes in obedience to that tendency to imitation which we may almost describe as an ultimate law of the caste system. But how did the higher castes come by a custom which is

without a parallel (at any rate on so large a scale) elsewhere in the world, and which cannot be referred to any of those primitive instincts which have usually determined the relations of the sexes? Neither sexual passion nor the desire for companionship and service can be called in to

account for a man marrying a girl at an age when she is physically incapable of fulfilling any of the duties of a wife

Primitive man knows nothing of infant marriage, nor is it easy to conceive how such an institution could have arisen in the struggle for existence out of which society has been evolved. The modern savage woos in a summary and not over delicate fashion a sturdy young woman who can cook his food, carry his baggage, collect edible grubs, and make herself generally useful. To his untutored mind the Hindu child bride would seem about as suitable a helpmate as an American professional beauty. If, then, infant marriage is in no way a normal product of social evolution, and in fact is met with only in India, to what causes shall we look for its origin? The standard Brahmanical explanation is palpably inadequate. It represents marriage as a sort of sacrament, of which every maiden must partake in order that she may cleanse her own being from the taint of original sin, that she may accomplish the salvation of her father and his ancestors, and that she may bring forth a son to carry on the domestic worship (*sacra privata*) of her husband's family. So far as marriage itself goes, all this is intelligible enough as a highly specialised development of certain well known ancient ideas. But it does not touch the question of age. Granted that the begetting of a son is essential for the continuance of the *sacra privata* as Greek and Roman examples teach us, why should the householder, on whom this solemn duty devolves, go out of his way to defer its fulfilment by marrying a girl who has not yet attained the age of child bearing? The Brahmans reply that the earlier in a girl's life she accomplishes her mystical functions, the better. But this clearly

belongs to the large class of *ex post facto* explanations of which sacerdotal and legal literature is in all ages and countries so full. The priests and lawyers who compile the text books find certain customs in force and feel bound to invent reasons for their existence. Being unfettered by the historical sense, and disposed to give free play to their inner consciousness, it is hardly surprising that their reasons should be as often false as true. An ingenious explanation of a more scientific character has been given by Mr John Nesfield in an article* on the Thárus and Bogshas of Upper India. Mr Nesfield says —

In the oldest type of society a woman was exposed to a double evil—the stain of communism within her own clan so long as she remained there and the risk of forcible abduction into an alien clan where she became the wife slave of the man who captured her. And herein I think lies the secret of the seemingly irrational and certainly unnatural customs of Hindus by which a girl is betrothed at six or eight and married at ten or eleven. The betrothal ceremony is considered by

all classes of the Hindu community to be of immense importance. The force of public opinion has made it as binding as marriage itself. If the boy dies before the marriage is performed the child who has been betrothed remains a widow for life. A father is publicly disgraced in the eyes of his countrymen if he neglects to get his daughter finally married before she has completed the age of twelve. There are few points in which the social customs of the Hindus have been more severely condemned. But though it may be granted that the time has long passed when any good could be gained from their retention it may yet be contended that they have been of some use in their day and that customs so opposed to the plain dictates of nature could not have been accepted by a rational people without some rational purpose. It must be remembered that the natives of Hindustan at the time when they first appear in history as antagonists to the invading Aryans were in the savage stage and that they have owed their subsequent reclamation imperfect as it is to the subtle and ever widening influence of Hinduism—a composite and very elastic creed made up of the fusion of Aryan with native or aboriginal elements

* *Calcutta Review* January 1886

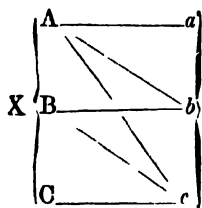
I conceive then that the customs, to which so much exception has been taken, were the restraints imposed by this creed upon the rough matrimonial usages of the races amongst whom its lot was cast some of which usages were formerly countenanced even by Hinduism itself as a concession to the prevailing savagery. Marriage by stealth marriage by capture and marriage by the simple act of voluntary reciprocal intercourse were all recognized by the ancient Hindu lawgivers as permissible to certain castes, and even Brahmans the holy priests and teachers of Hinduism were allowed to indulge in the kind last named. It is no wonder then that a religion which was forced to concede so much to existing custom should have sought to provide safeguards for the protection of the weaker sex through some counter teaching of its own. By ruling as it did that a girl must be betrothed and married at a tender age to a youth of some outside clan and by making this rule binding for life on pain of the severest penalties it protected her both from the stain of communism within her own clan and from the risk of forcible abduction into another. This explains too how it has come to pass that amongst Hindus and Hindus only the larger price is paid for the youth and the smaller one for the maid—an exact inversion of the rule which prevails everywhere else. The Hindi word for betrothal is *manjhi* that is begging for a boy for until the boy had been secured the girl was not safe.

I have quoted Mr Nesfield's views at length in order to guard against the danger of misstating an argument which I think inapplicable to the particular society with which we are concerned. The motives to which his theory appeals are no doubt highly intelligible, and in

certain states of society would possibly be sufficient to account for the institution of infant marriage. It seems to me, however that the society depicted in the *Rig* and *Atharva Vedas* must have got far beyond, if indeed they ever passed through the stage of communal marriage and forcible abduction of wives. Courtship of a very modern type was fully recognized, and the consent of the girl's father or brother was sought only after the young people had themselves come to an understanding. As an additional and conclusive indication that the kind of marriage contemplated

by the Vedas was the *individual* marriage of comparatively advanced civilization, I may refer to a remarkable custom, traces of which have survived in modern Italy—the lustration of the bride's night dress after the wedding night *. This custom is clearly incompatible with communal marriage and could only have arisen in a society which set a high value on female chastity and had left primitive communism ages behind

For these reasons I prefer to seek the origin of infant marriage in the custom of hypergamy described above. In further illustration of the working of that custom, I invite reference to the following diagram —



Let X represent a caste divided into the three hypergamous groups A, B, and C. Within each group the capital letters stand for the marriageable men, and the small letters for the marriageable women of the group. The horizontal and diagonal lines connecting the capitals with the small letters show what classes of men and women can intermarry. It will be seen that a man of the A group can marry a woman of his own or of the two lower groups, a man of B can marry into B or C, while a man of C is confined to his own class, and cannot marry a woman from either of the classes above

him. Conversely, a woman of the C class can get a husband from A, B, or C, and a woman of the B class from A or B, but a woman of the A class cannot find a husband outside of her own group. Excluding polygamy or polyandry and supposing the women of each group to be evenly distributed

Influence of hypergamy

* Zimmer *Alt indische Leben* p 314 Gubernatis *Un Nuziale* p 294.

among the groups they are entitled to marry into, the result of the first series of marriages would be to leave two thirds of the women in the A group without husbands, and two thirds of the men in the C group without wives. The women of all the groups, and especially those of A, will compete for husbands, and the men of C group for wives. But the fact that the social status of a family is determined not so much by the class from which it takes its wives as by the class from which it gets its husbands would put the men of the lowest class and the women of the highest at a great comparative disadvantage, and would thus tend to produce infant marriage for the number of possible husbands being limited, the natural tendency is to endeavour to secure them as soon as possible. That this motive operates strongly at the present day is plainly stated by one of the writers in the official publication already referred to,* who says —

Under these circumstances when in the case of a daughter parents see that unless they marry her at once the one or two bridegrooms that there are open for their selection would be availed of by others and that they would be disabled from marrying her before the eleventh year and that they would thereby incur a religious sin and social degradation as regards the caste they would seize that opportunity to marry their daughter quite disregardful of the evil effects of infant marriages

Again, when the custom of infant marriage had once been started, under pressure of social necessity, by the families of the highest group, who had the largest surplus of marriageable daughters, a sort of fashion would have been set and would be blindly followed through all the grades

Two forces are thus at work in the same direction, both tending to disturb the balance of the sexes and to produce abnormal matrimonial relations between the members of different social groups. Enforced competition for husbands on the part of the higher groups, and the desire to imitate

* *Papers relating to Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood in India*
p 178

their superiors which animates the lower groups, combine to run up the price of husbands in the upper classes, while the demand for wives by the men of the lowest class, which ought by rights to produce equilibrium, is artificially restricted in its operation by the rule that they can under no circumstances marry a woman of the classes above their own. These men, therefore, are left very much out in the cold, and often do not get wives until late in life. An unmarried son does not disgrace the family but there is no greater reproach than to have a daughter unmarried at the age of puberty. Husbands are bought for the girls, and the family gets its money's worth in social estimation. Bargains, however, must be taken when they are to be had and no father dares run the risk of waiting till his daughter is physically mature. He is bound to be on the safe side and therefore he marries her child as he may be, whenever a good match offers.

Many hard things have been said of infant marriage and the modern tendency is to assume that a population which countenances such a practice must be in a fair way towards great moral degradation if not to ultimate extinction. Much of this criticism seems to me to be greatly exaggerated, and to be founded on considerable ignorance of the present conditions and future possibilities of Oriental life. In truth, excluding the poetical view, but marriages are made in heaven, two working theories of the institution are at present in existence—one which leaves marriages to make themselves by the process of unrestricted courtship and another which requires them to be made by the parents or guardians of the persons who are to be married. The first, which we may perhaps call the method of natural selection is accepted and more or less acted up to by all Western nations, except those who follow the French custom of *mariages de convenance*. The second, a system of avowedly artificial selection, is in force, with few exceptions, throughout the East. For all Hindus, except the

handful of *déclassés* who have adopted more or less completely

The case for infant
marriage

European ideas on the subject of marriage, and seem now to be on the high road to form a new caste the bare idea that a girl can have any voice in the selection of her husband is excluded by the operation of three inexorable sanctions—by the ordinances of the Hindu religion, by the internal structure of the caste system, and by the general tone and conditions of social life in India. Religion prescribes that, like the Roman bride of early days, a Hindu girl shall be given (*tradita in manum*) by her father into the power of her husband, caste complications demand that the ceremonial portion of the transfer shall be effected while she is still a child while the character of society, the moral tone of the men, the seclusion of the women the immemorial taboos and conventions of family etiquette render it impossible that she should be wooed and won like her European sister. To persons of a romantic turn of mind the admission that infant marriage in some shape must be accepted as an ultimate fact of the Hindu social system will sound like a final abandonment of all hope of reform. But there is more to be said for the custom than appears at first sight. A moment's dispassionate consideration will show that if any sort of controlling authority is to make people's marriages for them, the earlier it commences and completes its operations the better. Where the choice of a husband must in any case be undertaken by the parents, it is clearly tempting Providence for them to defer it until their daughter has grown up, and may have formed an embarrassing attachment on her own account. As for love, that may come—and, from all one hears of Hindu unions, usually does come—as readily after marriage as before, provided that opportunities for falling in love with the wrong man are judiciously withheld. This may seem a cynical way of handling the matter, but it is the only way that accords with the lines of oriental life as at present ordered, and it were folly to dream of making all things new.

A

Abadhut one who has shaken off the infirmities of humanity the title used among themselves by a sect of Saiva ascetics which is divided into four classes—Brahma Saiba Bhakta and Hansa or Turiya—of which the first three may be either house holders or mendicants while the fourth lead a pure ascetic life Abadhuts are said to be distinguished from Dandis by not observing the practice strictly enjoined by the latter of shaving the head on the day of new moon

Abadhuta *Aladhuti* a member of a sect of female ascetics said to have been founded by a woman named Gangagiri hence in Upper India the term Abadhuti is commonly applied to all female religious mendicants Abadhutans smear themselves with the ashes of burnt cowdung and wander about begging their way on the great pilgrim routes With few exceptions they lead an immoral life It should be observed however that they are excluded from the *pingat* or societies of the male Abadhut and that an Abadhuta can only be initiated by a woman

Abar a sub sept of the Kisku sept of Santals

Abasakti a title of Bangaja Kayasths

Abbaye a village or communal headman among the Kandh (Khond) tribe in Orissa

Abdal a group of low Mahomedan believed to have been

originally a subdivision of the Bediyas whom the orthodox do not recognise as members of the brotherhood of Islam For this reason the Abdal marry among themselves and the community is virtually a caste The characteristic occupation of the men is to castrate bullocks and their females act as midwives

Abdár a servant whose office it is to prepare water for domestic use or for drinking a title occasionally used by Kharas and other castes of similar social standing who belong to the *jaldacharani* group from whose hands a Brahman may take water

Abhepur a *mul* or section of the Majraut sub caste of Goálás in Behar

A bhar a synonym for Goálá

Abhirám a sub caste of Telis in Orissa

Abhyágat a sect of devotees who live alone and subsist by begging They are sometimes found dwelling together in small communities somewhat resembling the minor monastic associations of mediæval Europe

Abkahilá a *mul* or section of the Kesarwani Banias in Behar a section of the Biyahut and Kharidahá Kalwars in Behar

Abkahop a *kul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Abkár a manufacturer or retailer of spirituous liquors a title of Kalwars in Behar

Abya a section of Brahmins

Achal a hypergamous group of the Bangaja Kayasths

Achambitá a *mel* or hypergamous sub group of Rárhí Brahmins in Bengal

Achármí a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Achárj *Achari Acharya* a religious teacher properly the Brahman who instructs the religious student of the two next castes—the Khatrya and the Vaisya—as well as the Brahmins in the Vedas. In modern use it is applied to any religious instructor or to any Brahman or religious mendicant professing to be qualified to give spiritual instruction or to supervise and direct religious ceremonies. The term has thus come to be a title or family name of high caste Smriti Brahmins in Bengal. In the North West Provinces it has been selected by the Educational Department as the title to be given to the students who pass the most difficult examination in the Benares Sanskrit College. A title signifying an instructor given by the Gayawal of Gaya to Brahmins employed to lead the pilgrims in their devotions. It is to be carefully distinguished from *Aharyi* the designation of the despised sub caste of astrologers.

Achárj the teacher ironical designation of a sub caste of Brahmins in Bengal also known as Lagin Acharj Ganak Daivajna and in Purneah as Uradhyaya. The members of this sub caste prepare and decipher horoscopes draw up almanacs tell fortunes by palmistry and

by astrological methods draw pictures of Hindu deities make idols manufacture *sola* or pith and decorate houses by painting rough designs of flowers and animals on the walls. They also attend at *anapi an* and *upa ayan* ceremonies of the higher castes. According to some authorities they rank socially below the Agradani Brahmins from whom they will receive alms. On the other hand Patit or Sudra Brahmins will eat with the Acharj but not with the Agradani.

Acharwála a maker or vendor of pickles preserves etc usually a Mahomedan

Acharya a group of the Srotriya sub caste of Utkal Brahmins in Orissa a *th* of the Kaundin *gotra* of Nétli Brahmins a title of Brahmins

Acharyasekhari a *mel* or hypergamous sub group of Rárhí Brahmins in Bengal

Achut a sept of Birgi

Adaki a title of Kumbutis in Bengal

Adampur a section of the Arur sub caste of Baisaniyas in Behar

Adarki a sub caste of Baniyas in Behar most of whom make their living by selling vegetables others trade in grain and some cultivate land. They permit widows to marry again and eat flesh—practices condemned by the more orthodox members of the trading group of castes. They abstain however from wine and in other respects conform to the standard rules of Hinduism.

Addádár the owner of a stand or station (*adda*) where porters bearers carters and the like wait to be hired paying the proprietor a percentage on their earnings for the accommodation

Adeb a sept of the Santál tribe in Western Bengal

Adhama a sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Adhárpur a section of the P chaimyá sub caste of Doms in Behar

Adhiá a section of Kurmis a title of Nápits in Maldah

Adhiár (i) a cultivator who holds land on a sort of metayer tenure paying his landlord half the produce (ii) a cultivator who spends half his time in one village half in another cultivating lands in both

Adhikári (i) a title of Brahmans Jugis and Vaishnabs who officiate at religious ceremonies serve as priests and spiritual guides of Vaishnabs and lower castes and deal in charms especially in use among Vaishnavas (ii) a title of Sadgops of Rajbansis in Jalpaiguri and of Paliyas in Dinajpur (iii) a manager of theatrical performances (iv) a *thar* of the Kasya *gotra* of Nepálí Brahmans

Adhkurmi or *Madhyam Kurmi* a sub caste of Kurmis in Western Bengal

Adhya a title of Bangaja Kayasths and Subarnabaniks in Bengal

Adi a section of Jugis

Adi Gaura a group of Gaura Brahmans

Adinuso a sept of Lepchas in Darjiling

Adi Sri-Gaura a group of the Sri Gaura sub caste of Gaura Brahmans

Aditi or *Aditya* a mercantile correspondent or agent the word is probably a corruption of *Adat Aihat* or *Arhatia*

Aditya a title of Dakshin Barhi and Bangaja Kayasths

Adra a section of Gorais in Chota Nagpur

Adrakhia a *mul* or section of the Bili sub caste of Kalwars in Behar

Adriar a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Adya a *gotra* or section of the Baidya caste in Bengal

Adyeb a section of the Sarák caste in Manbhum

Atang a sept of Tipperahs in the Chittagong Hill Tracts

Afin wálá *Afin farosh* a seller of opium The Arabic word *afun* is usually corrupted to *afin* or *afim* in the Indian vernaculars

Agapuríá a *mul* or section of the Majraut sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Agariá a sub tribe of Asuras in Chota Nagpur a class of boggars wandering about with tame monkeys whose antics they exhibit

Agariá Anguar a cultivating caste found in the Tributary Mahals of Chota Nagpur They claim to be the descendants of certain Kshatriya immigrants from the neighbourhood of Agra who put off the sacred thread

when they settled in a new country and took to holding the plough Dalton describes them as tall and well made with high Aryan features and tawny complexions Agarias betroth their daughters as infants but do not marry them until they are full grown They allow widows to marry again The caste employ Brahmans from the North West Provinces and will not accept the services of the Utkal Brahmans who ordinarily serve as priests in the Southern Tributary Mahals In one point they depart remarkably from orthodox Hindu practice they bury their dead and after the bones have got dry dig up the skull and the chief joints and convey them to the Ganges This may perhaps be thought to

suggest a connexion with some religious sect

In Gangpur where every one believes in witchcraft Agaria women are supposed to be the most potent witches in the country

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Agarias in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1 72	1881
Hazaribagh	1 966	1 146
Lohardága	1 678	66
Singbhum	7	
Munbham	885	
Tributary States	3 448	6 278

Agaria Binjhiá a sub tribe of Binjhiás in Chota Nagpur

Agaria Korwa a sub tribe of Korwas

Agarwál *Agarwala* a wealthy trading caste of Behar and Upper India who deal in grain and jewellery and are also bankers and usurers Authorities differ regarding their origin and the etymology of the name they bear Following a tradition communicated to him by the *chaudhri* or headman of the caste in Benares Mr Sherring traces the Agarwáls to the banks of the Godavery in Madras and derives their name from one Agar Nath or Agar Sen who is believed to have preserved the customs of the caste inviolate when all his brethren joined themselves to the Sudras Agar Sen is supposed to have lived at Agroha a small town on the borders of the Rajputana desert where his family expanded into the Agarwal caste Another and more common version of the story describes Agar Sen as the Vaisya Rája of Agraha and adds that the Agarwal caste spread over Hindustan after the taking of their original home by Shahabuddin Ghorí in 1190 This is the view favoured by Sir Henry Elliot who points out that the association of the Agarwals throughout the North West Provinces with the worship of Guga Pir the snake king of Agroha bears testimony to the historical accuracy of the tradition Mr Nesfield prefers to derive the name both of this caste and of the cognate caste of Agrahri from *agar* or *agar* (Sansk *aguru*) the aromatic wood of the eagle wood tree (*Ajulaia agallocha* Roxb) which is sold as a perfume There seems however to be no evidence to connect either caste with the production or sale of this scent and the fact that the best kind is extracted from the leguminous tree *Albizia agallochum* Loureiro growing in Cambodia and South Cochinchina may perhaps be thought to support this view

The Agarwals of Behar are divided into the following seventeen sections (*gotras*) —

(1) Garg (2) Goil (3) Gawál, (4) Batsil (5) Kasil (6) Singhal (7) Mangal (8) Bhaddal (9) Tingal (10) Airan (11) Tairan (12) Thingal (13) Tittal (14) Mittal (15) Tundal (16) Tayal (17) Gobhil (17½) Goin

The section names are said to refer to eighteen sacrifices performed by Raja Agar Náth in honour of Lakshmi. By these sacrifices so says the legend current in Behar he won from the goddess the boon that his descendants by Mádhavi a daughter of the Naga Raja Kumud should bear the name of Agarwal should never be in want and should enjoy the protection of Lakshmi so long as they kept the *dupah* festival. When the eighteenth sacrifice was half over the Raja was struck with horror at the slaughter of animals involved broke off the ceremony and enjoined his descendants never to take life. The last or half *gotra* then represents this incomplete sacrifice. Another explanation is that some member of the caste by oversight married a woman of his own *gotra* and that the *gotra* in question was divided into two by the heads of the caste in order to cover this breach of the rule of exogamy. There is nothing in the names themselves to throw light on their origin. The first certainly and possibly the third and fourth are names of Vedic sages. The second occurs among the Rajputs.

With the Agarwals as with all castes at the present day the section names go by the male side. In other words a son belongs to the same *gotra* as his father—not to the same *gotra* as his mother and kinship is no longer reckoned through females alone. Traces of an earlier matriarchal system may perhaps be discerned in the legend already referred to which represented Raja Agar Náth as successfully contending with Indra for the hand of the daughters of two Naga Rájás and obtaining from Lakshmi the special favour that his children by one of them should bear *their father's name*. The memory of this Naga Princess is still held in honour.

Our mother's house is of the race of the snake (*gat ka hat Nag's si hai*) say the Agarwals of Behar and for this reason no Agarwal whether Hindu or Jain will kill or molest a snake. In Delhi Vaishnava Agarwals paint pictures of snakes on either side of the outside doors of their houses and make offerings of fruit and flowers before them. Jain Agarwals do not practise any form of snake worship.

Read in the light of Bachofen's researches into archaic forms of kinship the legend and the prohibition arising from it seem to take us back to the prehistoric time when the Naga race still maintained a separate national existence and had not been absorbed by the conquering Aryans when Naga women were eagerly sought in marriage by Aryan chiefs and when the offspring of such unions belonged by Naga custom to their mother's family. In this view the boon granted by Lakshmi to Raja Agar Nath that his children should be called after his name marks a transition

from the system of female kinship characteristic of the Nagas to the new order of male parentage introduced by the Brahmans while the Behar saying about the *Nanihal* is merely a survival of those matriarchal ideas according to which the snake totem of the race would necessarily descend in the female line

In the last of the six letters entitled *Oretes Astika Eine Griechisch Indische Parallele* Bachofen has the following remarks on the importance of the part played by the Naga race in the development of the Brahmanical polity —

The connexion of Brahmans with Naga women is a significant historical fact. Wherever a conquering race altho' itself with the women of the land indigenous manners and customs come to be respected and their maintenance is deemed the function of the female sex. Countless examples of all ages and countries bear witness to the fact. A long series of traditions corroborate it in connexion with the autochthonous Naga race. The respect paid to Naga women the influence which they exercised not merely on their own people but also in no less degree on the rulers of the country the fame of their beauty the praise of their wisdom—all this finds manifold expression in the tales of the Kashmir chronicle and in many other legends based upon the facts of real life

All the sections are strictly exogamous but the rule of unilateral exogamy is supplemented by provisions forbidding marriage with certain classes of relations. Thus a man may not marry a woman—(a) belonging to his own *gotra* (b) descended from his own paternal or maternal grandfather great grandfather or great great grandfather (c) descended from his own paternal or maternal aunt (d) belonging to the grand maternal family (*nanihal*) of his own father or mother. He may marry the younger sister of his deceased wife but not the elder sister nor may he marry two sisters at the same time. As is usual in such cases the classes of relations barred are not mutually exclusive. All the agnatic descendants of a man's three nearest male ascendants are necessarily members of his own *gotra* and therefore come within class (a) as well as class (b). Again the paternal and maternal aunt and their descendants are included among the descendants of the paternal and maternal grandfathers while some of the members of the *nanihal* must also come under class (d). The *gotra* rule is undoubtedly the oldest and it seems probable that the other prohibited classes may have been added from time to time as experience and the growing sense of the true nature of kinship demonstrated the incompleteness of the primitive rule of exogamy.

It is certainly remarkable that a caste so widely diffused as the Agarwals should not have broken up into endogamous divisions based upon differences of locality of the type so common in Bengal. In the North West Provinces indeed it is stated that the Pachhanya or Western branch of the caste can not intermarry with the Turbiya or Eastern Agarwals. Members of these groups however may sit together and the prohibition on intermarriage is said to have arisen from a comparatively recent quarrel which is

now likely to be made up. In Behar the tendency is to ignore these distinctions and to represent restrictions on intermarriage between Purbias and Pasbhanyas as matters of family prejudice rather than of caste custom. This however may be due to the fact that most of the Behar Agarwals belong to the Purbia branch and are regarded as socially inferior to the Pasbhanyas. Both intermarriage and community of food are prohibited to the Dasa sub-caste who are illegitimate descendants of an Agarwal named Basu and to the Bigádarí Rája or Bísá who are said to be descended from one Katan Chand who was made a Raja by the Emperor Karokhsir in the early part of last century.

Agarwals usually marry their daughters after they have reached their ninth year but if no suitable match offers in infancy it often happens that a girl is not married until she is grown up. In the latter case she goes to live with her husband at once. When married as an infant, the final ceremony (*rukhsati*) by which she is made over to her husband may take place one year, three years or five years after the regular marriage ceremony. That is to say if the husband does not claim his wife at the expiration of one year he must wait three and if he does not come forward then he must wait five years. This custom prevails among most of the higher castes in Northern India and is based to rest upon some obscure superstition regarding lucky numbers. Whatever may be the origin of the practice it contrasts favourably with the custom in force among many families of the higher castes in Lower Bengal in so far as it tends on the whole to defer child bearing to years of comparative maturity.

Polygamy is prohibited on pain of expulsion from caste unless the first wife is barren. The Agarwals of Saharanpur however disregard the rule and are nevertheless admitted to intermarriage with the Jain Agarwals of Delhi. A widow may marry again a widow may not. Divorce is not recognised. If a woman goes wrong she is turned out of the caste and must either join some religious sect of dubious morality or become a regular prostitute.

The bulk of the Agarwals belong to the Vaishnava form of Hinduism but a large proportion follow the tenets of the Digambara sect of Jains and are stigmatised by orthodox Hindus as *nastik* or infidels. A few Saivas and Saktas are met with among the caste but in deference to the prejudices of the majority these depart from their ordinary custom by abstaining from sacrificing animals and partaking of flesh or wine. Owing perhaps to this uniformity of practice in matters of diet these differences of religious belief do not operate as a bar to intermarriage and when a marriage takes place between persons of different religions the standard Hindu ritual is used. When husband and wife belong to different sects the wife is formally admitted into her husband's sect and must in future have her own food cooked separately when staying in her mother's house.

In matters of ritual the Agarwals do not differ materially from the average orthodox Hindus of Upper India. Their special

goddess is Lakshmi to whose favour they attribute the general prosperity of the caste. Gaur Brahmans act as their priests and do not forfeit their position by doing so. The dead are burned in the ordinary Hindu fashion and the ashes thrown into the Ganges. The bodies of children under seven years are buried. Among the Agarwals of Behar it is thought right for a man's descendants to perform his *śradh* at Gya. On such occasions a separate cake called *bakra ka purā* is presented before the propitiation of the other ancestors begins for the benefit of those ancestors who may have died a violent death. The spiritual interests of the childless dead are supposed to be cared for by their heirs but where they are distant relatives or merely members of the same *gotra* the obligation comes to be very lightly regarded.

The Agarwals claim to be the modern representatives of the O p t n. Aryan Vaisyas and profess to trace their descent from a mythical ancestor Dhanpal who was the recognised chief of the Vaisyas and whose daughter Mukuta was married to Yaynavalkya. Their occupations have throughout been in keeping with these traditions. After the dispersion of the caste by Shahab ud din their talent for business brought individual members to the front under the Mahomedan Emperors of Delhi. Two of Akbar's ministers—Madhu Sah and Todar Mal—are said to have been Agarwals. To the latter was entrusted the settlement of the land revenue; the former held high financial office and a variety of pice still bears his name. Among the Agarwals of Behar we find the largest proportion engaged in banking trade, petty money lending and similar pursuits. A few are zemindars and holders of large tenures but in most cases their connexion with the land may be traced to a profitable mortgage on the estate of an hereditary landholder so that landholding cannot properly be reckoned among the characteristic pursuits of the caste. The poorer members of the caste find employment as brokers, book keepers, touts, workers in gold and silver embroidery and servants and take to any respectable pursuit except cultivation.

In the Hindu social system Agarwals stand at the head of the group of castes included in the term Baniya. Colonel Tod classes them among the eighty four mercantile tribes chiefly of Rajput origin enumerated by him and their features and complexion stamp them as of tolerably pure Aryan descent. All Pachhanya and most Purbiya Agarwals wear the sacred thread. In Behar they rank immediately below Brahmans and Kayasths and the former can take water and certain kinds of sweetmeats from their hands. According to their own account they can take cooked food only from Brahmans of the Gaur, Tailanga, Gujrati and Sanāth sub castes; water and sweetmeats they can take from any Brahmans except the degraded classes of Ojha and Mahabrahman from Rajputs, Bais, Baniyas and Khatris (usually reckoned as Vaisyas) and from the superior members of the class of so called mixed caste from whose hands Brahmans will take water. Some Agarwals however affect a still higher standard of ceremonial purity in the matter of cooked food and carry their

prejudices to such lengths that a mother in law will not eat food prepared by her daughter in law. All kinds of animal food are strictly prohibited and the members of the cast also abstain from *jowanda* rice which has been jarboiled before husking. Jain Agarwals will not eat after dark for fear of swallowing minute insects. Smoking is governed by the rules in force for water and sweets. It is noticed as remarkable that the purhits of the caste will smoke out of the same hookah as their clients.

The following table illustrates the distribution of the Agarwals in Bengal in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1	1	D	187	18 1
B r d wa		1	I	1 170	1 7 4
B k ra	7			2	5 40
B h m	2	2	I h h d	1 20	1 0
M d p	1		T h t { D h ra		2
H j h H wrah	8		{ Moz ff p }	00	
2 t	7	2		7	44
N d			(p ra	7	
Jes	13	461	M	1	7
Kh l		1	B aza	7 8	50
M r h dabud	947	408	P h	74	70
D j	246	9	M ld		
R j l y		989	(t l p rga as	7	1 046
Ra p	67	5	(k	20	216
B ra	6	11	P r	7	
P h			B las		3 0
D j l ng	28	80	T h		2
J l g	44	35	H	1	5
K h B h		323	I	27	1 095
P l y	43	7	I l aza	977	
H k r e j	76	6	M g h m		7
M u h	7	42	M h m	7	368
			I b y Rt te	535	91

Agarwani a small caste only found in the Sylhet subdivision of Bhagalpur whither they are believed to have immigrated from Nepal. They work as sappers and also collect the sap of *kuti* (*Acacia catechu*).

Agasti a title of Kanyak Brahmins a *jotra* or section of Nepali Brahmins.

Agastya a section of Brahmins.

Agastya Rishi a section of Tantis in Bengal.

Aggechal a section of Babhans in Behar.

Agharia one of the six subdivisions of the Lohar caste who manufacture and smelt iron ore

while the Lohondia manufacture pig iron from it.

Aghor a low and despised class of men in the Supul subdivision of Bhagalpur who are said to have no caste and to eat food cooked by either Hindus or Mahomedans. Their number is small (43 in 1881) and most of them live by begging though of late years a few have taken to cultivation. It is surmised that they may be Aghoris who have abandoned the distinctive practices of their sect. In support of this view it may be noticed that Aghori ascetics eat the *jhuta* or leavings of all Hindu castes, and that the practice ascribed to the Aghors of Supul only goes a step further.

Agnori *Aghorpanthi* the lowest class of Saivite religious mendicants who eat human ordure bones and filth of all kinds and extort alms by threatening to exhibit these practices or to pollute the bystanders. They sometimes carry staves set with human bones and use the upper half of a skull as a water pot. In 1881 one of these wretches was caught at Rohtak in the Panjab in the act of devouring the body of a newly buried child which he had dug out. According to Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* III 881 and IV 629) the Aghoris of the present day are closely related to the *Kapalika* or *Kapaladharin* sect of the middle ages who wore crowns and necklaces of skulls and offered human sacrifice to Chamunda, a horrible form of Devi or Parvati. In support of this view it is observed that in Bhavabhuti's drama of *Malati Mādhava* written in the eighth century the Kapalik sorcerer from whom *Malati* is rescued as she is about to be sacrificed to *Chimunda* is euhemeristically described as an *Aghorakantha* from *aghora* not terrible. The Aghoris of the present day represent their filthy habits as merely giving practical expression to the abstract doctrine of the Paramahansa sect of Saivites that the whole universe is full of *Brahma* and consequently that one thing is as pure as another. The *mantra* or mystic formula by which Aghoris are initiated is believed by other ascetics to be very powerful and to be capable of restoring to life the human victims offered to *Devi* and eaten by the officiating priest. The sect is regarded with disgust by all respectable Hindus and is believed to be

dying out. In 1881 it numbered 565 votaries in Bengal (all but two in Behar) 316 in the Panjab and 93 in the Central Provinces.

Aghorpanthi a religious group of Jugs.

Aghait a section of the Kmar sub caste of Dosadhs in Behar.

Agiyari a *pangat* or section of Dosadhs in Behar.

Aglidin Chauri *pichhlirāt jeonār Baniāke put jor le hāth* the day before paroled barley the next night the wedding feast sons of the Baniyā join your hands — a formula or shibboleth denoting a *mut* or section of *Kesirwari Baniyas* in Behar. The leading idea of the formula seems to be that people who live frugally enough in ordinary times spend their money freely in the Baniyas shop when they have a wedding on hand. For *chauri* and *jeonār* see Grierson's *Peasant Life in Behar* 97.

Agni a section of the Bhar caste in Manbhum. The term appears to have been borrowed from the Brahmanical system in comparatively recent times as the caste has also a set of the totemistic sections characteristic of the non Aryan races.

Agniā a sub tribe of Dhimals in the Darjiling Terai.

Agnia Mech a sub tribe of Meches in Darjiling and Assam.

Agnibesma a section of the *Ishtya Baidik* Muslims in Bengal a *Khatrijeta jot* or section of Brahman a section of Kayasths in Bengal.

Agni brahman a Brahman who officiates as priest at the burning of dead bodies

Agnidhaut a section of Báb hans in Behar

Agnihotri according to Wilson a Brahman who maintains a perpetual fire in his house. Sherring interprets the term as denoting one who possesses the materials for the *hom* or burnt sacrifice. He adds— All Brahmanas are directed to perform this ceremony nevertheless it is usual to employ an Agnihotri who lives on alms and receives fees and presents. *Agnih* is a title of Brahman in Behar and one of the sections of the Babhan caste is called *Agnihotia*

Ajori a synonym for Asura a small caste of wild people in Chota Nagpur who smelt iron

and make rude iron utensils and implements of agriculture

Agradána *Apadani* *Agrasaddhi* a degraded sub caste of Brahman ranking slightly above the Acharji. They read *nautia* at the cremation of Brahman and members of the Niva Sakha and take gifts (*tan*) at the first *addh* on the eleventh or thirty first day after death and at the subsequent monthly *saddha* for a year after which time no more presents are given. Pure Brahman will eat sweetmeats with the Agradani but not rice. In Bengal they bear the monical designations of Mahi Brahman, Mahapurohit, Mahasaddhi, Mahaputra, Marupera Brahman and in the rare instances when they have a smattering of Sanskrit Sanskrit. In Behar they are called Maha Brahman and Kantaha.

Agrahari *Agrahi* a trading and cultivating caste of Behar and Upper India who are probably closely related to the Agarwals. Mr. Nisfield thinks that the two groups must originally have been sections of one and the same cast which quarrelled on some trifling question connected with cooking or eating and have remained separate ever since. Agraharis marry their daughters as infants forbid widows to marry again and do not recognise divorce. Unlike the Agarwals they allow polygamy and on this account says Mr. Sherring they are believed to have lost the high position they formerly held. Should this opinion be correct it may supply the explanation of the divergence of the Agraharis from the Agarwal whom they closely resemble in physical type. It is curious to observe that the higher mercantile castes such as Agarwals, Khattris and Oswals have a stronger repugnance to polygamy than Brahman and Rajput both of whom incur no social reproach for their polygamous habits. In matters of food Agraharis follow the regular practice of orthodox Hindus and spirit drinking is strictly forbidden. It deserves notice that their women are not secluded as among the Agarwals but take part in the business of their husbands by selling rice flour etc. In point of social standing the caste though reckoned among the Vaisyas and wearing the sacred thread ranks below the Agarwals and their business is generally on a smaller scale. They are in fact tradesmen rather than bankers. The proper home of the caste is in Hindustan and their numbers in the

Lower Provinces of Bengal are comparatively small The following table shows their distribution in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
P t	893	3	Ph4 lp	104	89
(23		P	2	
Si h b d	111	144	H	1	16
M n p	10		T t y St f		51
S	1	43	I		1
Ch p	11	1	B l re		3
M kty	119	1			

Agahri a synonym for
Agrahari

Agaja a synonym for Brah
man

Agri a than or sept of Man
gars in Darjiling the members
of which work in mines

Aguri a cultivating and trading caste very numerous in Western Bengal. They are popularly believed to be the modern representatives of the Ugra or Ugra Kshatriyas mentioned in *Manu* x 9. From a Kshatriya by a Sudra girl is born a creature called an Ugra (cruel) which has a nature partaking both of Kshatriya and of Sudra and finds its pleasure in savage conduct. In verse 49 of the same chapter their occupation is said to be catching and killing animals that live in holes. At the present day the Aguris are divided into seven sub castes viz (1) Bard waniya (2) Kasipuriya (3) Bagha (4) Sātciaki or Satsaikiya (5) Chagnaya or Changa (6) Jana (7) Suta. Each of these is subdivided into Kulins and Mulihs the former being distinguished by the titles Keshi, Pasi, Shyam and Lal. A Kulin is not positively forbidden to marry a Mulihs but to do so brings a certain amount of discredit on the Kulin bridegroom and a series

of such marriages would reduce the entire family to the rank of Mulihs. Intermarriage between members of different sub castes is prohibited and the Jana and Suta sub castes both of whom profess to be descended from a mythical ancestor named Dakshin Rai taunt one another with being bastards. The entire caste claims to be twice born (dwija) but the sacred thread is worn only by members of the Jana sub caste who assume it on marriage. Those however who work as cultivators and drive the plough with their own hands usually discard the thread.

Each sub caste contains a number of sections bearing names—Kasyap, Bandilya and Bharadwaja and others—which appear to show that they have been borrowed from the Brahmans. Marriage is forbidden within the section and the supplementary rules defining the prohibited degrees are substantially the same as among Brahmans and Kayasths. Aguris marry their daughters as infants forbid widows to marry again and do not recognise divorce. A woman of proved unchastity is turned out of the caste and usually takes refuge

among the Bairági Vaishnavas or some similar religious sect Polygamy is permitted but is not practised on a large scale and it is rare to find men with more than two wives

In their religious and ceremonial observances Aguris differ little from the higher castes of Hindus in Bengal. They belong for the most part to the Vaishnavá and Sákti sects and there are comparatively few Saivas among them. Their religious ceremonies are performed by Brahmans who incur no degradation by serving them. It deserves notice that the first *saddh* is performed by them on the thirtieth day after death and not as is the case with Brahmans on the eleventh day.

The social position of the Aguris differs in different parts of Bengal. The scattered members of the caste found in Eastern Bengal are classed with the hunting and fishing castes—a fact which suggests that there may be an element of historical truth in the functions assigned to them by Manu. In Bardwan and Western Bengal where Aguris are numerous they take rank with the Nava Sákhá and Brahmans will take water and certain kinds of sweetmeats from their hands. Many of them hold estates and tenures of various grades and the bulk of the caste are fairly prosperous cultivators. If popular rumour may be trusted they still as in the days of Manu find pleasure in savage conduct for they are said to be extraordinarily short tempered and irascible and the criminal records of the districts where they are most numerous seem to show that in proportion to the numbers of the caste an unusual number of crimes of violence were laid to their charge.

The following table shows the distribution of Aguris in Bengal in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D CT	1872	1881
Bardw	59 897	51 292	W mán h	1	
B k ra	9 8	13 8	C ttárag ng		113
B bh m	2 995	2 17	N khál	38	25
M dn p	1 026	1 405	T ppá l	10	32
H gíl w h H wraí	1 1	2 9 2	Bí á lp		74
24-P rgannas	1 648	1 777	P h		54
Nad y	118	124	S l Pargannas		1 7
Jes	63	1 3	M ld l	68	1 3
M h d bad	2 9	1 3	J t		80
D náj p	7	134	Gy		6
Baj hahy	55	78	Ch mp ran		92
Bogra		44	C ttack	381	315
Ra gp	9	22	P		
I b	36	21	B l	808	147
D j l g	16		T b t M h l	3	
J lp g	4	139	H 2 t g	7	79
K l B har		1	Lo l g		898
Dac	315		S gbh		2
Far dp	1	13	M l l		443

Agwá a village servant who acts as a guide to travellers

Ah a sub sept of the Kisku sept of Santáls

Ahar a sub caste of Goálás in the North Western Provinces

Ahdadar *Ahdar* an officer a functionary whether military

or civil a title given by the former Rájás of Rámgarh to some of their servants without distinction of caste whose duty it was to superintend the expenditure of the household. The title is now borne by one Dambar Ahadar of Ichak who is a Bania of the Nichondia sub caste

Aheriá a sportsman a fowler

Ahilásariár a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Ahr, *Ahri Abhir Abhri* the cowherd caste of Behar and Upper India. The name also is sometimes used to denote a sub caste of Goálás. See Goálá

Ahir a section of Ghásis in Chota Nagpur

Ahir Páik a sept of Rájputs in Behar

Ahitágni a Brahman householder who maintains a perpetual family fire hence a title of Brahmans

Ahriti hunters a sept of the Mále or Mál Pahariá tribe in the Santál Parganas

Ahtharaí a sub tribe of Lm bus in Darjuling

Aialong a sept of Tipperahs in the Cluttagong Hill Tracts

Aich a title of Dakshin Barhi and Bangaja Kayasths

Aichá a group of Bárendra Sunris in Eastern Bengal

Aichitra a so called *gotra* in which all members of the Rámávat sect of religious ascetics are enrolled when initiated. As the Rámávats profess celibacy and the *gotra* includes the entire sect it differs from the *gotras* of most

Hindu castes in having no bearing upon marriage

Aidhar an agricultural day labourer in Western Bengal usually paid in kind

Ailwár a section of Bábhans in Behar

Ainak sáz an optician. The ordinary *ai ak sáz* merely frames glasses which he procures from *bisatis* but in most large cities manufacturers of lenses are found

Ainá sáz a looking glass maker

Aind the eel a totemistic section or sept of Rautias. As the Goulas Santals Mundas Ians and Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Ainduar eel a totemistic sept of Korwas

Aindwár a section of Goráits of Goálás in Behar

Ainiá a section of Sonárs in Behar

Air a section of Ghásis

Airan a *gotra* or section of Agarwals

Aithána a sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Aiyar a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Aja ásrám a sub caste of Mayaras in Central Bengal

Ajagyak Brahman a Brahman who does not offer sacrifices or receive presents a synonym for Bibhan having reference to the tradition that the Bábhans are merely landholding Brahmans

Ajaidapal a section of the Karan Kayasths in Behar

Ajaitiá a *kul* or section of the Bábhā caste in Behar

Aján a *mul* or section of the Kanaujia sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Ajner a *mul* or section of the Chhamuliá Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Ajodhyábási a sub caste of Kewats Kumhars and Sonars in Behar

Ajodhyápurí a sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Akán a section of the Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Akas a *gain* of the Sandilya *gotra* of Rárhí Brahmans in Bengal

Akasaria a section of the Babhan caste in Behar

Akasmukhi a class of ascetics of the Saiva sect who keep their faces alway turned to the sky until the muscles of the neck become rigid and the head is fixed in that position

Akhanbári a *mul* or section of the Linnulia Malhā Chhamuliá Madhesia and Bhojpuri sub castes of Halwais in Behar

Akhará a *samaj* or local group of the Sandilya *gotra* of the Paschatya Baidik Brahmans in Bengal

Akhaur a section of the Srībatā sub caste of Kayasthas and of the Magahiya sub caste of Doms in Behar

Akhgāon a section of the Magahiya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Akhutá a sub caste of Doms in Bengal An opprobrious expression generally applied to a spendthrift

Akhwān a title of Bábhā in Behar

Akrur Paramánanda a sub caste of Sutradhars in Murshedabad

Akshagrām a *gain* of the Batsya *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Aktenhang name of a domes-tic demi-god a sept of the Chárkholā sub tribe of Lambus in Darjiling

Aladási a section of Tantis in Bengal and of Kaibarttas in Murshedabad

Aládhí a *samaj* or local group of the Basīthā *gotra* of Paschatya Baidik Brahmans in Bengal

Aladoshí a section of Kumhars in Jessore

Alakjār darhuá a *mul* or section of the Kishnaut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Āmalaka Almalak an exogamous section of Baidyas in Bengal

Ālam rishí a section of Kumhars in Singhbhum and the Santal Parganas a section of Sutradhars in Bengal

Alamyān an eponymous section of Brahman, Guddhabanikā, Lodh Bagdi, Kamars, Kayasthas, Kumhars, Madhunapits, Malis, Mayars, Nijit and Tantis in Bengal a section of the Paschim Kuliy, Sadgops of Suklis in Midnapur of Sutradhars and

Kaibarttas in Murshedabad and Sunnis in Maldah

Alarishi a section of Jugis in Bengal

Alchára a section of the Baranwar sub caste of Baniyas in Behar

Alekhiá a sect of Saiva ascetic having their head quarters near Gurnur and Lona in Western India whence they visit the chief places of pilgrimage. They collect alms for the purpose of feeding other ascetics and proclaim their mission by repeating the word *alakh* (awake?) from which their name is derived. Alekhiás profess prof and respect for their alms tag (*guth*) and are divided into three classes the members of which dedicate the *guth* to Ganesa Bhairab and Káli respectively. Ganesa Alekhiás beg in the morning Bhairab Alekhiás in the afternoon and evening and Káli Alekhiás only at midnight. Members of the first class beg from house to house and may even stay for some time in a house where they are hospitably received. Ascetics of the other two classes may not enter a door and merely walk along the road shouting *alakh* to attract the attention of the pious.

This appears to be the sect referred to by Wilson as *Alakh gami* from Sanskrit *lakshya* undefinable invisible

Alemba hailstones a totemistic sept of Juangs in Orissa

Alepkhání a *pathi* or hypergamous sub group of the Barandra sub-caste of Brahmans in Bengal

Aliakhani a *pathi* or hypergamous sub group of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Aliman Aliman a section of Báruis Bauris Chasadhobas Litis Bhummahs Kahais of Barandra Sunnis and of Subarnabnyks and Lelis in Bengal. *Alitr* or scottion of Kayasths Nayits of Mlos in Eastern Bengal and the group of castes (*Nua S'ha*) from whose hands a Bengal Brahman can take water

Alimman a section of Sudras in Eastern Bengal

Allay Allia Aleh a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Almal a section of the Bangáls sub caste of Baniyas in Behar of Kaibarttas in Central Bengal.

Almasi or Alamyán a section of Goalas in Bengal

Almas Tarash a diamond cutter. The term is also incorrectly applied to the *bejri aginas* and others all of whom perform different operations and are really distinct artisans

Almisi a section of Kaibarttas in Murshedabad

Alru a sept of Hos in Singbham

Alu a section of Koras in Chota Nagpur

Aluna a title of ascetics of the Saiva sect who abstain from taking salt with their food

Alyamán an eponymous section of Patnis and Sankharis

Am Amba mango a totemistic sept of Goalas Nageswars Korwas and Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Amal dár a manager and agent

Amam a section of the Kamar sub caste of Dosádhs in Behar

Aman a class of Nepalese liquor sellers found only in the Supul subdivision of Bhagalpur

Amar a class of Nepalese cultivators found only in the Supul subdivision of Bhagalpur

Amarábádí a sub caste of Bhuiamáls found in Noakháli

Amarnáth an up country religious sect who live on alms

Amashta a sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Amát *Amath* a cultivating caste of Behar many of whom are employed as personal servants by the higher classes of Hindus. This circumstance has led to the formation of two sub castes (*pangat*)

Gharbát or householder and **Bahiot** or bearer the members of which do not intermarry. Gharbát Amáts who also style themselves Raut live solely by cultivation and cannot take service except at the risk of exclusion from their *pangat*. Bahiot Amáts who bear the significant titles of Khawás servant, Ghibíhar ghí eater and Saghar or vegetable eater regard service as their characteristic occupation but many of them work as cultivators without however usually qualifying themselves for membership in the more respectable sub caste of Gharbát. Within the Bahiot class men who serve Rajas are held in special esteem and an extra bride price is paid for their daughters. That the Gharbát sub caste is the more ancient of the two and represents the original nucleus of the entire caste may be inferred from the fact that it is divided into exogamous sections (*dí*) such as Larwár Narhan Latáwar Karabwar and other while the Bahiot have no such sections and regulate their marriages by the less archaic system of prohibited degrees. Marriage between persons descended in a direct line from the same parents is of course forbidden and in addition to this the descendants of the paternal and maternal uncles and aunts and of the maternal grandmother are barred ordinarily for seven generations and even beyond that so long as they reside in the same place and the practice of *achá* or mutual ceremonial impurity on the occurrence of death is kept up. These rules are also observed by Gharbát Amáts so far as they are not included in the rule of exogamy which with them as with many other castes is besides in its operation the name of the relation following the male line. There is no definite rule to prevent a man from marrying two sisters both living but no instance of this is known to have occurred. A man may marry the younger sister of his deceased wife but not her elder sister. It is unusual for Amáts to marry outside the district in which they reside and with them as with other Behar castes the fact of a family having emigrated to Bengal puts a certain slur upon its members and renders it difficult for them to procure wives from their original home.

Amáts practise both infant and adult marriage according to their means infant marriage being deemed the more respectable and adult marriages being

confined to those whose parents cannot afford to get them married earlier in life. Widows are allowed to marry again. It is considered right if possible for the widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or younger cousin and in the case of Gharibais for her to marry within the *d h* or section to which her husband belonged but there is no positive rule against her marrying an out-caster and she incurs no social penalty by doing so. Under no circumstances can she marry her husband's elder brother. The ritual in use at the marriage of a widow is far less elaborate than at that of a spinster. Brahmans are not employed only the simplest *mantras* are recited a small present of cloth sweetmeats and cash is given to the woman and the bridegroom completes the ceremony by smearing vermilion (*chun*) on her forehead with his left hand.

Polygamy is permitted but the conditions are not strictly defined and so far as rules go there is nothing to prevent a man from marrying as many wives as he can maintain. Custom however in the normal standard of living among the caste combine in practice limits the number of wives to two and it is unusual for a man to take a second wife unless the first is barren. In cases of proved infidelity a man may put away his wife with the sanction of the panchayat or council of elders and may marry again. There seems however to be no regular ceremony appointed for the purpose of divorce and resort to it is far less frequent than among the lower castes. Many Amats indeed deny that they allow divorce in any form and the caste as a whole sets a high value on female chastity.

The religious observances of Amats do not differ materially from those in vogue among orthodox Hindus of about the same social standing. Most of them

belong to the Sakta sect and worship Kali with the usual sacrifice of a he goat. Maithil Brahmans are employed as priests and incur no special degradation by serving in this capacity. Among the *di minores* so numerous in Behar the Amats worship the five goddesses (*panch d evis*) a form of Bhavani with offerings of betel areca nut *amra* rice boiled in milk with sugar cakes boiled in ghee plantains etc. Goraiya is propitiated with a pig, Sokha with *pitha* a kind of boiled pudding made of *sattu* or meal and *landi* with unleavened bread and sweetmeats. No special days are set apart for this worship. It is conducted by the members of the household without the intervention of Brahmans and the worshippers eat the offerings with the exception of the pig sacrificed to Goraiya which is carefully buried. Bahiot Amats have also a special ancestral deity of their own called Phekulam to whom kids goats sweetmeats and betel nut are offered and afterwards distributed among the members of the sub caste who happen to be present.

The dead are burned in the ordinary Hindu fashion the ashes being thrown into the Ganges or into any sacred river that may happen to be handy. In the case of persons who die at a distance from a river this duty is usually neglected and the ashes are collected under a small platform (*habutia*) upon which a tulsi tree is planted. Infants under eight months are buried. *Shradh* is performed according to the standard ritual on the fourteenth day after death. Ancestors are propitiated in

(September-October) by offerings of water
of the hands

Social standing of Amáts is much the same as that of Kármí, Kóirís and Góalás and they belong to the group of castes from whom a Brahman can take water. This indeed is a matter of necessity for a caste largely employed in personal service. They will eat sweetmeats with and take water from members of the *acharari* group of castes and of the higher castes. Cooked food they will eat only with men of their own caste and some Amáts are so particular that they will eat only with members of their own sub caste. Formerly they would smoke with members of the *acharari* group but of late years they have become more strict and the question is governed by the rule applicable in the matter of cooked food. They indulge in all kinds of clean animal food such as goats both male and female deer hares pigeons wild fowl and fish with the exception of some scaleless varieties which are supposed to bear a resemblance to snakes but some of them abstain wholly from meat and fish and are held in special respect for this abstinence. Spirituous liquors are not forbidden. Some Amáts say that they have no objection to eating the leavings of Brahmans while others resent the suggestion. The point is an obscure one on which accurate information is not readily to be had but it seems likely that Bahrot Amáts serving high class Brahmans would in practice eat what was left of their master's food while Gharbút Amáts would of course not be exposed to this temptation and would therefore deny the possibility of such a thing taking place. In the north cultivating Amáts take credit to themselves for not ploughing with cows—a practice common in some parts of that district. Their status as agriculturists appears to vary somewhat in different districts but the bulk of the caste appear to be fairly prosperous many usually possessed of occupancy rights some have sunk to the position of landless day labourers receiving wages in kind while a very few have risen to be tenure holders and proprietors of small estates.

The following table shows the distribution of Amáts in 1872 and 1881—

D	1872	1881	D	1872	18
1st	61		Bhák	7	8
2nd			P		7
3rd	3014	27	S		1
4th	12	211	B		271
5th	41	14	l	16	1
		7	jp		3
			Raj		2
			h		
			ly		

Amátia a *mul* or sept of the Suryabansi sub tribe of Rájputs in Bihar

Amáut a title of Khandáits in Chota Nagpur

Amáyát a title of Sudhas in Orissa

Ambahlá a section of the Karan sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

AMBARI

Ambaria a section of Babhans in Behar

Ambastha a synonym for Baidya in Bengal. In *Manu* (x 13 47) the Ambasthas are described as the offspring of a Brahmin by a Vaisya girl and are said to follow the practice of medicine

Ambras a fruit a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Ambuli a section of the Kásyapa of the Brahmins in Bengal

Amethi a sub caste of Pásto in Bihar

Amghat a section of Bhojpuria Halwais in Behar

Ami a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais and of the Biryahut and Khandh Halwais in Behar

Aminápur a section of Bais Sonars in Behar

Amol a section of the Kámar sub caste of Dosadhs in Behar

Ampur a *mul* or section of the Kanauja sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Amraut a section of Awadhia Hajams in Behar

Amri a totemistic sept of Orans who are prohibited from drinking rice gruel

Amrót a section of the Maghaya sub caste of Koiris in Behar

Amu a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Anabrikak ha, a section of Brahmins

Bengal

Anaet a sept of Baidya in Chota Nagpur

Anai a section of Bhatis

Ananta a section of the Sarak caste in Chota Nagpur

Anar a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Anara Anraya a section of Babhans in Behar

Anarpuri Anwarpuri a sub caste of Kurmis Naps and Telis in the 24parganas

Anchit tiger a totemistic sept of Larigis in Chota Nagpur

Andarie Nehra a *mul* of the S n hil section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Andarie Laguniá a *mul* of the S n hil section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Andarie Pirápur a *mul* of the S n hil section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Andhachabár a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Andhachipá panaria a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Andhigot a totemistic section of Namas in Behar

Andhra see Tailangi

Andrish a rope of untanned hide with which the yoke is fastened to the plough a totemistic section of Kurmis in the 24parganas and Man



Angariá a sub caste of Lo hárs in Chota Nagpur charcoal burners, a sub sept of the Tudu sept of Santáls and a sept of Hos

Angboháng king of the fir wood a sept of the Ahtharai sub tribe of Limbus

Angbu the forest dweller a sub sept of the Thokim sept of Limbus in Darjiling

Angdenba lord of the forest a sept of the Pinthar sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling

Angira a *gotra* or section of the Baidya caste in Bengal

Angirasa a *gotra* or section of Brahmins professing to be descended from the Vedic *rishis* (see Angira) a Brahmanical section of Ahir

Anglah a sept of Limbus in Darjiling

Angrok or **Angwár** a sub caste of Rajwars

Angwár a section of Turí or Dakhiná Doms in Behar who perform their domestic worship inside the *angan* or court yard of their houses

Ankur a title of Dakshin Barhi and Langaja Kayasths

Ankuri a section of the Simulia Maghaya sub caste of handus in Behar

Ankuriá a sub caste of Doms in Bengal who are basket makers

Anlábang a sept of Limbus in Darjiling

Anmár a section of the Bangal sub caste of Lamyas in Behar

Annasani a *gana* of the Sábarna *gotra* of the Uttar Barendra Brahmins in Bengal

Anokánwár a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Ilalwais in Behar

Anraiwár Anrai a *mul* of the Batsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Anraiwár Usrauli a *mul* of the Batsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Anraiwár Jhauá a *mul* of the Batsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Anraiwár Baingni a *mul* of the Batsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Anril a section of Sonárs in Behar

Anrráhi a *mul* or section of the Majraut sub caste of Gwalas in Behar

Anruá a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Ilalwais in Behar

Antahriá a section of Bháts

Antáiya a *mul* or section of Sonars in Behar

Antarvedi or **Kanaujiá** one of the three main divisions of Kanauji Prahmans found in Behar. They are said to have come from the country between the Ganges and Jamna

Anulomaj (from *anu* according to *loma* the hair of the body and *ja* horn—born with the hair or grain i.e. in due order) the offspring of two persons of different classes of whom the father is of the superior caste in social standing, as of a Brahman father and Kshatriya mother. If

the woman be of the Brahman and the man of the Kshatriya caste the order is inverted and the progeny is termed *Pratilomaj* born against the hair

Anwár a section of Bábhans in Behar

Anyapurba a woman who has been previously married

Aoghar a sect of Saiva ascetics founded in Guzerat by a Dasnami mendicant named Brahmagiri through the favour of Gorakhnath a religious reformer who flourished early in the fifteenth century and is now recognised in the Himalayan districts as an incarnation of Siva and the special protector of the Gorkhalis. They have not the custom of making proselytes. On the death of a chief of the *math* one of the mendicants is promoted to his place with certain ceremonies. It is said that Gorakhnath invested Brahmagiri with his ear ring and certain other symbols which the latter afterwards distributed among five mendicants each of whom formed a separate group of the sect—Gudar Sukhar Rukhar Bhukhar and Kukar. Members of the first three groups dress themselves in a long yellow overcoat. The Gudar wear a ring in one ear and in the other a flat copper plate with the footprint of Aoghar or Gorakhnath. The Sukhar and Rukhar wear rings of copper or jeweller on both the ears. These ornaments are said to be a sort of masonic signs by means of which the members of each group may recognise each other. Ascetics belonging to the Bhukhar and Kukar divisions are rarely met with in Bengal. The main distinction between them and the first three groups lies in that they do not burn incense in their alms pot while the others do. The Kukar group collect alms with a new earthen pot called *kali handi* in which they also cook their food. Mention is made of a sixth group called Ukhar concerning whom no precise information is available. Some say indeed that the name is merely a title of those members of the first three groups who are given to indulgence in flesh and strong drink.

Apa a title of Bangaya Káyasthas

Apharíá a section of the Ahir or Góálá caste in the North Western Provinces

Ar a sept of the Chandrabans division of Rájputs in Behar

Arad farosh a flour vendor

Araich a section of Bábhans in Behar

Aráishwálá, a trader who makes and sells *takhtis* i.e. toys artificial flowers fruits and festal decorations such as paper or tale lanterns and horses and other figures of paper pulp

Aráit a *kul* or section of Bábhans in Behar

Aráiyá Areá Árre a sub caste of Ielias in Behar who claim to intermarry with the Maghayá sub caste. The latter however do not admit the claim.

Arajpuria a section of Maghayá Dhubis in Behar

Arak kash a distiller of extracts and essences of flowers etc. which are used as beverages and as medicinal draughts

Aráp a section of the Sátmulá Maghaya sub caste of Kándus in Behar

Arápe a title of Babhans in Behar

Arash a title of Kaibir as in Bengal

Arath a *gun* or sub section of Saptasatī Brahmins in Bengal

Archanaṣ a *thar* of the Atrai *gotra* of Nepali Brahmins

Arddhá lakhiá a section of the Binodhīa and Jaisw r Kal wars in Behar

Ardhauti a sub caste of Kum hárs in Behar

Ardi (fish) a totemistic section of B gdi in Bengal

Areá a sub caste of Gareris in Behar

Area fish a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Arewár a *kul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Argariá a section of the Ghosin sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Arghaunle a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Arhá a title of Khandaits in Chota Nagpur

Arhá ghar a hypergamous group of the Ch rjuti sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Arhatiýá a brolef or middle man especially one who has a shop sometimes with considerable stóráce ac ommodation in a *gan* or emporium for the sale of grain Hence more generally a business agent or correspondent

Arí a sub caste of Sutradhars in Western Bengal

Arí a title of Kámars and a section of Kayasths in Bengal

Ariár a sub caste of Bais Baniyas in Behar

Ariyár a sub caste of Sunris in Manbhum

Arjel a *thar* of the Atrai *gotra* of Nepali Brahmins

Arkasiya a sawyer a title usually applied to the Maghayá sub caste of Baihus in Behar

Arkáti (i) a pilot (ii) an unli en el purveyer of labourers for the tea districts who collects emigrants in small batches within their native districts and makes them over for the purpose of transport to recruiters licensed under the Inland Emigration Act or formally authorised by their employers to collect free emigrants

Arna a sect of Dasnámī San nyásis

Arnab a title of Dakshin Rarhi and Bangaja Kayasths

Arnwait a section of Bábhans in Behar

Arrai or **Arákash mī** a saw a title of Chandals or Namasudras who are sawyers

Arriar a sub caste of Thathera or brass chaser in Behar

Arthi *A thu* a broker an agent a salesman a commercial correspondent one who conducts business on commission for a principal at a distance a banker who grants and accepts bills on other bankers or correspond ents

Aru yam a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Arul a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Aruyá a sept of the Tung jainya sub tribe of Chakmas in the Chittagong Hill Tracts

Aryajáti Aryan caste a pedantic designation adopted by nine persons probably Brahman Pandits in the 24 Parganas in the census of 1881

As Ash a title of Dakshin Bárhí Káyasths and of Bárus and Mayará in Bengal

Asan Asin Tanti Aquin Tanti the highest sub caste of weavers in Bengal who claim to be the original stock from which the other sub castes have diverged Asin Tanti women do not wear nose rings and this peculiarity is regarded as the chief distinction of the sub caste See Tanti

Asarhi a *mul* or section of the Kanaujia sub caste of Senars in Behar

Asármallá Asarmaurá a *mul* or section of the Chhamulá Madhesiá sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Asesmeghrám a section of Kanaujá Lohárs in Behar

Ashár a month—June a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Ashtagrám or *Katak* a sub caste of Tánbulis in Bengal

Ashtalai a sub caste of Ká márs in the Santál Parganas

Asiswár a section of the Kamár sub caste of Dosadhs in Behar

Asmaít a section of the Mag haya sub caste of Kumbhars in Behar

Asotoar a sept of Korwas in Chota Nagpur

Asraur a sect of Dasnámi Sannyásis properly belonging to the Ianjab but sometimes found in Bengal

Asrháf Asraph noblemen persons of rank In Behar the designation is assumed by the more respectable classes of both Mahomedans and Hindus and in particular by high caste cultivators who receive in virtue of their social status a remission of rent variously known as *maj chhut* *kamsure ract marawati* *h mi* and *iam* The word is the plural of *Ar sharyf* noble but like many similar forms is used in the Indian vernaculars as a singular

Asrukoti a *gath* of the Kásy *apá gola* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Assam Mech a sub tribe of Meches in Assam

Assampá a *rui* or sept of Dejong Lhoris the members of which are of a mixed low origin

Asur Agaría a sub tribe of Agarías in Chota Nagpur

Asur Brijá a sub tribe of Binjhías in Chota Nagpur

Asura Agoria Lohia a small non Aryan tribe of Lohardagá and the eastern portion of Surgujá who live almost entirely by iron smelting. Colonel Dalton seems inclined to connect them with the Asuras who according to Munda tradition were destroyed by Singbonga and judging from the present position of the tribe it is likely enough that the Asuras may be the remnant of a race of earlier settlers who were driven out by the Mundas. Herr Jellinghaus however suggests¹ that the Asura legend may refer to the more civilised mining and temple building people of whom traces are found throughout Chota Nagpur. The legend is discussed at length in the article Munda.

The Asuras have thirteen totemistic sections which are shown in Appendix I. Two of these—**Basriár** (the bamboo) and **Mukruár** (the spider)—occur also among the Kurmis. A man may not marry a woman belonging to the same section as himself nor may he eat out or injure the plant or animal whose name his section bears. Marriage is usually adult though a tendency towards the adoption of infant marriage is traceable. Polygamy is permitted and great license of divorce prevails. The women of the tribe indeed are notorious for their lax morality, and many of them earn their living as *Ah hís* or dancing girls in the town and larger villages of Chota Nagpur.

Little is known about the religion of the Asuras. According to Dalton they worship Singbonga the supreme deity of most Kolarian tribes but know nothing of Marang Buru though they worship the great hills near them under other names. The name Agoria or Angoria appears in Hazáribágh as the appellation of a sub caste of the non Aryan Lohars whose special function is the smelting of iron ore from which rough pig iron is manufactured by members of the Lohondia sub caste.

The following table gives the number and distribution of Asuras in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
Sa. tál Pargana		538	b. í h m		1
H. á bágh	31	173	M. í h m	61	223
L. í dagá	897	67	T. b. í y St. tes	1 578	1 204

Asur Lohara a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Ata farosh a seller of *ata* or wheat flour.

Aswaria a section of Babhans and Bonárs in Behar

Ataia a sept of Rájputs in Behar

Aswini see **Asan**

Atai Baidya a doctor who defrauds the ignorant a title of Baidyas used by outsiders

Atari a section of the Kharan sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Atashbaz a maker of fire works

Atgharia a group of Phulkta Muli in Bengal

Atharachura a group of the Luender Sunnis in Fijalrah

Atharah Panth a sub tribe of Mangus in Darjiling

Atharb an eponymous section of Babhans

Atharva a low group of Brahmans in Behar

Athisa a sub caste of Dhobas in Central Bengal

Ath pahari one who is always on duty (an eight watch man) applied specially to a servant employed to collect rents or in Pungal to one who is set to watch the crop and acts as a messenger for the rest of the villagers

Athral Athrol a sept of Ruyput a section of Babhans in Behar

Athwara Athwara a money lender who advances money on condition that the borrower shall pay by weekly instalments a larger sum than he receives a cultivator who for the use of agricultural implements on his own account for eight days works the rest of the month for the benefit of the lender

Atit Atith from Sansk *atit* one who has passed away from worldly interests or from *atithi* a guest a temporary dweller upon earth a title of religious mendicants practically synonymous with **Sannyasi** *q*. The term is applied to both Vaishnavas and Suvas and does not appear to be capable of very precise definition. As used in Behar it includes two classes of persons—**Sannyasi Atits** who adopt a purely ascetic and celibate life and transmit their property to their pupils (*chelas*) by a sort of spiritual succession and **Gharbari Atits** whose manner of life is that of ordinary householders. The latter group indeed whatever may have been its original mode of formation whether by descent from Sannyasi Atits who broke their vows and married or otherwise does not now differ materially from any ordinary occupational caste. The term is also colloquially applied to a person going on a journey who puts up on the way either at a shop or house of some resident who becomes his guest. Sannyasi Atits are divided into four classes bearing different titles—(1) **Bharati** from Bharat or Hindustan (2) **Giri** (3) **Puri** and (4) **Arun**. They are distinguished by wearing a head gear of an ochre colour dyed in *geru* (red ochre) and a necklace of *rudra* *ha* called *lanthe*. They abstain from animal food and wine and wander about from one *chela* or disciple to another teaching *mantras*. The Gharbari Atits do not admit outsiders into their groups follow the Hindu law of inheritance and perform the *shraddh*. They are sometimes cultivators holding from zemindars rent free *jagirs* many of which were not improbably granted to their ancestors on the ground of their being Sannyas.

Atpará, a sub-caste of Kotáls in Western Bengal

Atrab a territorial section of Bábhans in Behar

Atrá; **Atri** a *gotra* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Atreya a *gotra* or section of Brahmans of the Srotriya sub caste of Utkal Brahmans of Baidyas and Káyasths in Bengal and of Karans in Orissa

Attár a maker of perfumes and essences

Attri rishi a section of Tántis in Bengal

Atul rishi a section of Chasadhobás in Bengal

Atura a section of Doms in Western Bengal who officiate as the priests of the caste

Atur Sannyás a sect of religious mendicants joined by persons who suppose themselves to be at the point of death. It is said to have been popularised by Tulsi Das a Dakshinatya Brahman who accepted the *mantra* of the sect when he was seriously ill and afterwards recovering became a conspicuous adherent of the Vedanta school of philosophy at Benares. Persons who enter the sect in *extremis* and afterwards get well must remain Sannyasis for the rest of their lives

Aturthi a *gan* of the Bharadwaja *gotra* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Augh Baid a section of Bábhans in Behar

Aujana a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Aunria a *mul* or section of the Majraut sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Aura fruit, a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Austhi a title of Kanaujia Brahmans in Behar

Aut Asram a sub caste of Gandhabaniks in Bengal

Awadhíár a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Awadhia Ayodhiá or *Ayodhiyá* literally those who live in Ayodhyá or Oudh—members of different sub castes who trace their origin from Ayodhyá. Also a sub caste of Nuniya in Behar who practise infant marriage and observe a curious custom called *asmani shadi* which requires that the bride and bridegroom shall be held off the ground during the marriage ceremony. A sub caste of Beldars Bind's Dhobis Hajjams Kalwárs Kumbhás Kurmis and Sonars in Behar. Sonars of this sub caste affect a high standard of orthodoxy and do not permit widows to marry again. Ayodhiá Kurmis affect superiority over the other members of the caste and do not permit widows to marry again.

Azghalla a totemistic sept of Chamars and Doms in Chota Nagpur

B

Baba rice a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Babaji a synonym for Brahman and of members of religious sects affecting to practise asceticism

Babangá a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Babbalá a hunger on about courts of law ready to give false testimony or to bring false or malicious charges against a person for hire

Babháníame Katma a mul of the Batsya section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Babhm Bhunhar Zamindar Brahman *Gi hasth Brahman Pachhn i Brahman Majahaja Brahman Ajayak Ibrahim Zamindar Chaudhry* a large and influential caste which counts among its members some of the chief landholders of Behar. Regarding the origin of the Babhans a variety of traditions are current. One story represents them as the descendants of the Brahman rulers whom Jarasu Kam set up in the place of the Kshatriyas slain by him and who in course of time abandoned their Brahmanical duties and took to the profession of landholding. Another tells how a certain king of Ayodhya being childless sought to remove his reproach by the sacrifice of a Brahman and bought for this purpose the second son of the Ishi Jamadagni the father of Jarasu Kam. By the intervention of Viswamitra the maternal uncle of the victim the Raja was enabled to get a child without bloodshed but the young Brahman was held to have been degraded by the sale and was called upon to settle down on the land and become the forefather of the Babhan caste. A third legend perhaps the best known of all traces the Babhans back to a sacrifice offered by Jarasandha King of Magadha at which a very large number of Brahmins some say a lakh and a quarter were required to be present. Jarasandha's Dewan a Káyasth of the Amasht or Karan sub caste did his best to meet the demand but was driven to eke out the local supply by distributing sacred threads among members of the lower castes and palming them off on the king as genuine Brahmins. Jarasandha's suspicions being roused by the odd appearance of some of the guests the Dewan was compelled to guarantee their respectability by eating the food which they had cooked while the Brahmins thus manufactured failing to gain admission into their supposed caste had to set up a caste of their own the name of which (Babhan or Bahman) is popularly supposed to mean a sham Brahman just as in some districts an inferior Rajput is called a Raut the corruption of the name betokening the corruption of the caste.

The last theory is at once refuted by the appearance and demeanour of the caste. They are says Mr Deames a fine manly race with the delicate Aryan type of feature in full perfection.

N t p m ted N
Aryans.

This type I may add is singularly uniform and persistent among the Babhans which would not be the case if they were descended from a crowd of low caste men promoted by the exigencies of a particular occasion for brevity rank thus acquired would in no case carry with it the right of intermarriage with pure Brahmans or Rajputs and the artificially formed group being compelled to marry within its own limits would necessarily perpetuate the low caste type of feature and complexion. As a matter of fact this is what happens with the sham Rajputs whom we find in most of the outlying districts of Bengal. They marry among themselves never among the true Rajputs and their feature reproduce those of the particular aboriginal tribe from which they may happen to have sprung.

If then the hypothesis of a low caste origin breaks down there remains the question—Are the Babhans Brahmans who have somehow been degraded and dropped out of the ranks of their original caste? There seems to be no *prima facie* improbability in this theory. Within the Brahman caste itself we find plenty of instances of inferior sub-castes being formed owing to the adoption of practices deemed inconsistent with the dignity of a Brahman. The Agrahani Acharj and Varna Brahmans are cases in point. There is no reason therefore in the nature of the caste system why the Babhans should not be Brahmans who having lost status for some reason now forgotten broke off entirely from the parent caste instead of accepting the position of an inferior sub-caste. The suggestion that they were degraded by taking to agriculture must of course be put aside for as Mr Leames has pointed out there are many thousands of Brahmans in the same part of the country who are engaged in agricultural pursuits but without losing caste such as Liwáris Ujálhyas Ojhs or Jhas and others.

An examination of the sections or exogamous groups into which the Babhans are divided appears however to tell strongly against the hypothesis that they are degraded Brahmans. These groups are usually the oldest and most durable element in the internal organization of a caste or tribe and may therefore be expected to offer the clearest indications as to its origin. Now we find among the Babhans sections of two distinct types—the one territorial referring either to some very early settlement of the section or to the birthplace of its founder and the other eponymous the eponym being in most cases a Vedic *rishi* or inspired poet. The names of the former class correspond to or closely resemble those current among Rajputs the names of the latter are those of the standard Brahman. Lists of both are given in Appendix I so Babhans. While the matrimonial prohibitions based on these two classes of sections conflict as must obviously often happen where every member of the caste necessarily belongs to both sets the authority of the territorial class overrides that of the eponymous or Brahmanical class. Suppose for instance, that a man of the Karáneh territorial section and of the Sandilya eponymous section wishes to marry a woman of the Bákárwar territorial section the fact that she also belongs to the Sandilya eponymous section will not operate as a bar

to the marriage. Whatever may be the theory of the *purohīts* of the caste the Brahmanical *gotra* is disregarded in practice and doubtful cases are decided in accordance with the *mul* or territorial section to which the parties belong. This circumstance seems to indicate that the territorial sections are the older of the two and are probably the original sections of the caste while the eponymous sections have been borrowed from the Brahmins in comparatively recent times. It would follow that the Babhans are an offshoot not from the Brahmins but from the Rajputs. If Babhans had originally been Brahmins they would at the time of their separation from the parent caste have been already fitted up with a complete set of Brahmanical *gotras* and it is difficult to imagine any reason which could have induced them to borrow a strange and much more elaborate set of sections from a tribe of inferior status and to relegate their own sections to an entirely subordinate position. Territorial sections moreover do not lend themselves to the process of borrowing. They are as a rule exceedingly numerous the meanings of their names are obscure and difficult to trace and with the exception of a few names borne by famous Rajput clans they are wanting in the note of social distinction. The Brahmanical *gotras* on the other hand form a clearly defined and not inconveniently numerous group to which well known and honourable traditions attach they can be borrowed *en masse* without any particular trouble, and the influence of Brahman *purohīts* is sufficient to diffuse them throughout any caste which affects a high standard of ceremonial purity and wishes to rise in the social scale. Numerous examples of the process of borrowing the Brahmanical eponymous *gotras* can be found among most of the lower castes at the present day. I know of no instance of a caste adopting sections of another type. To take a familiar illustration it is as unlikely that a rising caste would borrow territorial sections when the Brahmanical *gotras* were to be had for the asking as it is that an English manufacturer who has got on in the world and is about to change his name would select Billing Wace or one of the earlier English patronymics instead of some more high sounding name which may have come in with the Conquest. Kayana Bandilya and the other Brahmanical section names do for the rising castes of Bengal what Vavasour Bracy and Montrosor are supposed to do for the wealthy *parvenu* in England.

It should be added here that alongside of the clearly territorial section names we find a few names of another type such as Bighauehha Belauria Kastuar which are said to have reference to the tiger the *bel* tree (*ægle marmelos*) and the *is* grass and Harari Kodaria Bhusarat Domkatar (foundling spade wielder husk picker Dom's knife) which seem to be nicknames of the same kind as we meet among some of the Himalayan tribes. In the absence of evidence that the members of the first three sections regard with veneration the animals and plants whose names they bear we are hardly justified in pronouncing the names to be survivals from the totemistic stage. Some suggestion of inferiority does however seem to attach to the last four sections and this point is more fully discussed below. For the purpose of controlling connubial arrangements, both of

these classes seem to possess the same value as the territorial section so that the argument stated above is not affected

The considerations set forth above appear to me to render it highly probable that the Babhans are a branch of the Rajputs. It must however be admitted that evidence in favour of a Brahmanical origin is not wanting. Mr Sherring lays stress on the fact that the Bhuinhars of Begares call themselves Brahmans have the *gotras* titles and family names of Brahmans and practise for the most part the usages of Brahmans. In Behar though the claim to be Brahmans is not invariably put forward Brahmanical titles such as *Misr*, *Lahri* and *Tewari* are used along with the Rajput titles of *Singh*, *Rai* and *Thakur*. In Shahabad and in parts of the North Western Provinces members of other castes accord to a Babhan the salutation *pranam*, ordinarily reserved for Brahmans while the Babhan responds with the benediction *asubad*. Further proof however this practice is unknown and in Patna a Babhan would give the first greeting to a Kayasth thereby implicitly recognising the superior status of that caste in the social system.

Like the Rajputs the Babhans exclude the section of both father and mother or in other words forbid marriage to a man to marry a woman who belongs to the same section as he himself or his mother. The operation of this rule is further extended by the manner in which it is applied. Account is taken not merely of the section to which the proposed bride herself belongs (*i.e.* her father's section) but also of her mother's section so that the marriage will be barred if the bride's mother belonged to the same section as the bridegroom's mother though of course neither bride nor bridegroom can be members of that section. In respect of prohibited degrees they follow the rules current among the Kayasths and explained in the article on that caste.

Among the Babhans of Benar as among the Rajputs no endogamous divisions exist and they also intermarry on terms of equality with the Babhans of the North Western Provinces. Some sections however are reckoned inferior to the rest notably the Hararia, Kodaria and Bhusbarat mentioned above regarding whom there is a saying in Behar—

Hararia Kodaria Bhusbarat mare to Tirhut ka pap hare

In the north of Manbhum the Rampai and Domkatar sections are in such low repute that members of the other sections will not give their daughters in marriage to Rampai or Domkatar men although they have no objection to taking wives from those sections themselves. Consequently in that part of the country Rampai and Domkatar Babhans can only get wives from each other though their women can obtain husbands from all sections except their own. If the restrictions were carried a step further and Babhans belonging to other sections interdicted from taking Rampai and Domkatar women to wife those sections would be wholly cut off

from the *jus connubii* and would in fact if not in name have hardened into a sub caste. I have no evidence to show that this is at all likely to take place—the Manbhūm practice indeed appears to be quite exceptional—but the point deserves notice as tending to throw light on the obscure problem of the formation of sub castes.

All Babhans who can afford to do so marry their daughters as infants the bride's age being often no more than four or five years. The same rule holds good for boys only they are married comparatively later in life and a son unmarried at the age of puberty does not bring the same sort of reproach on the family as a daughter is supposed to do. Instances however are not wanting where for special reasons the daughters of wealthy families have been married after they were grown up as was the case with the late Maharani of Tikari and it seems to be clear that even the most orthodox members of the caste do not take the extreme sacerdotal view of the necessity of infant-marriage. Ordinarily a price is paid for a bridegroom but the purchase of brides is by no means uncommon. A man may marry two sisters and the number of wives he may have is subject to no limit except his ability to maintain them. Some say however that a second wife is only permissible if the first proves barren is convicted of unchastity or suffers from an incurable disease. Whatever may be the rule on the subject it is rare to find a man with more than two wives. Widows are not allowed to marry again. Divorce is unknown a faithless wife is simply turned out of the caste and left to shift for herself by becoming a prostitute turning Mahomedan or joining some of the less reputable religious sects.

The marriage ceremony of the Babhans does not appear to differ materially from the standard type of a Behar marriage which has been very fully described by Mr Grierson at page 362 of *Behar Peasant Life*. It should perhaps be noted that a Babhan *marhuwa* or marriage shed had six posts not four and that the bride is held throughout the ceremony by a woman of the Kahar caste. I may further observe that whereas according to Hindu law the completion of the seventh step by the bride renders the marriage final and irrevocable a number of Babhans in Patna assured me with much particularity of statement that in their opinion *sindurdaṇ* or the smearing of vermilion on the parting of the bride's hair formed the binding portion of the ceremony—not the circumambulation of the sacrificial fire (*bhanwar* or *bedi ghumaeh*) which in Behar takes the place of the Vedic *saptapadi*. My informants emphasised their statement by adding that if the bridegroom were to die after *bhanwar* and before *sindurdaṇ* the bride would not be deemed a widow and would be permitted to marry another man. In the article on Kumhar below I have endeavoured to trace the origin of *sindurdaṇ* and have ventured to put forward the theory that it has probably been borrowed from the marriage service of the non Aryan races.

Babhans burn their dead and perform the *śraddh* ceremony on the eleventh day after death in the fashion described by Mr Grierson (*Behar Peasant Life*).

Disposal of the dead

page 391) Bairagi Babhans are buried. In cases of extreme poverty the corpse is thrown into a river after the nearest relative has touched the mouth with a burning torch. At the *śradh* ceremony as in all other acts of domestic worship for which the services of a *purohit* are required Kanaujī Brahmins officiate without thereby incurring any degradation in comparison with the Brahmins who serve the higher castes. In some parts of Eastern Behar Maithil Brahmins are employed by the Bābhans. These rank below Kanaujiās and are looked down upon by the Srotriyā Brahman not because they serve in Bābhans' houses but because their own origin is believed to be of doubtful purity.

The religion of the Babhan like that of the ordinary high caste Hindu conforms in its details to the ritual of whatever recognised sect he happens to belong to. Representatives of all sects are found amongst the caste in much the same proportion as in the population at large. Vaishnavism however is said to have been only recently introduced among them and in North Behar most Babhans are either Śaivā or Śāktā. No special consequences are involved by professing the tenets of any of the regular sects and intermarriage between their members is free within the limits of the caste. Besides the standard worship which a Babhan performs in virtue of belonging to a particular sect all householders offer he goats and rams to Kālī on the 24th or 25th of Kuar (September-October) sweetmeats sandal paste flowers to Sitala on the 24th Chait March (April) and sugared cakes to Hanuman on every Tuesday. On the 1st of Chait these three deities are propitiated with *pua* (wheat flour and molasses cooked in oil) *ba a* (cakes of *uḍ* fried in oil) and *kachuanu* (round balls of rice flour sugar and butter). These offerings are presented by the men of the family without the aid of a Brahmin and are afterwards divided among the members of the household. To the women is relegated the task of appeasing a lower order of gods—Bāndī Mai, Sokhī and Gāriyā—with molasses and *ṛithi*, a sort of boiled pudding made of *sattu* or meal.

Owing probably to the controversy about their origin the social standing of the Babhans is not altogether easy to determine precisely and varies slightly in different parts of the area which they inhabit. In South Eastern Benar they rank immediately below Kayasths but in Sahad Saran and the North Western provinces they appear to stand on much the same level as Rajputs. The fact that in Patna and Gaya the Amashtha or Karan Kayasths will eat *ac* / *i* food which has been cooked by a Babhan while the other sub-castes of Kayasths will not may perhaps be a survival from times when Bābhans occupied a higher position than they do at the present day. In Champaran according to Mr Beames Babhans are not permitted to drink and smoke with Brahmins and only under some restrictions with Rajputs. Thus a Rajput may eat rice with them only when it is without condiments he may not eat bread and he may drink water only from an earthen vessel not from a brass *ṭa*. Similarly when he eats with them his food must be placed on a dish made of

leaves and not on the usual brass *thalis*. The meaning of these apparently trifling distinctions is that the Rájput on an emergency may eat hastily prepared food with them but nothing that implies a long preparation or deliberate intention. Babhans themselves claim to observe a higher standard of ceremonial purity than Rájputs in that they will not touch the handle (*parihath* or *lagna*) of the plough and that they use the full *spanayan* ritual when investing their children with the *janeo* or sacred thread. In the matter of food they profess to take cooked food only with Brahmans and sweetmeats curds parched rice etc (*pakk*) from Rájputs and the group of castes from whose hands a Brahman can take water. As regards the latter class they are careful to explain that although they will take sweetmeats &c as guests in their houses they will not sit down and eat with them. The Bábhān's own diet is the same as that of all orthodox Hindus and, like theirs depends in some respects on considerations of sect. Thus Saivas and Saktas eat flesh while Vaishnavas are restricted to vegetable food. Spirituous liquors are strictly forbidden, and can only be indulged in secretly.

The characteristic occupation of the Bábhān caste as indeed is indicated by the title Bhuinhar is that of settled agriculturists but they will under no circumstances drive the plough with their own hands. Apart from this special prohibition they do not appear to be unreasonably fastidious as to how they get their living and will take service as soldiers constables durwans nagdis or láthiáls cut wood work as coolies and do anything that is not specifically unclean. Many of them trade in grain but it is considered derogatory to deal in miscellaneous articles or to go in for general shop keeping. Some Babhans hold great estates in Behar and the North Western Provinces among whom may be mentioned the Maharajas of Benares of Bettiah in Champaran Tikari in Gya Hatwa in Saran and Tamakhi in Gorakhpur the Raja of Sheohar and the Rajkumar Babu of Madhoban in Champaran. They are found as tenure holders of all grades and occupancy and non occupancy rayyats while a very few have sunk to the position of landless day labourers. According to their own account although ranking as *ashraf* or high caste cultivators they enjoy no special privileges in respect of rent and are not particularly sought after as tenants because in common with Brahmans Rájputs and Kayasths they cannot be called upon for forced labour (*beari*) or for special services in addition to the money rent. The fact seems to be that as they will not plough themselves and therfore must employ labourers (*lamnyas*) for this purpose they cannot pay so high a rent as men who work with their own hands while their bold and overbearing character and their tendency to mass themselves in strong and pugnacious brotherhoods render them comparatively unnecessary tenants in the eyes of an exacting landlord. It is said indeed that the title Bhuinhar a term which Bábhāns never apply to themselves has passed into a by word for sharpness and cunning.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Babhāns as ascertained in the census of 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872.	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
H wrah		33	T h t { Da bhānā		127 4
24 Parganas		16	Sara { M gull p	218 597	190 2
Jessore		•	Cha para	97 064	1231
M rshid bad		100	M rghy	9	5
Raj haly		1	Rhacalp	1 7	17
Rangp		4	P h	707 4	4 358
Pub		119	Sa tāl Parganas	6 68	11 8 2
Darj ling		11	M lclah	102	60 9
K h B har			H za bagh		96
Fatna	1167 4	131 49	Loh rd g	6 309	29 96
y	1 4	152 697	S bh m	5 786	11 643
Shahabad	2 038	76 39	Tril lary Sia		3
					13 250

Babhaniame Karrain a *mul* of the Batsa section of Maithil Bruhmans in Behar

Bábhaunchha a *thar* or sept of Kh mibur u Duping

Babri a synonym for Bhar bhunja

Bábu also called Babu Paliya a group of the Paliyá sub caste of Kochhs in Northern Bengal. A title of Rájputs in Behar and Chota Nagpur importing descent from one of the leading families of the locality and not unfrequently carrying with it the right to hold land on favourable terms by the privileged tenure known as *babua*. Colonel Yule gives the following note on the word in his *Anglo-Indian Glossary* — Properly a term of respect attached to a name like *Master* or *Mr* and formerly applied in some parts of Hindustan to certain persons of distinction. Its application as a term of respect is now almost or altogether confined to Lower Bengal (though C P Brown states that it is also used in Southern India for Sir My Lord Your Honour). In Bengal and else-

where among Anglo Indians it is often used with a slight savour of disparagement as characterising a superficially cultivated but too often effeminate Bengali and from the extensive employment of the class to which the term was applied as a title in the capacity of clerks in English offices the word has come often to signify a native clerk who writes English.

Babuan a title of Cheros in Chota Nagpur probably referring to the peculiar landed tenure noticed under Babu.

Bahunhathia a sept of Bahans in Chota Nagpur.

Bachacalf a sept of Goalás in Chota Nagpur.

Bachás, a section of Goalás in the North Western Provinces.

Bachberait a territorial section of the Maghaya sub caste of Barhis in Behar.

Bachgotia, a section of Babhans in Behar.

Bachgotra a section of the Chauhan sub caste of Nuhias in Behar.

Bachhi a *gotra* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Bachhi a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bachhratán a section of the Banodhiá and Jaiswar Kalwars

Bachhwaliá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces

Bádál a sept of the Tungjainya sub tribe of Chakmas in the Chittagong Hill Tracts

Bádámbasti a *mul* or section of the Chhumuli Madheia sub caste of Hulwars in Behar

Badamiá a sub caste of Koras in Western Bengal

Badda Kurkutiá a sept of Bhumij in Manbhum

Badgar a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces

Badhariyá see Bathawa

Badhik a sept of Rajputs in Gorakhpur

Badhiria a section of Ghais in Chota Nagpur

Badhwadia a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces

Badisama a section of the Kanan sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Badia gar a wire drawer. The trade of wire drawing or *lár kash* is followed by Hindus of all castes and sometimes by Muhammadans in a very primitive manner. Silver wire is heated and merely passed through apertures in a steel plate according to

the fineness wanted. In gilding silver China gold leaf wrapped round the silver is put over a charcoal fire and slowly heated. When partially fused it is withdrawn and burnished with *Lahsan pattha* perhaps soapstone after which it is drawn into wire and sold to workers in embroidered muslin and brocade. The *Badli* gar also manufacture *chamki* or spangles and *Gokhru gota* or filigree ankle bells.

Badonia a section of Bahaus in Behar

Badraka or *Bidli* a *gaul* a *gauri* in Behar

Badramia a section of Bahaus in Behar

Badshahi a section of the Bahaur sub caste of Dohals in Behar

Baduria an entry of the *flynt* (I *putli rampu*) a title of Dom Hari Mills and other low castes in Behar

Badyakar a musician a sub caste of Jatnis who play on drums on ceremonial and festive occasions. The term is also a title denoting the occupation of the following castes — *Bairi* and *Muchi* who use the *th* / or big drum *Hari* or *Kaora* who use the *dhol* or small drum.

Baergoá a *mul* or section of the Nimulia or Mijraut sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Bag a sept of Iarreyas in Chota Nagpur

Bagaiya a *mul* or section of Sonar in Behar

Bágál a cowherd *occ*

Bágali *Bagani* a title of Ekādas Telis—agriculturists and traders

Bagālya a *thar* or sept of Gurungs and of the Bharadwāja *gotra* of Nepālī Brahman

Bagande a sub caste of Pods in Bengal

Bagauchiá a section of Bábhans in Behar

Bagchhi a *gain* of the Sándulya *gotra* of the Uttar Barendra Brahman in Bengal

Bagchi a title of Bárendra Brahman in Bengal

Bagdi *Bagti* *Mudi* a cultivating fishing and menial caste of Central and Western Bengal who appear from their features and complexion to be of Drávidian descent and closely akin to the tribes whom for convenience of locality we may call aboriginal. A variety of more or less indelicate legends are current regarding the origin of the caste. One story tells how Lārvatī disguised herself as a fisherwoman and made love to Siva with the object of testing his fidelity to herself. When the goddess yielded to the temptation Lārvatī revealed her identity and Siva, out of pique at her triumph, ordained that the child to be born from her should be a Bagdi and live by fishing. Another account lays the scene of this adventure in Kochh Bihār where Siva is represented as living with a number of concubines of the Kachh tribe. Lārvatī was moved by jealousy to come in the disguise of a fisherwoman and betray the standing crops of the Kochhis and Siva could only induce her to depart by begetting on her a son and a daughter. The twins were afterwards married and gave birth to Hamvir Kīrti Bihāpur in Binkura from whose four daughters—Sintu Ntū Mintu and Kshetu—the four sub castes Lentulia Duli Kusmeti and Matia are descended.

According to a third tradition the first Bagdi was accidentally begotten by Rama on a widow maid servant in attendance on Sita and father undergoing some persecution at the hands of his reputed father was recompensed by the promise that he and his descendants should be palanquin bearers and in that capacity should be trusted to carry females of the highest classes. From Orissa comes the still more grotesque tale how once upon a time the gods being assembled in council a goddess suddenly gave birth to three sons and feeling embarrassed by the situation hid the first under a heap of tamarind (*tentul*) pods the second in an iron pan and the third under a hermit's staff (*danda*). From these vicissitudes of their infancy the children got the names of Lentulia Bagdi Lohār Manjhi and Dandachhatra Marjhi. It will of course be understood that these traditions are quoted here not for any light that they may throw upon the origin of the Bagdis but as contributions to the modern science of folklore. Apart from any value they may possess as illustrations of the working of the myth-making faculty among primitive folk I may point out that all of them must have grown up after the Bagdis had ceased to be a compact tribe. Such traditions could only have been invented by people who had already in some measure attained to Hinduism and felt the want of a mythical pedigree of the orthodox type. The last

in particular furnishes an excellent example of a myth devised for the purpose of giving a respectable explanation of the totemistic name *I ntulía*. A parallel case will be found among the Kumbhárs of Orissa.

In the district of Bankura where the original structure of the caste seems to have been singularly well preserved we find the Bágdís divided into the following sub-castes — (1) *Tentulía*, bearing the titles *Bagh* *Santra* *Rí* *Kh* *n* *Puila* (2) *Kasáikulía* with the titles *Manjhi* *Masalchi* *Ialunkiaí* *Ihe ká* (3) *Dulrá* with titles *Sardar* and *Dhára* (4) *Ujha* or *Ojha* (5) *Machhua* *Mechhuá* or *Mecho* (6) *Gulí* *manjhi* (7) *Dandamanjhi* (8) *Kusmeria* *Kusmatia* or *Kusputra* (9) *Mallametia* *Matia* or *Matial*. Within these again are a number of exogamous sections among which may be mentioned *Ka bak* the heron *Po kúsi* the jungle cock *Sal íshí* or *Salmach* the sal fish *Patrí* the bean and *Ku hchhap* the tortoise. The totem is taboo to the members of the section that is to say a *Kasbak* *Bágdí* may not kill or eat a heron a *Iátrishi* like the *Iythagoreins* according to *Lucian* may not touch a bean.

A *Bágdí* cannot marry outside the sub caste nor inside the section to which he belongs. Thus a *Tentulía* must marry a *Ientulía* but a man of the *Salríshi* section to whatever sub-caste he may belong cannot marry a woman of that section. The section names go by the male side and the rule prohibiting marriage within the section requires therefore to be helped out by a separate set of rules which to some extent overlap the rule of exogamy. Marriage with any person descended in a direct line from the same parents is forbidden as long as any relationship can be traced. To simplify the calculation of collateral relationship the formula

Paternal uncle maternal uncle paternal aunt maternal aunt—these four relationships are to be avoided in marriage is in use. Ordinarily the prohibition extends only to three generations in the descending line but if *biayukh* or mutual recognition of relationship is kept up intermarriage is barred for five or as some say seven generations. In counting generations the person under consideration is included.

In the more recent districts the organization of the caste seems to be less elaborate and has clearly been affected by closer contact with Hinduism indicating the adoption of Brahmanical customs. In the 24 *lingas* only five sub-castes are found—*Tentulía* *Kusmetia* *rayodas* *Manjhi* *Noda* while the sections are reduced to three—*Kasyapa* *Itchi* and *Dasya*—the members of which profess to be descended from Vedic *Rishis* and have abandoned the totemistic observance which are common further west. Traces of totemism however still survive in the names of sub-castes. *Tentulias* admit that they are called after the tamarind tree and *Kusmetiás* that they take their name from the kusa grass but neither show any reverence for the plants in question. The system of exogamy has also been developed in the direction of closer conformity with the usages of the higher castes. The mother's section is excluded in addition to the father's and marriage with *Sapindas* is prohibited.

In Bankura Manbhum and the north of Orissa where the example of the aboriginal races is prominent Bagdis practise both infant and adult marriage indifferently In the case of girl who are not married in infancy sexual license before marriage is virtually tolerated it being understood that if a girl becomes pregnant she will find some one to marry her Further east infant marriage is the rule and adult the exception while the Bagdis of the 24 Parganas Jessore and Nadiya pretend entire ignorance of the custom of adult marriage Polygamy is permitted In theory a man may marry as many wives as he can afford to maintain practically however the standard of living of the caste limits him to two He may also marry two sisters at the same time

Among a mass of ritual borrowed from the Brahmanical system the marriage ceremony (*libaha* or *byah* as opposed to *sanga*) of the Bagdis of Western Bengal has preserved some interesting usages which appear to belong to a different and perhaps more primitive order of symbolism Early on the wedding morning before the bridegroom starts in procession for the bride's house he goes through a mock marriage to a *mahua* tree (*Basia latifolia*) He embraces the tree and bedaubes it with vermillion his right wrist is bound to it with thread and after he is released from the tree this same thread is used to attach a bunch of *mahua* leaves to his wrist The *baat* or procession of the bridegroom's party is usually timed so as to reach the bride's house about sunset On arrival the inner courtyard of the house is defended by the bride's friends and a mimic conflict takes place which ends in the victory of the bridegroom Symbolic capture having been thus effected the bridegroom himself is seated with his face to the east on a wooden stool (*puja*) placed under a bower of *al* leaves having pots of oil gurun and turmeric at the four corners and a small pool of water in the centre When the bride enters she marches seven times round the bower keeping it always on her right hand and seats herself opposite to the bridegroom the pool of water being between the pair The right hands of the bride and the bridegroom and the bride's eldest relative are tied together with thread by the officiating Brahman who at the same time recites sacred texts (*mantras*) the purport of which is that the bride has been given by her people to the bridegroom and has been accepted by him The priest then claims his fee and after receiving it unties the thread and knots together the scarves worn by the married couple This part of the ceremony is called *goti-anta* the change of *gotra* and is supposed to transfer the bride from her own section or exogamous group into that of her husband It is followed by *sindurdan* when the bridegroom takes a small cup of vermillion in his left hand and with his right hand smears the colour on the parting of the bride's hair By the Bagdis as by most of the aboriginal tribes of Western Bengal *sindurdan* is deemed to be the essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony and they know nothing of the seven steps of the Brahmanical rite Garlands of flowers are then exchanged by the parties and the rest of the

night is spent in feasting the married couple leaving for the bridegroom's house early next morning. The knotted scarves are not untied until the fourth day after the wedding.

All sub castes except the Tentulia Bagdis allow widows to marry again by the ceremony known as *Sanga* — a maimed rite at which no Brahman officiates¹ no *mantras* or Vedic texts are recited and the sacred fire which from the days of the Rig Veda has formed the distinguishing feature of the marriage ritual is not kindled. In the *Sanga* ceremony as practised by the Bagdis of Central Bengal the bride and bridegroom sit face to face on a mat and each daubs the other's forehead with a paste of powder of turmeric and water. A sheet (*chador*) is then thrown over the heads of the pair so as to cover them entirely and under this the bridegroom puts an iron bracelet (*lotar khun*) on the left wrist of the bride. The proceedings are finished by a feast to the caste brethren of the village. If the newly married couple are too poor to afford a feast they pay a fee of Rs 14. A widow may marry her late husband's younger brother but she is not compelled to do so.

In the matter of divorce the practice of the caste seems to vary in different parts of Bengal. Hinduised Bagdis follow the example of the higher castes in denying that such a thing is possible. The general opinion however seems to be that a wife may be divorced for barrenness, unchastity or disobedience duly proved to the satisfaction of a council of elders of the caste. When the council have given their assent the husband closes the proceedings by the symbolical act of breaking a straw in two or by taking away the iron bracelet which every married woman wears on her left wrist. A divorced wife is entitled to claim maintenance from her late husband for a period of six months after the divorce. She may marry again by the *Sanga* form and in some districts such marriages are exceedingly common. Cases indeed have come to my notice in which a wife has taken steps to get a divorce with the avowed object of marrying another man. As a rule however the initiative is supposed to be taken by the husband.

Like the Bauris all sub castes of Bagdis except the Tentulia admit into their circle members of any caste higher than themselves in social standing. No regular ceremony is appointed for such occasions; the new member merely pays to the caste panchayat a sum of money varying from Rs 10 to Rs 15 to be spent on a feast in which for the first time he openly eats with his adopted caste brethren. When admitted into the Dutia sub caste he is made to take the palanquin on his shoulder to signify his acceptance of the characteristic occupation of the body to which he has joined himself. The origin of this singular practice which is entirely out of accord with the spirit of the caste system at the present day is apparently

Am g th Bagdis f th Trib try St tes f Orissa I m f rm d th t B l m
d tte d th Sanga rem yf th p pose f h t k m u d s t f y b by
th to h th new l rth and brac l t wh l th brid g oom p se t t th b l

to be sought in the lax views of the Bagdis and Bauris on the subject of sexual morality. In every other caste a woman who has an intrigue with an outsider is punished by expulsion from the caste but Bagdis and Bauris not only allow their women to live openly with men of other castes but receive those men into their own community when as frequently happens they are outcasted by their own people for eating rice cooked by their mistresses.

The religion of the Bagdis is compounded of elements borrowed from orthodox Hinduism and survivals from the mingled Animism and Nature worship which prevails among the aborigines of Western Bengal. Siva, Vishnu, Dharmaraj (Yama), Durgā, the Sakti and the myriad names of the modern Hindu pantheon are worshipped in a more or less intelligent fashion under the guidance of the degraded (*patil*) Brahmans who look after the spiritual welfare of the lower castes. Alongside of these greater gods we find the Santāl goddess Gosain Fra and Bārpahar the great mountain god (Marang Buru) of the same tribe. According to the Bagdis themselves their favourite and characteristic deity is Māna the sister of the Snake King Vāsuki the wife of Jaratkaru and mother of Astikā whose intervention saved the snake race from destruction by Janmejaya.

Manasa is worshipped by the caste with great pomp and circumstance. On the 5th and 20th of the four rainy months—Āśvīn, Śrāvan, Bhādra and Āśvīn (middle of Jun to middle of October)—rams and he goats are sacrificed, rice, sweetmeats, fruit and flowers are offered, and on the Nagpanchamī (10th of the light half of Śrāvan = end of August) a four armed effigy of the goddess crowned by a tiara of snakes grasps a cobra in each hand and with her feet resting on a goose is carried round the village with much discordant music and fireworks thrown into a tank. The cult of Manasa is of course by no means confined to the Bagdis. In Eastern Bengal all caste from the Brahman to the Chandal adore her and no class is more strict in attending to the details of her worship than the Kulin Brahmans of Bikrampur in Dacca. Bagdis however regard her with peculiar respect and say that they alone among her votaries make images in her honour. Some add that the *pūja* has the effect of securing the worshippers from snake bite which is naturally more frequent during the rains and this notion finds a curious echo in the promise given by Vāsuki to Astika in the Mahābhārata that those who call upon his name be they Brahmans or common folk shall be safe from the attacks of the snake race.

On the last day of Bhādra (middle of September) the Bagdis of Manbhūm and Bankura carry in procession the effigy of a female saint named Bhādu who is said to have been the favourite daughter of a former Raja of Pachete and to have died a virgin for the good of the people. The worship consists of songs and wild dances in which men, women and children take part. The story of its origin may well have some foundation in fact it being notorious that the Rajas of Pachete like most of the pseudo Rajput families of Chota Nagpur find great difficulty in arranging suitable alliances for their daughters and often have to keep them at home unmarried until they

have long passed the age of puberty. Regarded from this point of view the legend adds one more to the numerous instances which may be cited in support of the theory propounded by Sir Alfred Lyall in his essay on the origin of Divine Myths in India.¹

Bagdis burn their dead and throw the ashes into a stream or tank. The bodies of persons who die of small pox or cholera are either buried or exposed. Infants under three years are buried. In parts of Oris a the universal practice is to bury the dead on the left side with the head towards the north. The *śraddh* ceremony is performed a month after death under the supervision of a Brahman and in general conformity with the standard Hindu ritual.

Bagdis profess to follow the Hindu law of inheritance but their legal business as with most of the lower castes is of a very simple character and is generally disposed of by their own caste councils (panchayats) without the intervention of the Courts. In making a division of property the eldest son gets an extra share (*jeth ang*) which seems to be intended to enable him to support the female members of the family who remain under his care. A similar provision was recognised by early Hindu law but it has since become obsolete and entire equality or division is now the rule among all the higher castes unless perhaps where some special family custom can be proved.

Opinions differ regarding the original occupation of the caste. Some say fishing, others personal service but the question clearly is not one on which we can hope to arrive at any definite conclusion. At the present day the Tentulia and Kasakuhla Bagdis work as masons and also prepare the lime which is mixed with betel and areca nut. Dulh Bagdis carry palanquins or *duli* and in common with the other sub castes earn their livelihood by fishing, making gunny bags, weaving cotton and preparing the red powder (*rat*) used in the Holi festival. The Bagdi fisherman uses the ordinary circular cast net described in the article on Malo but swings the net round his head before casting it—a practice which is supposed by the regular fishing castes of Bengal—Tiyar Malo and Kaibartta—to be peculiarly dishonourable. Most of the Bagdis are also to some extent engaged in agriculture usually as *kul* or under raiyats and comparatively few have attained the more respectable position of occupancy tenants. In Western Bengal we find large numbers of them working as landless day labourers paid in cash or kind or as nomadic cultivators tilling other men's lands on the *bag jot* system under which they are remunerated by a definite share of the produce—sometimes one half sometimes less as may be arranged with their immediate landlord. I can recall no instance of a Bagdi holding a *zemi dari* or even a superior tenure such as *patni* or *mukdani* of any importance but some of the Manbhumi zemindars who now claim to be Rajputs are said by Colonel Dalton to be really Bagdis and the conjecture is likely enough to be true. In the neighbouring district of Bankura Bagdis

must have been among the earliest settlers if not the actual aborigines of that part of the country for at the present time there are 14 Bagdis holding the tenure of *sardar qhatul* 6 are *s dials* 2 are village *sardars* 178 *tabudars* and 117 *chakran chaukidars* In Manbhum one Bagdi holds a village *sardar s* tenure and four are employed as *tabudars* In Central Bengal Bagdis are frequently met with as *chaukidars*

Their social rank is very low They are usually classed with Bauris and Bhuiyas as dwellers on the outskirts of Hinduism Some Bagdis eat beef and pork and all indulge freely in flesh of other kinds and are greatly addicted to drink Tentulia Bagdis however will not eat beef and many members of this sub caste have become Vaishnavas and abstain from all sorts of flesh By abstaining from beef they consider themselves to be raised above the Bauri Muchi and Oraon and the beef eating members of their own caste

Duha Bagdis eat tortoises In Western Bengal the Bagdis eat and drink with the Mal in Orissa they eat rice with the Lohar Manjhi and sweetmeats with the Bhuiya

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Bagdis in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
B rdwan	20 4	180 242	F dp	1 460	2 220
B k		105 7	H k j	7	9 1
B bh	5 94	73 297	M m h	1 2	2 523
M d p	7 28	114 700	(h tt	9	485
H ghl	} 152 618	79	Noakh M	86	38
H wran		60 628	T i perah	1 1	66
24-p ganas	9 838	84 3	P t	3	
Nad y	3 7	42 049	h h bad		
Jesso	6 26	18 2	M h	1	18
Kl l		4	P h	8	
M nt d b d	23 920	3 1 7	q al P g as	3 7	4 078
D jf	1 2	1 021	M id h	7	3 44
Raj h l	1 9	2 0	ack	3 36	4 8 2
Ra gl	63	7	P ri	7	262
Rog	57	1 499	H lan rc		1
Pal	1 540	61	i b t ry Stas es	11 7 7	4 850
Dm j l		46	H sa bagl	64	6
J l k	146	24 727	Loh d ga	8 0	2 826
h B h		1 289	S bl	2 3	1
D	1 305	2 485	Mar bh m	9 3	7
			T b ta y bt t		157

Bagdi Lohar a sub caste of Lohars in Manbhum

Bage anything forbidden a sept of Mund s and Kharias in Chota Nagpur

Bagehar a section of Turis in Chota Nagpur

Bagh tiger a totemistic sept or section of Goálás Kharwars

Lohars Oraons Pans Ghásis Goráits and Gronds a title of Bagdis and Kaibarttas in Bengal

Bághá a sub caste of Aguris in Western Bengal tiger a title of Khandáits in Orissa

Bághai or Baghai a sub-caste of Rájús in Midnapur

Baghail or **Baghel** a sept of the Suryabansi Rajputs in Behar tiger a totemistic sept of Pans Gonds and Rautias in Chota Nagpur

Bagháir a sept of the Surya bansi sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Bághákol a section of the Satmulia Mughaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Bághbán or *Baya* a gardener or a vender of vegetables fruits and flowers

Baghbanuár tiger a totemistic section of Kurmis in Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur the members of which will not touch or kill a tiger

Baghela quail a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bagher tiger a totemistic sept of Korwas in Chota Nagpur

Bághrá a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces

Baghoar tiger a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bághgot tiger a totemistic section of Numbas in Behar

Baghot a title of the Chosi sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Bághrishí (the tiger) a totemistic section of Bagdis Chas dhoobás and of Kamars in Singbhum and the Santál I arganas

Baghtuar a devotee a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Baghuár a section of Goráuts in Chota Nagpur

Baghwár tiger a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans and Goalas in Behar

Bágre or **Ujaini** a sub caste of Goalás in Bengal

Bagri a section of Bagdis in Bengal

Bagri a section of Bábhais in Behar a sub caste of Kaibarttas in Murshedabad

Bagsaria a sub caste and a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Bagti a sub caste of Bauris in Western Bengal a sept of Mundas and Pans in Chota Nagpur

Bagtit a synonym for Bagti

Baguan a section of Sonaris in Behar

Baguli a title of Brahmans

Báguri a *gain* or sub section of Saktasati Brahmans in Bengal

Bagwe a section of the Banajar sub caste of Koiris in Behar

Bahak a title of palki bearers a synonym for Behara *g v*

Bahal a *cain* of the Bharadwaja *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Bahannajati a sub-caste of Khatris in Bengal

Bahattarghari a sub-caste of Suklis in Midnapur

Bahelá a title assumed by the Dosádhs who have come as immigrant labourers to the Iera from Behar

Bahelá a sub caste of Dosádh in Behar also called Bhula who are employed as labourers and bird catchers. Although closely allied to Dosádhs the Bahelias will not eat or drink with them and when serving as policemen they call themselves Hazaras. Many pursue agriculture while some serve as grooms in Bengal. There is a caste of the same name in Bengal who are professional hunters and are thus allied to Bediyas.

Bahera a jungle fruit a totem of the sept of Kharwar and Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Baheríá a class of Rajputs in Jaunpur and Chunar

Baherwar a fruit a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa a totemistic sept of Agarias and Kharwars

Bahíá or *Bahiot* the water carrier the bearer a title of Dhanuks and Kahars in Behar who are personal servants in the houses of the higher castes. The term also denotes a sub caste of Kewats in Bhagalpur who are said to have been casteless for eating the *pheta* or leaving of their masters.

Bahíáwak *Bahiot* or *Ghíáha* a sub caste of Kewats in Behar

Bahio a sub caste of Khatwas in Behar

Bahiot a sub-caste of Amats in Behar. The name implies personal service—bearer of water

Bahírarwár Parhat a *mul* of the Batsya section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Bahírarwar Punach a *mul* of the Batsya section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Bahírarwár Parkhand a *mul* of the Batsya section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Bahírarwar Kasiam a *mul* of the Batsya section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Bahomar a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bahra a title of Dhobis in Behar

Bahubalendra strong as the golden bra a title of Khundits in Orissa

Bahudaka a mendicant who lives in a tringe town and begs his food from house to house. The name is said to be derived from *batu* many and *ulika* water drinking water from various sources

Bahuja a synonym for Rajput

Bahurupia a mimic an actor a person assuming various characters and disguises. Bahurupias are believed to have been originally low caste Hindus who on their conversion to Islam affected to trace their descent from Umar al Yárfath court jester of Nushirwan. They often appear in the guise of droll old women, their face puckered with *gal* juice who calls herself Akbar's nurse. Another popular role is that of Siv Gauri in which the Bahurupia gets up one side of his person as Siva and the other as Gauri and conducts a humorous dialogue between the two.

Bái Mahomedan dancing girls and prostitutes

Baiahrapad an eponymous section of Rajputs in Behar

Baiba a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Baid a section of Maghayá Kumhar in Behar a corrupted form of Baidya or Vaidya a title of the barber caste in Hazaribagh where they practise surgery and prescribe for the sick a section of Oswals

Baidha a title of Dhobis in Behar

Baidik a sub-caste of Brahmans and Jugs in Bengal

Baidmota a section of Oswals

Baidohang a sept of Lambus in Darjiling

Baidsain a section of the Amashta Kayasths in Behar

Baidya ¹ *Vaidya* (from Sansk *vid* to know) *Ambastha Bhusha Chakrabarti* a well known and highly respected caste found only in Bengal proper whose feature and complexion seem to warrant their claim to tolerably pure Aryan descent There has been much controversy regarding their origin The name Vaidya does not occur in Manu but the Ambasthas are there said to be the offspring of a Brahman father and a Vaisya mother and their profession to be the practice of medicine

According to this account the Baidyas are *anulomaja* (born with the hair or grain in due order) the father being of higher caste than the mother Another tradition describes them as begotten on a Brahman woman by one of the Aswini Kumára the light bringing and healing twin horsemen of Vedic mythology and then oddly enough goes on to say that they were reckoned as Sudras because their mother was of superior rank to their father and their generation was consequently *pratilomaja* against the hair or in the inverse order according to the succession of the castes It would appear from this that the Aswini Kumaras were classed as Kshatriyas and that according to Brahmanical ideas even the gods were not equal mates for a Brahman maiden

An expanded version of the pedigree given by Manu is found in the Skanda Purana This legend tells how Galava Muni a pupil or son of Viswamitra being greatly distressed by thirst while on a pilgrimage was given a draught of water by a Vaisya girl named Birbhadrá The grateful sage blessed the maiden that she should soon have a son Birbhadrá demurred to this boon on the ground that she was unmarried but the rash and so characteristic of Indian mythology could not be recalled nor could Galava himself put matters straight by marrying the virgin whose kindness had involved her in so strange a difficulty For so it is explained she had saved his life by the draught of water and therefore he looked upon her in the light of a mother A miracle was clearly in request By the

The term Baidya is distinct and may denote the Brahman caste properly called man who practises medicine in which the Baidya caste is unknown with Sakadwip Brahmins so the caste in Behar where the Baidya caste is unknown with Sakadwip Brahmins are the regular physicians.

word of power of a Vedic *mantra* a wisp of *kusa* grass (*Poa Cynuroides*) was transformed into a male child, variously known as Dhanvantari Amrita Acharya and Ambastha. He was the first of the Vaidyas because to a Vedic (*Vaidik*) text he owed his birth. He was also Ambastha because he had no father and therefore belonged to the family of his mother (*Amba*). A number of analogous myths have been collected by Bachofen in his two letters on *Pueri juncini* and his method of interpretation if applied to the present case would lead to the conclusion that the tradition given in the Skanda Purana records an instance of female kinship.

The Baidyas are now divided into the following four sub-castes — (1) Rarhi (2) Banga (3) Barendra (4) Panchakoti according to the parts of Bengal in which their ancestors resided. All of these are endogamous. A fifth endogamous group which however bears no distinctive name comprises those Baidya families of the districts of Sylhet, Chittagong and Tipperah who intermarry with Kayasths and Supris the children in each case following the caste of the father. This practice appears to be the only modern instance of intermarriage between members of different castes. It is said to have arisen from the reluctance of the Baidyas farther west to give their daughters to men who had settled in the country east of the Brahmaputra. The women of their own caste the latter were compelled not only to marry the daughters of Kayasths but to give their own daughters in return. This interchange of women is said to extend even to the comparatively degraded caste of Burm and it may be for this reason that the Chittagong, Tipperah and Sylhet Baidyas are cut off from community of food with the other sub-castes. The sections or exogamous groups in use among the Baidyas will be found in Appendix I. All of them appear to be eponymous the eponyms being Vedic Rishis or saints. The restrictions on intermarriage are the same as among Brahmans.

The evidence of inscriptions shows that a dynasty of Baidya kings ruled over at least a portion of Bengal from 1010 to 1200 A.D. To the most famous of these Ballal Sen, is ascribed the separation of the Baidyas into two divisions one of which wore the sacred thread and observed fifteen days as the prescribed period of mourning while with the other investiture with the thread was optional and mourning lasted for a month. Before his time it is said all Baidyas formed a single group the members of which intermarried with one another as all were equal in rank. All wore the thread and observed the term of mourning characteristic of the Vaisyas. Ballal Sen however insisted on marrying a ferryman's daughter named Padmavati of the Latni or Dom Latni caste. His son Lakshan Sen followed by a majority of the caste protested against the legality of the marriage and finding their remonstrances unheeded tore off the sacred cord which all Baidyas then wore and retired into a distant part of the country. These were the ancestors of the Banga and Barendra sub-castes of the present day while the Rarhi Baidyas represent the remnant who condoned Ballal Sen's offence. It is

difficult to reconcile this legend with the accepted tradition that in the course of his social reforms Ballal Sen separated the Baidyas into three classes—Rarhi Barendra and Banga—according to the place of their abode and introduced the hypergamous divisions of

Kulin Bangsaj and Maulik. A Kulin must marry his daughter to a Kulin but he himself may marry either a Kulin or a Bangsaj woman. If he marries a Maulik woman his family is to a certain extent dishonoured but the stain may be wiped out by marrying his sister or daughter to a Kulin. Hence the saying 'Rising and falling is the Baidya's lot' provided the original stock remains sound. Ballal Sen is said to have distributed the Baidyas of his time into twenty-seven *stha* or communities beyond which no one could ride without losing caste. The principal settlements were at Senhati Chakma Mahal Daspara Puigiam Karoria Shendia Itna and Bhattacha in Jessore, Boragachha in Bikrampur and Desora and Chandpratap in Dacca. To him also is attributed the institution of the three classes—*Siddha*, *Sidhya* and *Kshita* which like the Kulinistic groups have reference to social esteem or purity of lineage. They differ from the latter in being more rigid. Thus a *Siddha* Baidya who takes a wife from the *Sadhyas* or *Kshitas* sinks at once to their level and his descendants cannot recover their status by marrying into a higher class.

The Samajjati or pre-idency of the Banga Baidyas has for several generations been vested in the family of Raja Raj Ballabh of Rajnagar who reside on the south bank of the Padma river and though not poor and dependent the members are still consulted on matters affecting the caste. In the middle of 19th century the influence of the family was still stronger and a Raja of that time induced many of the Banga and Barendra Baidyas to resume the sacred thread which their ancestors had discarded. With reference to this tradition Ward writes as if the entire caste had then for the first time obtained the right to wear thread by means of Raj Ballabh's influence. He says—Raj Ballabh a person of this [Baidya] class steward to the Nawab of Murshehabad about a hundred years ago first procured for Baidyas the honour of wearing the *pottu* he invited the Brahmins to a feast and persuaded them to invest his son from whom time many Baidyas wear this badge of distinction.

Infant marriage is the rule of the caste rare exceptions being met with in highly educated families which have come under the influence of European ideas. Polygamy is permitted but not practised on a large scale. Divorce is unknown. A woman taken in adultery is simply turned adrift and ceases to be a member of respectable Hindu society. Widows are not allowed to marry again and the practice of *sati* was formerly very common. On this point Ward writing in 1811 says—Many Baidya widows ascend the funeral pile. At Sena Khali in Jessore which contains many families of this order almost all the widows are regularly burnt alive with the corpse of their husbands.

The Baidya marriage ceremony does not differ materially from that in vogue among Brahmans except that sometimes the *Kusundikā* ceremony is performed on the marriage night. When equals marry a curious custom is observed. A bond is executed certifying that the bridegroom has received twelve rupees should a second son marry he executes a bond for twenty four and in the case of a third son the acknowledgment is for thirty six. Beyond this it never goes however many brothers the bridegroom may have older than himself.

The religion of the Baidyas is that of the orthodox high caste Hindu. All old Baidya families are Śakti worshippers but among the poorer classes Vaishnavas are occasionally found. Of late years many of the caste have joined the Brahma Samaj. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes but it is doubtful whether these are of the highest rank as they also officiate for the Nava Sakha. They have also ghataks of their own who were formerly Brahmans but for many years past members of their own caste have discharged this important social function. The innovation is ascribed to one Viswarath of Jessore who is said to have been the first regular Baidya ghatak.

The practice of medicine according to the traditional Hindu method was no doubt the original profession of the Baidya caste. From the time of the Sen kings however the tendency has been towards the adoption of other pursuits and at the present day hardly one third of the caste are believed to be engaged in their traditional vocation. These latter are still in pretively general request. Certain passages of the Shastras regard the taking of medicine from a Baidya as a sort of sacramental act and forbid esrt to any one not of that caste so that some orthodox Hindus when at the point of death call in a Baidya to prescribe for them in the belief that by swallowing the drugs he orders for them they obtain absolution for their sins. Many Baidyas have distinguished themselves at the Bar and as agents, managers and school masters whilst others have taken to the study of English medicine and have entered Government service or engaged in private practice as medical men. Many again are found among the higher grades of land holder as zamindars, tenure holders and a few are occupancy raiyats. They will on no account hold the plough or engage in any form of manual labour and thus necessarily carry on their cultivation by means of hired servants paid in cash or by a share of the crop.

In point of social standing Baidyas rank next to Brahmans and above Kayasths. Strictly speaking they are inferior to Rajputs but this point cannot be insisted on in practice as there are comparatively few Rajputs in the area inhabited by Baidyas and those are mostly immigrants from Upper India who belong to a different social system from Bengalis. There has been some controversy between Baidyas and Kayasths regarding their relative rank the leading points of which will be found in the article on Kayasths. Putting aside the manifest futility of the discussion we may fairly sum it up by saying that in

point of general culture there is probably little to choose between the two caste and that the Baidyas have distinctly the best of the technical claim to precedence. On the other hand it would I think strike most observers that the Káyasths are the more pliant and adaptive of the two and have thereby drawn to themselves a larger share of official preferment than the more conservative Baidyas.

Baidyas eat boiled rice and food coming under that category only with members of their own caste. They will drink and smoke with the Nava Sakka and with castes ranking higher than that group but will not use the same drinking vessel or the same hookah. Brahmans will eat sweetmeats in a Baidya's house and will drink and smoke in their company subject to the restriction noticed in last sentence as to not using the same vessel or pipe.

The following statement illustrates the distribution of Baidyas in 1872 and 1881 —

D c	1872	1881	D	187	181
B dw	5 004	3 320	B k rganj	12 940	11 10
B kura	2 386	3 881	M mans h	2 7	4 1
B bl m	1 2	1 3	Ch tag g		4 7
M d p	2 90	3 7 2	Noakhai	33	1 7
H ghi	3 023	3 462	T pperah	3 2 1	70
H wrah		77	Ci ttag ng H Il Trac	1)	1
24-P ganas	4 550	1 200	P t	17	
Nadiy	2 9 7	1 747	M gh	4	
Jes re	3 259	1 97	Bh galp	31	
Kh ina		1 889	P h	477	64
M rashed bad	2 278	1 474	S tal P rganas	39	8
D jp	58	6 5	M ld h	4 3	611
Raj f hy	1 179	2	C tta k	2 1	8
Ra gp	8	1 11	P		1 4
B g	147	213	B lasoro	89	60
P b	1 206	1 216	T b ta y States		3
D j l g	10	20	Hazar bagl	70	50
J lpg	82	201	Loh rdaga	7	104
K h Behar		289	S neth m		1 2
Dac	8 4 0	10 031	M bl	2 3 1	1 6 2
Fandp	2 032	1 983	T b ary States		38

Baidya a title of Pods and of Nápts in Bengal who practise medicine. A synonym for Doái.

Baidya nidhi a title or popular designation of Baidyas practising medicine used by themselves.

Baiga a sorcerer a sept of Dhenuárs in Chota Nagpur. Also a synonym for or title of the Kharwár tribe of Chota Nagpur possibly having reference to the idea that they being among the original inhabitants of the country are best qualified to play the part of sorcerer and propitiate the local gods.

Baijahmapadya or **Baiyá ghrapadya** a section of Brahmins and Káyasths in Bengal.

Baikar a synonym for Gorait in Chota Nagpur.

Bail fruit a totemistic sept of Kharwars and Ians in Chota Nagpur.

Báilhar **Báilhor** a section of the Kumhar caste in Western Bengal. The members of the caste say that the term denotes one of the Rishis or Vedic seers. The last syllable of the word however seems to be the Santali for rian (*hor* or *horo*) and to

suggest a Kolarian eponym for this section of the caste

Bainá a sub caste of Ráj s in Midnapur

Baini a sect on of Majhraut Góalás in Behar

Bainipati, a group of the Sro triya sub caste of Utkal Brah mans

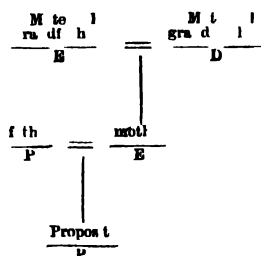
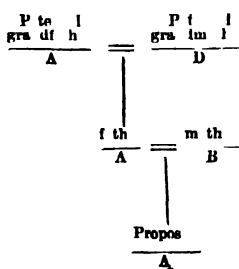
Bair plums a totemistic sept of Bnjhas and Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Bairági one who is free from all worldly desires one devoid of passion a class of Hindu

religious mendicants who worr Vishnu to be distinguished from the Sannyási who are usually Saivites but the term is indistinctly applied to different classes of vagrants professing a religious life In Chota Nagpur there exists a group bearing the name Bairagi which appears closely to resemble a true caste The exogamous sections of this group are shown in appendix I Some of them are totemistic and some have reference to divisions of the Bairagi sect based upon differences of ascetic practice

Bairiá a sub caste of Lohárs in Behar

Bais a trading caste of North Bhagalpur who claim to be the lineal descendants of the Vaisyas of early Aryan tradition goes by this name They disown all connexion with the Bais Baniyás mentioned below and keep up elaborate genealogies for the purpose of preserving the purity of the stock and guarding against consanguineous marriages They observe an intricate system of exogamy in which regard is had to the following considerations — First a man may not marry a woman who belongs to the same *mul* as he himself his mother or his paternal grandmother Secondly he may not marry a woman whose mother or paternal grandmother belonged to any of the *mul*s prohibited to him For instance (rule table below) the question is whether Propositus may marry Proposita The capital letters show the *mul*s I proposita herself does not belong to any of the three *mul*s A B D which are barred on the man's side But her maternal grandmother belonged to D *mul* which is barred for Propositus Consequently the marriage cannot take place The *mul* of I proposita's maternal grandfather is not taken into account —



The Bais marry their daughters as infants prohibit the remarriage of widows and do not recognise divorce They rank high

socially and their physical appearance lends some support to their claims to be of comparatively pure Aryan descent

Báis a sub caste of Sonárs and a sept of the Chandrahansí division of Rajputs in Behar

Baisák Basakh a title of Tantis in Bengal

Báis Baniyá a sub caste of Baniyás in Behar some of whom claim to be the modern representatives of the ancient Vaisyas It is however equally likely that they may be an offshoot from the Báis sub tribe of Rajput which was separated from the parent group by reason of its members taking to trade They have three sections—**Morwait Karnait** and **Gothman** supplemented by the usual rules regarding prohibited degrees Marriage is either infant or adult the former custom being deemed the more respectable The standard ceremony is followed and *tilak* is paid to the parents of the bridegroom Widow marriage and divorce are prohibited and polygamy is permitted only in the event of the first wife being barren They burn their dead and perform the *shraddh* on the thirty first day after death Trade and agriculture are their regular occupations

Baiswánar a *gotra* or section of the Baidya caste in Bengal

Baital a sub caste of Muchis in Bengal

Baiswara a sub caste of Tantis in Behar

Baithá a synonym for Dhobi in Behar Also a title of Dhobis and a *jangit* or section of Bansphor Domis in Behar

Baisya a synonym for Vaisya

Baiti Baoti a small caste of Central and Eastern Bengal usually called **Chunarí** or **Chuniya** from being engaged in the manufacture of lime from shells They are also mat makers weavers lancers and beggars

Regarding the internal structure of the caste very little is known The Baitis of Dacca all belong to one section **Aliman** and thus like several other castes of Eastern Bengal habitually transgress the rule of exogamy implied in the recognition of a section name A degraded sub caste is found in Faridpur under the name of **Magí** the members of which do not intermarry with the Baitis of Dacca In the *241* *larganas* Musalman Baitis are found These of course do not intermarry with Hindu Baitis nor do they follow the characteristic occupation of making lime

The *urohut* of the Baiti is a Patit Brahman and the caste consists mainly of Vaishnavas The only titles met with are **Rai Bhuya** and **Sen**

The Baiti do not gather shells themselves but *Pediyas* occasionally do and fishermen from the *Murshedabad* district come annually in March and April to collect them The best fishing ground is the *Kamarganga* river in

Faridpur and the only shells calcined by the Báiti are the Ghonghá Sípi and Shamuk the molluscs (*gita*) being extracted by an iron hook. A maund of shells costing from fourteen to twenty annas produces when calcined at but four maunds of lime which sells for about an anna a seer. The Kathuria Sutar and Bagdis are the only other classes of Bengalis engaged in lime burning.

Although the Báiti is one of the most impure of Bengali castes their water vessels defiling any pure Hindu, no one will refuse to chew lime moistened with water from these very same vessels. Kabirás purchase unslaked lime (*gura chun*) from the Báiti for medicinal purposes while the finest and most expensive lime for chewing *pan chun* is prepared with the ashes of tamarind wood.

The Sudra barber and washerman work for the Báiti but the Bhuiumali, owing to some party grudge, will not, and the Muhammadan Beldar has to be engaged whenever the Báiti has a house to build or a ditch to dig.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Báitis in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
Bardwa	4,891	293	Bogra	170	42
Bakura	337	183	Pabna	132	406
Bitham	660	1,036	Jalpaiguri	67	
Madhup	2,627	646	Kishoreganj	27	8
Hatfield	3,001	2	Dhaka		16
Hatfield		83	Dhaka	1,408	127
Hatfield	1,543	709	Dhaka	13	427
24-Parganas	2,719	251	Dhaka	5	41
Nadua	2,493	1,268	Moulvibazar	2,099	63
Jessore		2	Chittagong	2	2
Khulna		12	Narayanganj		
Moulvibazar	1,584	83	Tripura	906	197
Malda	82	16	Moulvibazar	1922	1,121
Rangpur	1,011	104	Saidpur		200

Baitiriba, buffalo, a totemistic sept of Luangs in Orissa.

Baitosh Baitash, a title of Dakshin Barhi and Bangaja Kayasths.

Baiyaghrapadya or Baijah mapadya, a section of Brahmans and Kayasths in Bengal.

Bajandariá, a sub caste of Baodis found in Jessore.

Bajaniá, players on musical instruments, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, at the latter usually barbers or the husbands of

midwives (*dai*) at Ghassis in Chota Nagpur.

Bájapey, a title of Kanaujia and Saraswat Brahmans in Behar.

Bajar Bajarpurij, a sept of Chiks or Jans in Chota Nagpur.

Bajgan, a *thar* or section of Nejali Brahmans.

Bajkar, *Iu-jar*, a sub caste of Lehiyas, the common name applied to wandering jugglers, one of them is to be Hindu others are Mahomedan.

Bajitpur a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalás in Behar

Bájná a synonym for **Bád yakar** *q v*

Bájpa (corruption of **Bája pey**) a title of Kanaujiá Brahmans also a section of Doms who are employed as drummers in Behar

Baju a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Bayua a variant of **Daib ayna** an astrologer *q v*

Bájuníá a sub caste of Doms in Bengal who are musicians

Bakál Bakkál a grocer a chandler a grain merchant a cloth dealer a shopkeeper in general hence a title of Banias See **Baqqál** below

Bakáli a title of Baniás

Bakat pánre ke pánre a section of the Biyáhut and Kharidáhá Kalwars in Behar

Bákhim a sept of Lambus in Darjiling

Bakho a profession followed by both Hindus and Mahomedans who go about singing on the occasion of the birth of a child the husband carrying a *khayri* to play on and the wife (**Bakháin**) a *machia* or stool on which she sits at the door and sings

Bakholár a section of the Karan Kayasths in Behar

Bakriyár a title of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Baksár a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwai in Behar

Baksar Chausá a *mul* or section of the Kanaujiá sub-caste of Hajams in Behar

Baksaria belonging to Buxar a section of the Biyahut and Kharidáhá Kalwars and of Bahans in Behar

Bakshy a paymaster a subordinate in the Treasury Department of a Collector's Office a section of the Sribastab Kayasths in Behar an honorary title of Brahmans and Kayasths in Bengal

Bakulár a *mul* or section of the Chhamulá Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Bakuli a title of Goalás

Bákundi a title of Sadgops in Bengal

Bakurá or **Balulu** paddy bird a totemic sept of Chiks and Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Bal a section of Murmis a title of Dakshin Barhi and Bangaja Kayasths

Bála a *gain* of the Bharadwája *gotra* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Bálagachpargaria a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Bálagachpokhrám a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Baláhar Balaahar a low caste servant a village guide or messenger a village watchman inferior to the ordinary chaukidár he is also employed as a sweeper

Baláhi a man of low caste a *Chaman* or worker in hides and leather sometimes employed to measure land

Baláir a section of Babhans in Behar

Balain a section of the Karan Káyasths in Behar

Balamdar spearman a totemistic sept of Mundás in Chota Nagpur

Balamtiríá *Bailantiríá* a sub caste of Halwais and Kándus in Behar

Balarám or **Balabhadria** a section of the Mahasthan sub caste of Útkal Brahmans

Balaramí a sub caste of Tántis in Bengal

Balayashthí a *gan* of the Kásyapa *gotra* of Birendra Brahmans in Bengal

Balbandhí a sept of Iúns in Chota Nagpur

Balbandhiá a section of Bháts

Balbandhiya a sept of Chiks who tie up the hair

Balbheráit a section of the Maghaya sub caste of Búrhis in Behar

Baldev a cowherd

Baldia a herdsman or drover

Bálgori a sub tribe of Rajputs in Western Bengal

Balhátí a territorial section of Búrhis in Behar

Balhava a title of Chisadhobas in Bengal

Báli a *gan* of the Sibarna *gotra* and a *gan* of hypergamous sub group of Barhi Brahmans in Bengal

Baliáse Natsum a *mul* of the Kásyapa section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Baliáse-Balha a *mul* of the Kásyapa section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Baliáse Así a *mul* of the Kásyapa section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Baliáse Sakurí a *mul* of the Kásyapa section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Baliáse Dharaurá a *mul* of the Kásyapa section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Baliáse-Suket a *mul* of the Kásyapa section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Baliáse Baghánt a *mul* of the Kásyapa section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Balihari a *gan* of the Kásyapa *gotra* of Birendra Brahmans in Bengal

Balimba moquitó a totemistic sept of Jús in Orissa

Balká a young follower of a religious Hindu mendicant

Balkharya a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Balrabhi a *mul* or *pergam* or sub group of Balin Brahmans in Bengal

Ballatí a *mul* or section of the Maghaya sub caste of Búrhis in Behar

Ballisor a sept of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Baliwálá a trader in beams of undressed wool used for scaffolding by masons and others and also as rafters in thatched and tiled roofing

Bálmik a sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Bálmus a kind of insect which lives in river sand a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bálthabí a *gain* or sub section of Saptasatí Brahmans in Bengal

Baltong a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Balum salt a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bálwán a section of Goálas in the North Western Provinces

Báman a totemistic sept of Mundas the members of which may not touch or be touched by a Brahman Also a synonym for Brahman

Bámanbane a sub caste of Nápts in Bengal

Bámanjagya a hypergamous division of Tiyars found by Buchanan in Bhagalpur

Bambai a kind of eel a totemistic sept of Kaurs in Chota Nagpur

Bámboriá a section of Goálas in the North Western Provinces

Barnhangaur a class of the Gaur Rajputs

Bármhaniá a subdivision of the Káchhi tribe a class of cultivators in Behar and the North Western Provinces

Barmnia salt a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Bámo a title of Kaibarttas in Bengal

Baymodá a sept of the Agnia sub-tribe of Meches in Darjiling

Barnu a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Bámunia a section of Ká márs in Singbhum and the Santal Parganas

Ban eel a totemistic sept of Lohars a title of Dakshin Rúhi and Bangaja Kiyasths a section of Goálas in the North Western Provinces

Banadhiá see Banaudhiá

Banáfar or **Banáphar** a sept of Yadubansí Rájputs chiefly settled in Oudh but also found in small numbers in Behar

Banaiba bear a totemistic sept of Juangs in Orissa

Banámpur a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Banapár *Banaphar* a sub caste of Kúris in Behar

Banaprasth (from *tan* a solitude *prsth* who proceeds to) the Hindu of the third order who has discharged the duty of a householder and has become a hermit

Banarasí a section of Malos in Eastern Bengal

Banárasia a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Banarí a class of up country *manjris* or boatmen probably members of the Gonorhi caste who are met with occasionally on the rivers of Bengal

Banasí a title of Subarna baniks in Bengal

Banaudhia a sub caste of Baniyas Kurmis Kumhárs Dhanuks Tantís Suuris and Kalwars in Behar, also a sept of the Chandrabansí division of Rajputs and a section of Kaserás in Behar

Banaut a variant for **Bandá** was *q v*

Ban-char a forester a wood man

Banda a kind of leaf a totemistic sept of **Mundas** in **Chota Nagpur**

Bandawat a respectable cultivating caste in **Hazaribagh** who wear the sacred thread and claim to be **Rajputs**

Bandarbikretá monkey seller title of **Birhors** and other non **Aryan** hunting castes

Bandawat Sombansi a branch of the **Banawat** caste in **Hazaribagh** who claim descent from the moon

Bandh a sept of **Oraons** in **Chota Nagpur**

Bándhalgoti a sept of **Rájputs** of **Chauhán** descent occupy ing part of **Bundelkhand**

Bandhiá a sept of **Kharwars** in **Chota Nagpur**

Bandhu Bandhur a title of **Dakshin Rárhí** and **Bangaja Kayasths** and of **Sánkharis** in **Bengal**

Bandi a title of **Bhats** said to be derived from the laudatory verses recited by them a sept of **Hos** in **Singbhum**

Bandigwár a forest guard a title of **Bhumij** in **Manbhum**

Bandihá a section of **Babhans** in **Behar**

Bandijan or **Suta** a division of **Brahmans** in **Behar**

Bando a wild cat that barks at night a totemistic sept of **Lohárs** **Mundas** **Oraons**, and

Páns in **Chota Nagpur** a section of **Kahárs**

Bandrishí fish a totemistic section of the **Paripal** sub caste of **Sunris** in **Manbhum**

Bandya a gain of the **Sándilya gotra** of **Rárhí** **Brahmans** in **Bengal**

Bánebenáras a mul or section of the **(Himulia Mudhesia)** sub caste of **Hilw** is in **Behar**

Ban farosh *B* a rope maker chiefly of the **Kahar** and **Malláh** castes who make twine and rope from *munj* *n luns* and *hathi chinjar*

Banga *Bangaja* a sub caste of **Baidyas** **Kayasths** **Jugis** **Subarnabaniks** and **Sunris** in **Bengal**

Bangal a sub caste of **Baniyas** in **Behar** who immigrated from **Bengal** some centuries ago and have now forgotten their original language a sept of the **Lungjanya** sub tribe of **Chakmá** who are said to be descended from a **Bengali** father

Bangál a *mel* or hyperionous sub group of **Rárhí** **Brahmans** and of **Jugis** and **Kaibarttas** in **Bengal**

Bangali a sub caste of **Hajjárs** or barbers in **Behar** whose ancestors immigrated into that province from **Bengal** a sub caste of **Bhars** in **Western Bengal** comprising the two sections of **Agni** and **Rishi** both of which seem to have been borrowed from the **Brahmans** A sub caste of **Dhobás** in **Western Bengal** of **Dhobis** in **Manbhum** of **Kaibarttas** in **Behar** and **Kumhars** in **Western Bengal**

Bangáli or **Rárhí** a sub-caste of Kumbhárs in Behar

Bangarerí a sub-caste of Garerís in Hazaribagh

Bangas rásí a section of Málos in Eastern Bengal

Bángdel a *thar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Banger Rárhí a sub caste of Sunris in Eastern Bengal

Banglá a sub-caste of Dhobis Pods and Sunris in Behar who are probably immigrants from Bengal

Bangrongpá a *ruí* or sept of the Bed tshan gye sub tribe of Dejong Lhoris or Bhotias of the south

Banhor jungle-man¹ the same as Birhor (ho or hor being the Kolarian for man) a name by which some of the primitive people of Chota Nagpur who emigrate to the tea gardens who are generally known as Dhángars occasionally call themselves

Báni a sub-caste of Sutradhars in Noakhali

Bandí, Baniyá a synonym for Gandhabanik and Subarnabanik

Bania a sept of Kharwars and Telis in Chota Nagpur

Baniápáthar a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Halváis and Kándus in Behar

Banichar a sept of Chikís in Chota Nagpur

Banik Baniya Banika Banikar a generic term including most of the banking and trading castes and specially denoting those who deal in money as distinguished from commodities

Banika, a synonym for Subarnabanik

Bánikarnautí, a *mul* or section of the Satmuha or Kishnaut sub-caste of Goálás in Behar

Banipa Banik Barnik Banikar a generic name derived from Sansk *vany* a merchant applied to almost all of the trading castes throughout India. In Bengal *Baniya* is not strictly speaking a caste name at all that is to say there is no endogamous group exactly co extensive with the title of Baniya although that name includes a large number of groups some of which are endogamous within a circle defined more or less by their trading functions while others belong to castes or sub-castes which follow other pursuits such as agriculture or service. There is nothing for instance to prevent Bábhans Chhatris or Kayasths from keeping grain shops or engaging in money lending and they might in this way come to be designated by the vague term Baniya although their occupation would not debar them from intermarriage within their original caste. In order to define the term more closely it should be remarked that it appears to connote the idea of a rather general trade and to exclude special forms of shopkeeping such as that of the Halwai and the Kandu. It is also more or less associated with the sale of some kind of food grain. If a man trades in money rather than in commodities he is commonly known by the more dignified title of *mahajan* or banker. One of the variants of the word is used colloquially in Bengal as a synonym for Gandhabanik a dealer in medicinal drugs and spices. An Angloised

form banian is specially applied to the native brokers attached to European houses of business in Calcutta. These brokers have most of the bazar transactions in their hands and usually give substantial security to the firm. In the early part of this century high officials used to keep banians to transact their private business and the intrigues of Kanto Baboo Warren Hastings banian are mentioned by Burke in several of his speeches on Indian affairs.

Baniyá a section of the Banodhia and Jaiswar Kulwais in Behar

Banjar a sept of Kaurs

Banjara a section of Nepali Brahmans

Banjará **Banjari** the term is most usually applied to a gun and cattle merchant with a more or less numerous party of the same calling moves about to different markets and specially accompanies bodies of troops to supply them with corn. It is especially applicable also to a numerous tribe spread along the foot of the mountains from Harilwar to Gorakhpur and forming various subdivisions many of whom are stationary and follow agriculture. They comprise both Hindus and Mahomedans acknowledging a common origin and affinity. The most migratory are the Bahurupa Banjaras of whom there are five branches four of whom assume the well known appellations of the chief Rajput tribes or Rahtor Chauhan Powar and Tumár. The fifth called Barka is said to be descended from a Gaur Brahman. Each of these is infinitely

subdivided. The Rahtor branch for instance splits into four families and these comprehend 138 sub branches. Some of these Banjaras have the privileges of the Charan and Bhitar their persons being sacred and accepted in guarantee of engagements. The origin of these people is obscure. If they were formerly a distinct race they are now much intermixed.

Banjir a sub caste of Bhuiyas in Hazaribagh who make baskets

Banjor a section of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Bank a sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Banni or *Banhâr* a ploughman or labourer whose services are paid in kind

Banodhiá see Banaudhiá

Banpar a sub caste of Mallahs and Gonrhis in Behar probably of Dravidian descent. Their original occupation seems to be that of boatmen and fishermen but away from the big rivers they till the soil and sometimes engage in it. They are skilful sportmen, entrapping the alligator (*mugai*) and *ghariyal* in strong rope nets and eating their flesh. They marry their daughters as infants or adults according to their means. Widow marriage is permitted but the widow may not marry her husband's younger brother as is usual among the lower castes of Hindus. Socially the Banpar rank low but it is a curious circumstance that like the Mals of Bengal tradition ascribes their inferior position not to their use of unclean food but to their habit of passing the

netting needle from above down wards in making nets whereas the other fishing castes of Behar work from below upwards Ban jar is the name of a nomadic caste of Goalás in Behar whose special function it is to take charge of the large herds of cattle which are driven into Chota Nagpur Sirguja Mirzápur and other jungle clad tracts for grazing during the hot weather This sub caste is also found in Nepal

Banráhá a section of the Bījáhut and Kharidáha Kalwars in Behar

Banreit a *mul* or section of the Ghosin sub caste of Goalás in Behar

Banria a section of Babhans in Behar

Banrish a section of Sutra dhars in Bengal

Báns bamboo a totemistic sept of Lohars a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Bansa a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Bansahr a *mul* or section of the Chhramulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Bansáin Bausáin a class of Mahomedan religious mendicants who are also weavers

Bansaja a hypergamous group of Barhi Brahmans and Baidyas in Bengal

Bansará a title of the Kochh caste in Northern Bengal

Bansari a sub caste of Banjás in Behar

Bansbatti a synonym for Dorfi in Behar

Bánsdeo a sept of Santáls

Bánsdih a section of the Maghayá sub caste of Barhis in Behar

Bansetti a sept of Binjhás in Chota Nagpur who are not permitted to touch bamboo at a wedding

Bansil a section of the Agarwál caste in Behar

Banskhori a synonym for Dom in Behar

Bansmáli a synonym for Hari who work in bamboo a sub caste of Doms who make bamboo baskets etc

Bánsphor *Bansphora* *Bansla* *luna* bamboo splitter a sub caste of Patnis in Bengal a sub caste of Doms in Behar who are mat and basket makers and do not remove filth They have nothing to do with funerals and do not eat beef offal or other people's leavings The Bansphors of Banka in Bhagalpur have a number of exogamous sections (*pari gat*) which have been entered in their proper places Other Bansphors on the Nepal frontier regulate their marriages by local sections (*dihis*) while others in the town of Fhuljuri have neither *pari gat* nor *dih* Bansphors work with a peculiarly curved knife (*katta*) with a heavy back which they regard as characteristic of their sub caste and which is used by them in their domestic sacrifices

Bánsphor Mahili bamboo splitter a sub caste of Mahilis in Western Bengal who work in bamboos

Bánsriár a section of the Kurmus in Manbhūm the members of which may not play the *chitrā* or bamboo flute and by Kolarian tribes throughout Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Bansrishi a totemistic section of Bihars in Manbhūm

Banswalá a dealer in bamboos

Banswar a sub caste of Rajwars in Western Bengal

Bánt a section of the Thak division of the Barbati Kurm sub caste of Gourhus in Behar

Bantar a sub tribe of Tharus in Behar

Bántar Bant a small Dravidan caste of Behar who make basket and work at thatching houses. They keep in betel and practise widow marriage

and rank socially somewhat lower than Dosádh

Bantari a sub caste of Gulghas in Gaya and Hazaribagh

Bantariá a sub caste of Khandus in Behar

Banth a sept of the Thakur sub tribe of Tharus in Behar

Bantiría a sub caste of Halwar or Chiticians in Halwar who have departed from the *Chit* in the opinion of the *Chit* and in which employment is in the *Chit* and petty *Chit* is also *Chit* miscellaneous article

Bantor a cultivating caste of the Nepal Terai

Banuár a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Banukia a sub caste of Dims who breed silkworms and work in silk filatures in Murshidabad and Rajshahy

Bánwar Banuar a small caste probably of Dravidian descent found in the Santal Parganas. They have no traditions of their own in anything connected with them known regarding their origin. The fact that they live in numerous sections may perhaps indicate that they are a collection of the compact aboriginal tribes of the north-east which by embracing Hinduism cut themselves off from the parent tribes. They were not numerous enough to secure for themselves a recognized position in the caste system.

Banwars practise both adult and infant marriage but sexual intercourse before marriage is strongly reprobated and the tendency is for all persons who can afford to do so to marry their daughter as infants. Polygamy is permitted and in the city there is no limit to the number of wives a man may have. It is rare however in a rural life to find more than two. Divorce is permitted the form consists in the couple expressing their wishes in the presence of the nearest relatives and tearing a *sál* leaf in two as a symbol of separation. Widows and divorced wives are allowed to marry again by the *sanyas* ritual. A widow may marry her husband's younger brother but is not compelled to do so. She may on no account marry his elder brother. They follow the Hindu religion Kali and Satya Narain being the favourite objects of worship. For the worship of these deities and for the *sádhu*

ceremony Brahmans are employed who however do not associate on equal terms with the Brahmans who serve the higher castes

Banwārs either burn their dead or bury them in a recumbent position In either case the propitiatory rite of *sraaddh* is performed in general accordance with orthodox usage on the thirteenth day after death It is not however followed by periodical offerings for the benefit of ancestors in general as is common among the higher castes

The social rank of the Banwārs may best be defined by stating that the Khetauri Pergha Bhuiya and Rajwar will take water and sweetmeats from their hands They stand therefore below the castes from whom Brahmans and the members of the upper castes generally can take water Agriculture is their usual occupation a few are found as occupancy riyats but the majority are under riyats or landless day labourers

Banwār a sub caste of Ban
riyas in Behar

Baoti a synonym for Bāiti a
section of Mahesris

Bapuli a gain of the Batsya
gotia of Barhi Brahmans in
Bengal

Baqqāl (Arabic) a grocer chandler grain merchant cloth dealer also generally a shopkeeper a title of Banīyās which ordinarily has no bearing upon question of caste

In Eastern Bengal the term denotes a small sub caste of Chandals who neither eat nor intermarry with the parent stock although their Brahman is the same The Baqqals are wandering traders who retail turmeric bay leaves rice ginger and other condiments in inland villages and markets They are numerous in the Ja farganj and Mauigang parganas of Dacca They will not cultivate the soil but possessing cargo boat of their own navigate them without any hired servants All belong to one *gotia* the Kasyapa and the majority follow the Krishna Mantra In the belief that by engaging in trade they have attained a higher and more respectable position than the Chandals they have renounced the drinking of spirits and the eating of pork

Bar *Ficus Indica* a totemistic
sept or section of Kumhars
Kharis Gorais Turis Bediyas
Chiks Oraons Gpilas Kharwars
Mundas and Ians in Chota
Nagpur

Bara a sept of Chiks in Chota
Nagpur

Bārabāti a section of the
Dhaprā sub-caste of Doras in
Behar

Bara bhāg ' a sub caste of
Bhūnmālis and Hāris in Bengal

Barabhāgiya a sub-caste of
Kumhars in Bengal

Bara Bhagiya or Bihampur
Sankharī a sub caste of San
kharis in Eastern Bengal

Bara bhāgiyā a sub caste of
Muchis in Bengal

Barabhāia twelve brothers
whose families cannot intermarry
a sept of Chiks and Mundas in
Chota Nagpur

Barabhāiya a sub caste of
Sukhs in Midnapur

Barábhumiá a sub tribe of the Bhumij in Mánbhum who claim to be connected with the zamúndars of pargana Barabhum. The zamúndars on the other hand assert to be Rajputs and disown all affinity with the Bhumij tribe

Barabihá a section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Bará Bráhma an ironical synonym for Agradáni Brahman *qo*

Barachain a respectable division of the Chain caste in Behar and the North Western Provinces who claim to be somewhat superior to ordinary Chains. They are agriculturist and their women prepare and sell vegetables. It is not clear that the Barachain have as yet formed themselves into an endogamous group but they appear to be on the way to do so

Baradá a sub tribe of Rajputs in Western Bengal

Barágáin a sept of the Suryabansí sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Baráhake Máhto a section of the Brijahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Bára Hazár a sub caste of Chéros in Palamau

Baráházarí a sub caste of Telis and Kaibarttas in Bengal

Bárah Gurung a sub tribe of Gurungs in Darjiling

Baráhi a sept of the Surabansí division of Rajputs in Behar a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Baráhi a zamúndári servant employed generally in the collection of rent and on the duties of a bailiff

Barai a synonym for Barui

Barajá Baraihiá a sept of the Suryabans sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Baray a synonym for Barai *qo*

Baráik a title (signifying *great*) of Jadubansí Rajputs of Binjhas Rautias Chiks or Iáns of Khandaitas in Chota Nagpur

Baráik or **Chik Baráik** a sub caste of Iáns in Chota Nagpur

Baráilí a section of Kamis in Darjiling

Barajáti a sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Baraj *Barajibi* a synonym for Barui

Barákar a sub caste of Koiris

Bara kharak a section of the Iailwar sub caste of Dosadhs in Behar

Barál a *gan* of the Sandilya *gotra* of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal a *thar* of the Dhartá Kaugik *gotra* of Nepali Brahmans a title of Subarnabamks in Bengal. In the case of the latter intermarriage is prohibited within the title which has therefore developed into a section

Barál Bhariql a title of Brahmans said to be a corruption of Batabyal

Barambhát *Barnah t Barn* a sub caste of Bhats in Behar

Bara mián a term of address originally used in the name of the village. The term is

properly a Mahomedan one and is only used by those Hindus who have come in contact with Mahomedans

Barandia a section of *grhasth* or hermiting Baragis in Chota Nagpur

Baranwar *Barnwar* a caste of Rajas in Behar — **Alchura Barbigahia**, **Bara Bnawan** & **Dekh Mirchata Malhan Tilia** A man may not marry within the section to which his mother belongs before marriage. As a woman during her section on marriage this rule is usually expressed by saying that the section of the maternal grandfather is excluded. Beyond the operation of the rule of exogamy prohibited degrees are reckoned by the usual formula. Baranwaris marry their daughters as infants (forbid widows to marry again and do not recognise divorce). Their marriage ceremony is of the standard type with this peculiarity that *pani-grahi* or the formal gift of the bride to the bridegroom is omitted, when owing to the poverty of the bride's parents the wedding takes place in the bridegroom's house. They are orthodox Hindus usually of the Vaishnavi sect and affect to employ only Gur Brahmins as their priests. If however they are not too haughty they will content themselves with ministers of the Mithil and Srivastava groups. Baranwaris are mostly labourers and only a small proportion of them have taken to agriculture.

Barapatti a sub caste of Telis in Bengal

Barar a subsection of the Ietati section of Mijhraut Goals in Behar

Bararas a section of Tantis in Bengal

Bara Samáj a sub caste of Dholas in Hughli

Barash a title of Tantis in Bengal

Bara Sudhá a sub caste of Sudhas in Orissa

Barat a title of Baidyas and Mayaris in Bengal

Barataba a name of a totemistic sept of Juangs in Orissa

Barbáik a *pangat* or section of Dálhis in Behar

Barbaria a *tribe* or section of the Chhim sub caste of Goals in Behar

Barbatta a section of the Tirhut sub caste of Doms in Behar

Barbigahia a section of the Baranwar sub caste of Banyas in Behar

Barbora a sept of Chukmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Barchain a section of the Chain sub caste of Numbas in Behar

Barchi spearman a sub sept of the Saren sept of Santals

Bard a sept of Dhenuars in Chota Nagpur

Bá dá a totemic sept of the Bhumi tribe in Western Bengal the members of which do not touch or cut the yam or sweet potato a section of Koras in Chota Nagpur

Barderha a section of the Banodhia and Jaiswar Kalwars in Behar

Bardhamani a sub caste of Tumbus in Bengál

Barddhan a title of Dakshin Pathi and Banaja Kayasths and of Kumbarttas and Subarna baniks in Bengal

Bardhia a sub caste of Kumhars in Behar a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bardi a section of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Bardiá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bardiar a section of the Amashta Kayasths in Behar

Bardwana a group of the Aswini Tantis and Dwadasis in Bengal

Bardwaniyá a sub caste of Aguris and Sutradhars in Western Bengal

Bare a section of the Kadar caste in Behar which intermarries only with the Mirdaha Kampti andhaut sections

Bárendra *Varendra* a sub caste of Brahmans in Bengal who allege that their ancestors were brought by Adisur from Kanauj in order to perform certain sacrifices the local Brahmans having degenerated and lost their ceremonial purity For a fuller account of the Barendra

sub caste see the article **Brahman** A sub caste of Kumhars Tantis Telis Baidyas Baruis Jugis Chasádhobas and Kayasths in Bengal of Kamars in Murshedabadi who in Pabna are also called Panch Samaj of Goilas and Supris in Bengal of Kumbarttas in Moulvibazar of Nupits and the group of Kulkatis Malis in Bengal

Bareya a thar or sept of Mangurs in Darjiling

Bargahar or *Bargahi* a title of Rajputs who are domestic servants of the Rajas of Chota Nagpur

Bargain a mal or section of the Kanujia sub caste of Sonis in Behar

Bargair a sept of the Surya bansi Rajputs in Behar

Bargait one who cultivates the land on an agreement by which the cultivator engages to pay the landlord half the produce the latter providing half the seed and paying the whole revenue

Bargamâet a section of the Dhimra and Pachanya sub castes of Doms in Behar

Bargharri the twelve brethren a sept of the Chhothar sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling

Bargoár *Bargwár* a sub caste of Goilas in Behar who are believed to have separated from the parent caste by reason of their taking service (*khawasi*) in the houses of the higher castes They also keep cattle sell milk and cultivate land Bargoars rank with Kurmis Koiris etc and Brahmans can take water from their hands They ordinarily marry their daughters as infants adult-marriage being looked upon as

exceptional and not quite respectable. Widows are allowed to marry again but divorce is not recognised. It deserves notice that Bargoars have none of the exogamous sections so numerous among the Goals and regulate their marriages by the formula of prohibited degrees explained in the introductory essay.

Bar gohri a sub caste of Khandaita Rajwars and Bantiás in Chota Nagpur

Bargwál the title of a class of Śāstriya Brahmins who act as servants to the Maharaja of Darbhanga

Barhá hog a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Barhadagiá a section of Goálás in Behar

Barhai a synonym for Barhi

Barhambhá a section of Babhans in Behár

Barhampurá Barhampur a *mul* of the Gautam section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Barhampurá a section of Babhans in Behar

Barharí a section of the Kharan sub-caste of Kayasths in Behar

Barháriá a sub caste of Telis in Behar

Barháriá ke pánre a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Barharoa a wild fruit a sept of Telis in Chota Nagpur

Barhi Barhai the carpenter cast of Behar claiming descent from the celestial architect and artificer Viśwakarma. The word *barhi* seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *Bhū* from *barhi* to *b re* and the caste may probably be regarded as a functional group composed of members of several intermediate caste who have been drawn together by the attraction of a common occupation.

The Barhis of Behar are divided into six sub castes as shown in Appendix I the members of which do not intermarry. I cannot ascertain the precise basis of these divisions. According to some the distinction between the Kanauja and Maghaya depend on the former working in wood only and the latter in both wood and iron while others say that the Maghaya are house carpenters and work on a larger and coarser scale than the Kanauja who are turners cabinet makers and the like. Again the Lohar sub caste in Bihar work only in iron but disclaim all connection with the Lohars whom they regard as people of a different race. The Kumar Kalla sub caste have no settled homes but wander about exhibiting marionettes (*kat putli*) and doing odd jobs like gypsies. Their sections (*mul* or *di*) are mostly of the territorial type but a few of the Prāmāṇical *goras* have been borrowed of late years. Usually the prohibition of intermarriage extends only to women belonging to a man's own *mul* and the rule is supplemented by the standard formula of degrees but among Maghaya Barhis seven or according to some accounts nine *mul*s are excluded. In the same sub caste we also find the hypergamous divisions Thakur Rai and Kuar. The Thakur can take wives from the other two groups as well as their own but will

not give their daughters to men of a lower group. So also a man of the Barhi group will marry a Kuar woman while a man of the Kuar group cannot aspire to marry a Barhi woman. Wherever the custom of hypergamy prevails the preponderance of women in the higher groups and the consequent demand for husbands have necessarily led to the introduction of infant marriage which again has spread by imitation. Among the Maghaya Barhus of Darbhanga girls are married between the ages of three and five and so firmly has the fashion established itself that it is difficult to find a husband for a girl who is more than five years old.

Adult marriage however is not entirely unknown among the other sub castes although all aver that infant-marriage is the rule. The marriage ceremony differs little from the standard form for middle class Hindus in Behar which has been described by Mr Grierson in *Beharasant Life* pages 362-73 except that instead of the parents of the parties exchanging paddy (*dhanlatti*) when the marriage has been agreed upon they exchange betel nut. This ceremony is called *panlatti*. Polygamy is permitted in the event of the first wife being barren or suffering from some serious physical defect. A widow may marry again by the *sigai* form. Although such marriages are supposed to be arranged entirely by the parents of the widow she appears to have some liberty of choice in the matter and may marry any one outside the prohibited degrees. As is the case with other castes it often happens that she marries her deceased husband's younger brother and this is considered a proper thing to do but no special pressure appears to be exercised in order to compel her to do so. Divorce is effected with the sanction of the caste council (*panchayat*) on the complaint of the husband in case of adultery or on the application of both husband and wife on the ground of inability to agree. Divorced women may marry again by the *sigai* form. This privilege however does not extend to a woman taken in adultery with a man of another caste. In that case no question of formal divorce arises, she is simply turned out of the caste and usually ends by becoming a regular prostitute.

The religion of the Barhus is simply the average Hinduism of the middle classes of Behar and calls for no special remark. The caste employ *lirhatia* Brahmins for the worship of the greater gods and these Brahmins are not held to incur any social degradation by performing these functions. Their special god is Viswakarma who is worshipped once a year on the seventh of Shrawan and when a son is apprenticed to the trade. On these occasions homage is done to the tools of the craft—the adze (*lulu*) chisel (*ruhani*) and saw (*ua*) and a goat whose right ear has been slit and a new waist cloth are offered to the god and afterwards presented to a Brahmin. In addition to Hindu Gods common in Behar Barhus also offer sweetmeats and *panja* to Ugra Maharaj a sort of patron saint whose origin and functions I have not been able to ascertain. They also worship the standard yard (*lam* or *gay*)

In point of social standing Barhis rank with Coalas Hajamas Koiris etc and Brahmans will take water from their hands Their practice in the matter of diet does not differ from that of other orthodox Hindus of the same class They will smoke with Lohars They believe arjentry to be their original occupation but outside the larger towns many of them are now engaged in agriculture and hold lands as occupancy and non occupancy raiyats

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Barhis in 1872 and 1881 —

I	1872	1881	D	2	1881
Cy	23 0	12	S t l p r	34 1	437
Bl	13 7			17	1
T Mat	13	172		987	112
D H p	91 73	3	B l	6	73
			I l y St t	94	47
h ra	1 7		I l	1	2 07
C l	7		I l	6 66	1 77
M	2	2	I l	3 2	89
Bl		9	M l	2 7	
I	1)	16	T r u y S t	11	2 067

Bárhí a section of the Satmulia Mulhaya sub caste of Kandus in Bihar

Barhioth a territorial section of Barhis in Behar

Barhwatrá a sept of Rajputs in Bohar

Barí flower a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Báti a small caste of Bihar who are supposed to have come from the North West Provinces or Oude They are employed as makers of the leaf platters (*to kloná thato i pital patri patti patrauri panmua*) used at Hindu entertainments and festivals They also make and carry torches and sometimes sell betel leaves Their social rank is about the same as that of the Hajjam Mr Nosfield regards the Bari as merely an offshoot from the semi savage tribes known as Janmanush and Musahar He still associates with them at times and if the demand for plates and cups (owing to some temporary cause such as a local fair or an unusual multitude of marriages) happens to become larger than he can at once supply he gets them secretly made by his ruder kinsfolk and retails them at a high rate passing them off as his own production If this view is correct the Bari are a branch of a non Aryan tribe who have been given a fairly respectable position in the Hindu system in consequence of the demand for leaf plates which are largely used by the highest as well as by the lowest caste Instances of this sort in which a non Aryan or mixed group is promoted on grounds of necessity or convenience to a higher status than their antecedents would entitle them to claim are not unknown in other castes and must have occurred frequently in outlying parts of the country

where the Aryan settlements were scanty and imperfectly supplied with the social apparatus demanded by the theory of ceremonial purity. Thus the undoubtedly non Aryan Bhuiyás have in parts of Chota Nagpur been recognised a *jalachurani* and it may be conjectured that the Kahárs themselves only attained this privilege in virtue of their employment as palanquin bearers. Of course in any case there is no breach of continuity and nothing resembling the sudden elevation of a social group. But a gradual upheaval takes place the social levels are altered and the fiction is maintained that things have been so all along.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Bári caste in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1	1 1	1	7	198
P t	1	1	1	1	1
Sh l l d	1	1	1	1	1
1 1 { D } M	1	1	1	1	1
M g l s	1	1	1	1	1

Baria a sept of the Barma war sub-caste of Bhuiyas in Bihar.

Bariaro a sept of Tántis in Chota Nagpur.

Barik a *panjat* or section of Deh in Bihar a section of the Kulu etc in Bihar which intermarries with the Kpu M l Dnt Mnyh H / u Nya and Kuntia etc intermarries with the Munlar Mula a laut and l l a section of Maghay Kunhars in Bihar. A title of Golas Kaibarttas and Nats in Bengal and of Bhandaris in Orissa.

Bariswar a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Bihar.

Barjya a knife grinder razor setter etc.

Barjo name of ancestor's village a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur.

Barjoki fig tree roots a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur.

Barkadeswári a sub-caste of Khuiars who are also called Dewari it is contradistinguished from Chotla Deswari.

Barlauli (1 *bark* lightning and *ulu* who call) properly a mat black man but commonly an armed retainer and employed in civil duty. The term was especially used to denote the old zemindars and jagulwars at the present day are often spoken as *barkandá*.

Barki dāngi a sub-caste of Koiris in Bihar who do not permit widows to remarry.

Barla Ficus Indica a totemistic sept of Nagwais and Mundas in Chota Nagpur.

Barla a sept of Kharias in Chota Nagpur.

Barlos a *thi* or sept of Khumbus in Darjiling.

Barma a title of Dakshin Rishi and Banaja Kiyastis.

Barmait a section of Sonars in Behar

Barman (i) weaver of armour a title of Pajputs Khutris and Kayasths (ii) a native of Burma

Barmosiá a section of the Kasuwar sub caste of Pajputs in Behar

Barna or Patita Brahman a sub caste or rather an aggregate of sub castes of Brahmans in Bengal formed of as many endogamous groups as there are numbers of Hindu Sūtra castes whom they serve as priests

Barnait a section of Bábhans and of the Mughaya sub caste of Barhis in Behar

Barna Kul a sub caste of Tántis in Bengal

Barnakule a sub caste of Sunnis in Western Bengal who are vegetable sellers

Barnár a sept of the Chandrabans division of Rajputs in Behar

Barnasankar (Sansk *barna* caste and *sankar* mixed) a mixed caste properly the designation of the large class of castes supposed to have been formed by intermarriage between members of the four original castes. The term is also used to denote the offspring of illicit intercourse between members of different castes and bears the same meaning as Bidura Chhokar Dogla or Dográ Járar Krishnarikhi Malzadá Sigarpeshi and Surath wala

Barna sil a title of barbers who shave the Chaudhls in Eastern Bengal

Barna Sreni an indefinite term probably denoting either members of the *barna sankar* mixed castes or the Brahmans colloquially known as Barna Brahmans who serve those castes

Barni a section of Sonárs in Behar

Barniá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Barnawár Barnwar *Barnar* a sub caste of Banis engaged in trade agriculture and service in Behar. They abstain from spirits and forbid widows to marry again

Baroá a sept of Kharáts and Asuras in Chota Nagpur

Baroár a section of Goráts in Chota Nagpur

Baroha a sept of Lohars in Chota Nagpur

Barpai a sept of Hos in Chota Nagpur

Barpára a sub caste of Sunnis in Behar

Barpaserá a section of the Banodhia and Jaiswar Kalwars in Behar

Barphungpuso a sept of Lepchas in Darjiling

Barra a section of Newars in Darjiling

Barsai a group or section of Saklwi Brahman in Behar

Barsam a section of the Mughut sub caste of Goilas in Behar holding the title of Marar whose profession is to make curd

Barthoar a section of Awadhí Hajams in Behar

Baruá a mixed caste in Chittagong who are descendant of Magh fathers and Bengali mothers

functions in Mithapur and Orissa (iii) a group of the Aswini Jantis in Bengal

Baruá (i) a title of certain castes in Assam (ii) a title of village headmen exercising police

Baruar a section of the Barua hut and Kharidahá Kalwars in Bihar

Barui **Barui** the names of the two castes engaged in Bengal and Behar respectively in the cultivation of *piper betel* ordinarily known as *pan* (Sansk *parua*) the leaf *par excellence*. Although their occupation is the same provincial and linguistic distinctions separate the Bengali speaking Barui of Bengal and the Hindi speaking Barui of Behar into two entirely distinct castes who do not intermarry or eat together and whose domestic usages differ in important particulars. They will therefore be separately treated here.

Regarding the origin of the Baruis of Bengal several traditions are current. The popular legend represents them as specially created by Brahma in order to relieve the Brahmins from the labour of growing betel which was found to interfere with their religious duties. The Vata Mala makes them the offspring of a Tanti woman by a man of the Goála caste and the Brihad arna Purana describes their father as a Brahman and their mother as a Sudra. Other traditions assign to them a Kshatriya or Kiyasth father and a Sudra mother. At the present day the Baruis are divided into four endogamous sub castes — (1) Rarhi (2) Barendra (3) Náthan (4) Kota. Within the e again we find a number of the standard Brahmanical *jatis*. The latter groups however appear to be mainly ornamental for marriage in most places is allowed with persons belonging to the same *gotra* provided they are not *Saman dalas*. As the fact of their belonging to this class would in any case have been a conclusive bar to marriage it follows that the sections are exogamous only in theory and we may assume that they were borrowed *à priori* from the system of the higher castes. It may further be surmised that the Barui caste is made up of members of various respectable castes who were drawn together by the common occupation of betel growing and is not as many castes undoubtedly are a homogeneous offshoot from a single caste or tribe. The contradictory character of the legends regarding its origin in which several different castes figure tend on the whole to bear out this view.

Baruis marry their daughters as infants forbid widows to marry again and do not allow divorce. Polygamy is admitted only in the sense that a man may marry a second wife when the first proves barren. Hypergamy is unknown and a bride price is paid to the parents of the bride. Certain families enjoy the hereditary rank of *Gostipati* or head of a clique or party within the caste but this involves no restrictions on marriage and the members of such families give their daughters in marriage to ordinary Baruis. The marriage ceremony of the Barui differs little from that in use among Brahmins except that the

rite of *Kusandika* is not always insisted upon. After the gift and acceptance of the bride the bridegroom stands behind her and taking her hands in his lifts an earthen vessel containing parched paddy ghee plantains and betel leaves and pours the contents on a fire kindled with straw. The couple then make obeisance to Agni and the ceremony is held to be complete.

In matters of religion the Baruis follow the usages of all orthodox Hindus. Most of them belong to the Sakta sect and a few are Vaishnavas. Saivism is said to be unknown among them. For all the standard offices of religion they employ Brahmans who stand on an equal footing with the Brahmans who serve the other members of the Naak group. In some places they have also special ceremonies of their own. On the 14th of Baisakh (April-May) the patroness of betel cultivation is worshipped in some places in Bengal with offerings of flowers, rice, sweetmeats and sandal wood paste. Along the banks of the Lakhya in Eastern Bengal the Baruis celebrate without a Brahman the *Nayami Puja* in honour of Ushas (*Hos Aurora*) on the ninth of the waxing moon in Asin (September-October). Plantains, sugar, rice and sweetmeats are placed in the centre of the pan garden from which the worshippers retire but after a little return and carrying out the offerings distribute them among the village children. In Bikrampur the deity invoked on the above date is *Sungu*, one of the many forms of Bhagabati. The reason given by the Barui for not employing the services of a Brahman is the following:—A Brahman was the first cultivator of the betel. Through neglect the plant grew so high that he used his sacred thread to fasten up its tendrils but as it still shot up faster than he could supply thread its character was given to a Kayasth. Hence it is that a Brahman cannot enter a pan garden without defilement.

At the present day some Baruis have taken to trade while others are found in Government service or as members of the learned professions. The bulk of the caste however follow their traditional occupation. Betel cultivation is a highly specialised business demanding considerable knowledge and extreme care to rear so delicate a plant. The pan garden (*bara barej*) is regarded says Dr. Wise as an almost sacred spot. Its greatest length is always north and south while the entrances must be east and west. The enclosure generally eight feet high is supported by hijul (*Sansk. ijula P. *Hydnorhiza acutangula**) trees or betel nut palms. The former are cut down periodically but the palms are allowed to grow as they cast little shade and add materially to the profits of the garden. The sides are closely matted with reeds, jute stalks or leaves of the date or Palmyra palm while *nal* grass is often grown outside to protect the interior from wind and the sun's rays. The top is not so carefully covered in strips of grass being merely tied along the trellis work over the plants. A sloping footpath leads down the centre of the enclosure towards which the furrows between the plants trend and serves to drain off rain as it falls it being essential for the healthy growth of the plant that the ground be kept dry.

The pân plant is propagated by cuttings and the only manures used are *pak mati* or decomposed vegetable mould excavated from *tailis* and *halî* the refuse of oil mills. The plant being a fast growing one its shoots are loosely tied with grass to upright poles while the rice a year it is drawn down and coiled at the root. As a low temperature injure the plant by discolouring the leave special care must be taken during the cold season that the enclosure and its valuable contents are properly sheltered. Against vermin no trouble is required as caterpillars and insects avoid the plant on account of its pungency. Weeds are carefully eradicated but certain culinary vegetables such as pepper varieties of pumpkins and cucumbers *pâna* (*Tih santh s dioc a*) and *barjun* (egg plant *Solanum melongna*) are permitted to be grown. In leaves are plucked throughout the year but in July and August are most abundant and therefore cheapest while a garden if properly looked after continues productive from five to ten years. Four *pû* leaves make one *q da* and the *bua* or measure by which they are sold now a days contain in East Bengal twenty *juti* although formerly it contained twenty four. In the *Bhârî* country (Bakirganj) thirty six *gan la* go to the *tha*. Pan leaves are never retailed by the Barui himself but are sold wholesale to agents (*paikars*) or directly to the pan sellers.

The varieties of the piper betel are numerous but it is probable that in different districts distinct names are given to the same species. The *kafiri* or amhar scented pan allwed by all natives to be the most delicately flavoured is only grown at Sunargon in Dacca and Midnapur for export to Calcutta where it fetches a fancy price. The next best is the *sacî* which often sells for four annas a *bira*. This is of a pale green colour and if kept for a fortnight loses in pungency and gains flavour. The commoner sorts are the *dî baiqil* *blitil* *thiltoji* *ghas* *jan* grown best in Barganj and a very large leaved variety called *talni*. The usual market price of the inferior kinds is from one to two pice a *bira*.

It has been mentioned that the *bara* is regarded as almost sacred and the superstitious practices in vogue resemble those of the silk worm breeder. The Barui will not enter it until he has bathed and washed his clothes while the low caste man employed in digging is required to bathe before he commences work. Animals found inside are driven out while women ceremoniously undress and not enter within the gate. A Brahman never sets foot inside and all men have a prejudice against entering it. It has however been known to be used for inaugurations. At the present day individuals belonging to the Dhobis and Kurbatis Surris and many higher and lower caste as well as Muhammadans manage pan gardens but they omit the ceremonies necessary for preserving the *bara* clean and unpolluted.

The social standing of the Baruis is sufficiently defined by stating that they belong to the Nabasak. They cut goats deer pigeons fish and the leavings of Brahmans and drink country spirits. They will drink with

Kaibarttas and smoke in their company but will not use the same *ho lah*. In respect of their relations to the land their position is fairly high. Some have risen to be zamindars others are tenure holders or substantial occupancy riyats. Instances of their having come to be day labourers or nomadic cultivators are so rare as to be practically unknown.

The following statement shows the numbers and distribution of the Barais in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
R dw	11 502	3 007	R gr	671	99
B k ra	970	2 50	I l	2 77	2 1 4
B l	2 260	2 50	I l l g	3 4	
M	7 0 1	r	J l	40	977
Hir l p		3 7	K l B l		1 1
Hir h	7 400	4 1	I l	1 31	17 24
24-1 ryamas	6 31	4 7 33	F l p		1 7
N l	27	3 123	B k	1 3	9 41
J wa	18 7 4	9 1	M	1 3	8 1
K l		11 3	I l	12 8	13
B l d bad	3 683	9 4	N kl l	3 185	2 187
D p	2 006	1 37	P l l h	8 082	48 4
Raj h	831	41	H l T act l Ch ttag g		6
Ra gp	1 374	1 525			

The Barai of Behar bear the title Raut and are divided into the following sub castes — (1) Maghava (2) Jaiswár (3) Chaurasia (4) Semeryá (5) Sokhwá. They have only two sections Kasyapa and Nag and regulate their marriages by the formula of prohibited degrees already quoted. Marriage is both infant and adult the former being deemed more respectable. Widow

marriage is permitted by the *sa jai* form. The widow may marry her late husband's younger brother but is not compelled to do so. If however she marries an outsider she forfeits all claim to share in her deceased husband's property and the custody of her children usually rests with his family. A man may marry two wives but not more. Divorce is not recognised. Indiscretions within the caste are winked at but a woman who goes wrong with an outsider is turned out of the caste and probably ends by becoming a regular prostitute. It will be observed that the practice of widow marriage and the recognition of adult marriage for females sharply distinguish the Barai from the Barui and are sufficient of themselves to form a conclusive bar to intermarriage between the two groups. Curiously enough the standard tradition regarding the origin of the Barai alleges that they were formerly Brahmins who were turned out of the sacred caste because they allowed widows to marry again.

Most Barais are Hindus of the Sakta sect. Their minor gods are Mahabirji (Hanuman) Bandi Gorai and Sokha. The last mentioned is held in special reverence and awe and it is believed that when his worship is neglected great disasters come upon the pargana. Maithil Kanojia and Setai Brahmins are employed by the Barai in the

worship of the greater gods the *de minorcs* being usually propitiated by the members of the family without the intervention of Brahmans

Betel cultivation is the main business of the Barai to which they add the preparation of lime and *khar* or *kath* an astringent extract from the wood of several species of acacia (*Acacia catechu* Willd the *khar* *Acacia* *uma* Kurz & *undia* DC and probably more) For a description of the methods of betel growing followed in Bihar I may refer to Grierson's *Bihar Past and Present Life* pages 248-49 The statement on page 249 that the betel nut which is the fruit of the *areca catechu* is called *supari* or *sopari* seems to require correction The following extracts from Colonel Yule's *Glossary* put the matter in a clear light —

Betel s The leaf of the *piper betel* I chewed with the dried areca nut (which is thence improperly called *betel nut* a mistake as old as Fryer—1673—see page 40) *chunam* etc by the natives of India and the Indo Chinese countries The word is Malay *littellu* i.e. *leu* + *lit* — simple or mere leaf and comes to us through the Port *betle* and *betle*

Pawn s The betel leaf Hind *pan* from the Sansk *pana* a leaf It is a North Indian term and is generally used for the combination of betel areca nut lime etc which is politely offered (along with otto of rose) to visitors and which intimates the termination of the visit This is more fully termed **pawn sooparie** (*supari* Hind for areca)

Areca s The seed (in common parlance the nut) of the palm *Areca cat hu* I commonly though somewhat improperly called betel nut the term *betel* (i.e.) belonging in reality to the leaf which is chewed along with the areca Though so widely cultivated the palm is unknown in a truly indigenous state The word is Malay *lan* *atala* and comes to us through the Portuguese

In Beames edition of Elliot's *Chhargy* vol II p 231 s: Bira the ingredients of *pan supari* are stated on the authority of the Kanun-i-Islam to be betel leaves areca or betel nut catechu quick lime aniseed coriander seed cardamoms and cloves

Barais rank with the *acharyas* castes of Bihar and Brahmans can take water and sweetmeats from their hands Their diet is that of the average orthodox Hindu Unlike the Barai of Bengal they will not eat the leavings of Brahmans nor will they drink spirituous liquors The Barai and Bohar are the lowest castes from whom a Barai will take water or sweetmeats Cooked food of course they will only eat with people of their own caste and sub caste As regards their agricultural position few of them appear to have risen above the status of occupancy rayat

The following table gives the number and distribution of the Barais and Lambulis or Tamlins in 1852 and 1861 In the former year the figures of both castes are included and in the latter they

are shown separately so that absolutely accurate statistics cannot be prepared —

D s t	1872	1881		D s t	1872	1881	
		Bar	T m l			B	T m l
P t	8 675	4 431	7 024	S tál Parga as	7 3 0	2 287	3 186
C y	8 141	5 3	8	P t k	1	1 740	4 189
S l i bad	7 180	2 7	1	P t k	1 04	374	72
T h t { D h h k p }	3 014	11 87	3 6	B l t y St te	7 12	3 122	2 1 3
S	1 0 3	12 3	1 84	H l l	1	72	980
(l) p	9 714	7 6	1 84	H l l	1 1	11	1 221
M	12 548	1 7	1 17	L l l	4 1	1 7	1 538
Bh k r l	7 270	6 1	1 2	M l l	12	7 190	3 465
P	8 477	4 2	1 4	L b y St te	48	6	115
M ld h	2 6	1 5 1	4				

Baru a section of Bais Sonars in Behar

Barukandal a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur who cannot touch the kusim tree

Barunda a big frog a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Barupendil kusum tree a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Baruwa a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Barwa small cocoon a totemistic sept of Mundas and Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Barwák a title of Tharus in Champaran

Barwár a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar a sub sept of the Hansa sept of Santals a section of Rajputs in Behar

Basa a tree a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Basáithi a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Basaiyá a section of Kaserás in Behar

Basák, a title of Tántis in Bengal

Basárh a *múl* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Básáriá a *mul* or section of the Tinnulia Madheia and Ihojpuria sub castes of Halwais in I chur

Basaroar a small hawk a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Basbáit Baswait a *kíl* or section of Babhans in Behar

Bás baniya a dealer in fragrant articles a perrumcar

Basbariá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Básdebpur a section of Bhojpuria Halwais in Behar

Bashariá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Basahe a *mul* of the Garg section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Basisht *Vasishtha* a section of Babhans in Behar the name which denotes one of the Vedic Rishis or sages appears to have been borrowed from the Brahmanical system in comparatively recent times. Most of the Bábhán section names belong to the territorial type

Basari a synonym for *Vaigya*
q v

Basiniá the headman of a village in Rangpur

Basishtha a *gotra* or section of Brahmans Baidyas and Kayasths in Bengal and of Sudras in Eastern Bengal

Báski a sept of Santáls

Basmait a section of Babhans in Behar

Basriár a sept of Asuras in Chota Nagpur

Bastibarhoná a *mul* or section of the Naomulha or Majraut sub caste of Goals in Behar

Basu a titular adjunct to names borne by the Dakshin Barhi and Bangaja families of Kayasths or *vijr* caste in Bengal commonly pronounced as Bose a sub section of the Bharadwaja section of Utkal Brahmans

Basuári a *gan* of the Sanulya *got* a of Rárhí Brahmans in Bengal

Basudeo an eponymous section of Rautias in Chota Nagpur

Basuki a section of Brahmans and of Kayasths in Bengal

Basuná a sub caste of Kumars in Western Bengal

Basundar a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Baswaria a section of Kanauji Lohars in Behar

Batabyál Baral a title of Brahmans in Bengal

Batái dár a cultivator who shares the crop with the proprietor

Batali a title of Kumbartas and Chhutaras (carpenters) in Bengal The word may perhaps

be connected with *batali* a small chisel

Batalya a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Batásewalá a maker of the small round sweetmeats of sugar offered up to deities at shrines and temples

Batewar a sub tribe of Tharus in Behar

Batham a sub caste of Dhoobis in Behar

Bathawa or *Badhariya* a sub caste of Mallahs in Behar

Báthotia a section of Goals in the North Western Provinces

Bathua *Betar* *Btlni* or *Betua* a title of Muchis and of Chandals whose occupation is to make baskets of *bet* or rattan and who are recognised in some districts as a separate caste Some of them eat pork fowls and beef Certain Musalmans are called so who deal in cane work

Bathuait a section of Lohárs in Behar

Bathuake Mahto a section of the Biy hut and Kharidahá Kalwars in Behar

Bathuáke Raut a section of the Biy hut and Kharidahá Kalwars in Behar

Báthudi a small aboriginal tribe of uncertain origin found in the Tributary States of Orissa

Bathuet a section of Kamar Kalla Sonars in Behar

Bati a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Bátke a labourer in the salt works of Orissa an assistant malar

Batkuar a bird a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bator a section of Madhesia Halwais in Behar

Bat rassī a rope maker or chief ly of the Kahar or Mallah castes who make twine and rope from *mung sun kans* and *hathi chungu*

Batsagrāmī a *gun* of the Batsya *gotra* of Larendra Brah mans in Bengal

Batsas a section of the Sro triya sub caste of Utkal Brah mans in Orissa

***Batsauriark** a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahman in Behar

Batsil a *gotra* or section of Agarwals

Bátsa Bátisya a *gotra* or section of Brahman Búlyas Báruis Kayasths and Luntis in Bengal and of Múthul Brah mans Bibhans Khatris and Raj puts in Behar

Battikbal a section of the Karan sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Battī sáz a chandler

Battisi a section of the Biya hut and Kharidaha Halwais in Behar

Batu a synonym for Brahman in Bengali

Batuk a section of Jugis

Batwakariar a *pur* or sec tion of Sakadwipi Brahman in Behar

Baul Bholi Bihul mad in love of God (i) a low class of mendicant Vushnavis (ii) a title of Kayasths and Telis in Bengal

Baundihá a *kul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Baurám a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Mijraut sub caste of Gwalas in Behar

Bauri, a cultivating earth working and palanquin bearing caste of Western Bengal whose features and complexion stamp them as of non Aryan descent although evidence is wanting to affiliate them to any particular tribe now in existence Their meagre folk lore throws no light on their origin According to one story they were degraded for attempting to steal food from the banquet of the gods another professes to trace them back to a mythical ancestor named Bahak Rishi (the bearer of burdens) and tells how while returning from a marriage procession they sold the palanquin they had been hired to carry got drunk on the proceeds and assaulted their *guru* who cursed them for the sacrilege and condemned them to rank then forward among the lowest castes of the community Another name of this ancestor is Lik Muni the same as the eponym of the Musahars or Bhuiyas but it would be straining conjecture to infer from this any connexion between the Buris and the Bhuiyas

The Buris are divided into the following nine sub castes --

It is (1) Mallabhumia (2) Sikharia or Gobaria (3) Panchakoti (4) Mola or Mulo (5) Dhulia or Dhulo (6) Malua or Malua (7) Jhatia or Jhetia (8) Kathuria (9) Pathuria Some of these may perhaps be nothing more than different local names for what was originally the same sub caste but this point is not really very material by reason of the marked reluctance of the lower castes to intermarry families living at a

distance. Assuming for example that Mola or Mulo and Mallahumia two sub castes of Bauris found in the 24 Parganas and Murhidabad are really the same as the Malua or Malua sub caste common in Manbhum it would by no means follow that the eastern and western members of this sub caste would be willing to intermarry. And if there were no intermarriage the groups would rightly be treated as true sub castes. On the whole therefore in spite of the suspicious similarity of some of the names I incline to think that the nine groups enumerated above are really distinct at the present day whatever may have been the case some generations back. As for the origin of the sub castes the names Mallabhumia, Malua and perhaps Mola denote a group originally resident in Pergunnah Manbhum or in the country south of the Kharai. The Dhuia sub caste is supposed to have come from Dhaibhum and the Sikharia from Sikharbhum the tract between the Kharai and Barakar rivers which includes the Lachetote tribe. Lanchakoti again denotes the central portion of the Lachetote estate. Gobaria is said to refer to a domestic custom of cleaning up the remnants of meals with cow dung which has somehow come to be deemed a characteristic of the Sikharia sub caste while Jhatia is explained as denoting a group who simply sweep away the fragments of a meal without washing the place where it had been spread.

The few exceptional subdivisions which we find among the Bauris have clearly been borrowed by *hyphenated* *castes* from the higher castes and are inoperative for matrimonial purposes as marriage between members of the same *gotra* is not forbidden. They are to observe the standard formula *mamaia chahera* etc. and in addition to prohibit marriage between persons descended from the same ancestors within seven degrees on the male and three degrees on the female side but the caste is extremely illiterate there is no unanimity among them as to main taining genealogies and the prevailing sentiment is ungeneous marriage and in actual practice such marriages are believed to be far from uncommon.

The absence of compact exogamous group such as we find among the Sanyals apparently belongs to the Bauris may possibly be due to the latter having at first been in contact with the Sanyals and thus having been brought into closer contact with the Sanyals than with the more independent Bauris. Traces of this may however still survive in their reverence for the black bull and the dog and perhaps in their strong objection to touching hois lung. The lion is looked upon as the emblem of the tribe and may not be killed or molested on pain of excommunication from the caste. Dogs are sacred. A Bauri will on no account kill or touch a dead dog's body and the water of a tank in which a dog has been drowned cannot be used until an entire rainy season has washed the impurity away. In regard to dogs Colonel Dutt has been gravely informed by some of their elders that as they kill and eat cows and most other animals they deemed it right to fix on some beast which should be as sacred to them as the cow to the Brahman and they selected

the dog because it was a useful animal while alive and not very nice to eat when dead—a neat reconciliation of the twinges of conscience and cravings of appetite. This ingenious explanation however valueless in itself shows that their own customs had become unintelligible to the Bauris themselves and serves to illustrate the tendency to imitate Brahmanical usage.

Like the Bagdis Bauris admit into their caste members of any caste higher than themselves in social standing. Admission is effected. No regular ceremony is appointed for such occasions the new member merely pays to the caste panahat a sum of money varying from 1s 10 to 1s 5 to be spent on a feast in which for the first time he openly eats with his adopted caste brethren. The origin of this singular practice which is entirely out of accord with the spirit of the caste system at the present day is apparently to be sought in the lax views of the Bauris and Bagdis on the subject of sexual morality. In every other caste a woman who has an intrigue with an outsider is punished by expulsion from the caste but Bagdi and Bauris not only allow their women to live openly with men of other caste but receive these men into their own community when as frequently happens they are outcasted by their own people for eating or cooking by their mistresses.

Marriage among the Bauris is either infant or adult the tendency being for those who can afford it to marry their daughters as infants. Polygamy is permitted a man is allowed to have as many wives as he can afford to maintain. Widows may marry again and are usually expected to marry their deceased husband's younger brother. No ceremony is gone through the bridegroom pays the bride's father and gives a feast to the members of the caste. Divorce is recognised. It is effected by the husband taking away from his wife the *piri* which every married woman wears and proclaiming to the *parima* and *panchayat* the fact of his having divorced her. In some districts a wife may divorce her husband for ill treatment or adultery. Divorced wives may always marry again. The marriage ceremony in use among the Bauris of Western Bengal differs little from that of the Bagdi except that there is no pool of water in the middle of the marriage bower and the bride sits on the left of the bridegroom instead of facing him. In districts further east an attempt is made to follow the standard Hindu ritual and the interchanging of garlands is held to be the binding portion of the ceremony.

Bauris profess to be Hindus of the Sakta sect but in Western Bengal at any rate their connexion with Hinduism is of the slenderest kind and their favourite objects of worship are Manasa Bhairavi, Manmoharipahari, Dharmaraj and Kudrasini. The cult of these two female deities has been described in the article on the Bagdis. Goats are sacrificed to Mansingh and fowls to Bapahari which is merely another name for the great mountain (Marang Bura) of the Santals. Rags, fowls, rice, sugar and ghee are offered to

Kudrasini on Saturdays and Sundays at the akhra or dancing place of the village through the medium of a Bauri priest who abstains from flesh or fish on the day preceding the sacrifice. The priest gets as his fee the fowls that are offered and the head or leg of the pig the worshippers eat the rest. It should be mentioned here that in Western Bengal Bauris have not yet attained to the dignity of having Brahmans of their own. Their priests are men of their own caste termed Lava or Degharis some of whom hold *la jali* land rent free or at a nominal rent as remuneration for their services. The headman of the village (*paramanik*) may also officiate as priest. The Bauris of Eastern Bengal employ a low class of Barna Brahman. Kali and Visvakarma are their favourite deities. In most districts Bauris have adopted the Hindu practice of burning their dead but in Bankura corpses are buried with the head to the north and face downward the object of this attitude being to prevent the spirit from getting out and giving trouble to the living. A rich funeral remuneration is performed on the eleventh day after death when the relatives feast together and the nearest relatives of the deceased has his head laid.

Agricultural labour and palanquin bearing are supposed to be the original occupation of the caste and thus the original corruption pretty closely to the facts as we now find them. They work also as wood cutters and muscu and in Burdwan a few have risen to be traders and money lenders. In some respects they are more particular than would be expected considering their low social position they hold. A Bauri who takes to curing leather works as a syce or keeps a liquor shop is turned out of the caste. Comparatively few Bauris are raiyats with occupancy rights but the majority may probably be put down as under raiyats or landless day labourers. They were well known as indigo cultivators and workers in the vats in the prosperous days of Bengal indigo and nomadic tillage of *chir* lands is one of their characteristic pursuits. In Manbhum and Bankura many of them hold substantial tenures on terms of police service—a fact which lends colour to the view that they are among the earliest settlers in that part of the country. Thus in Manbhum we find two *sadiaks* one *diguar* two *narb dig* we have 17 village *sardars* and 49 *tibudars* of the caste while in Bankura the Bauris are represented by 14 *sardar ghatwaks* 16 *sadiak* 8 *dijwas* 375 *tabudars* and 504 *chukran chaukidars*.

The social rank of Bauris is very low. Members of the higher castes will not take water from their hands and they themselves eat with Bagdis Kewats Lohars and the non Aryan Kurmis of Western Bengal. They are in fact hardly distinguishable from the Haris of Bengal and the Ghosis of Chota Nagpur and are despised everywhere except in Manbhum and Birbhum where they are allowed by the Hindus to do certain menial offices which are usually done by people of higher castes. With few exceptions they are entirely indifferent to the nice scruples regarding food which have so important a bearing on the status of the average Hindu for they eat beef pork fowls all kinds

of fish and rats and are much addicted to strong drink Nevertheless they pique themselves on not eating snakes and lizards like the Orissas

The following statement shows the number of Bauris in 1872 and 1881 —

D R CT	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
B dw	70 608	77 321	B k r g j		87
B k	76 5	117 48	M m l	1	
B l l m	24	277 9	C l g	3	4 1
M l	1 346	12 7)	T i p h		
H l l		1 881	N l l m d	33	
H h		4	S		
24-l	694	1 519	M l		
Nad l	2 016	1 877	P h	3,2	
M h d b d	829	871	M l d h		
L h	6 596	4,51	S tál Parpanas	1 9	18
R j h l y	384	1 099	C t t a c k	3	
R a p	88	168	P r i	5 1	69 7
B w p	45	146	B lasoro	5 7	7 1
P l	25	65	T b r y Stat		
D j l g	100	205	h b a g h	3,2	
I l l	9	1	I l l a s	7	49
D l p	11	8	I l l m	2	1
			I l l St es	82 93	70
				2	1 44

Baurihá a section of Bauris in Behar

Bawal a title of Barui in Benar

Bawan galí tirpan bazar hhatís laha battis parkar fifty tw line fifty the bauris thirty ix profits thirty two ways of milim money a formula or shulb leth distinguish a section of the Juswar sub estate of Kailwas in Behar In the Glossary forming part of his Monograph on the Trade and Manufactures of Northern India Mr Hocy writes (*si mandh* a mulct) — They say of Lucknow in Sualit Ah's time that the city consisted of *lun mandh tujan bauri* The close correspondence between the phrase and the opening words of the shulb leth quoted above may perhaps derive note

• **Bázargasht** a wanderer in a *ba ar* a kind of broker who sits out customers and guides them to shops

Bazigar *B jik n* a juggler or conjur r a synonym for Nat *l l* S *B l j l*

Bazzaz a cloth merchant a *h l l r*

Beanh a large fish with thorns on it back a tit mystic sect of Orissas in Chota Nagpur

Bear a *j m j a t* or section of Doahis and a title of Chauris in Behar

Beauran a section of Awadhia Hijams in Behar

Bebarttu the title of the *h a l* *h l r* of a Raja in the Tributary States of Orissa

Bed báf a weaver of cane work

Bedbangs probably a synonym for Buly the physician etc or fish group of vagrant cutes generally known as *l l h y* in the Sanskrit *vyadha* a hunter Both words are colloquially contracted into *Bed*

Bed (*tsilent*) or **Beh tshangye**
a sub tribe of Dejong Lhoris or
Bhotias of the south

Bed Bid a title of Dakshin
Rárhí and Bangaja Kayasths
Bedeá a synonym for Bediá

Bedi a group of the Drotiya sub caste of Utkal Bráhmans

Bediá Bedea Bejed a small agricultural Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur supposed to be *ma iaut bi n* or cousins through the maternal aunt of the Kurmis. Formerly it is said Bedias and Kurmis inter married but a split occurred when it was discovered that the former ate beef or more probably when the latter gave up eating it. They do not claim any connexion with the Mundas nor do the Mundas recognise them as cognates. Their septa are totemistic. In their marriages a barber officiates as priest. Bedis take *kari hi* food from Kurmis only and Khurghir Mundas take similar food from them. The twelfth sept of the Santal which is supposed to have been left behind in Champa and has long been separated from the parent tribe bears the name of Bedi and it seems not improbable that the Bedias of Chota Nagpur may be actually a branch of the Santals who did not follow the main tribe in their wanderings of the world. The connexion of the Bedis with the Kurmis tells rather for this view. The tribe has certainly nothing to do with the Bediys of Eastern Bengal.

Bediyi the generic name of a number of vagrant gipsy like groups of whom it is difficult to say whether they can properly be described as castes. The following groups are included under the name (1) Bibiyi Lava or Latwa pedlars and mountebanks professing to be Mahomedans but singing songs in praise of Rama and Lakshmana and exhibiting painted scrolls representing the exploits of Hanuman. Their women have the reputation of being skilful in the treatment of children's diseases and the removal of nervous and rheumatic pains. They also tattoo but are not so expert in this art as the Nat women. (2) Bidiyar Kabutari Bhanu mati Durbaz acrobats and conjurers probably closely akin to the Nats and Kanjars of Hindu tan. As acrobats the women and girls are the chief performers the men play tricks with balls and knives. The women also dabble in medicine prescribe for children suffering from fever or indigestion practise *mas age* for rheumatism and affect to cure toothache. (3) Mals also called Lonkwah from their dexterity in extracting worms from the teeth. They appear to be a vagrant group of the Mals of Western Bengal who in their turn are possibly a Hinduised offshoot of the Mal. It seems at any rate more reasonable to suppose that the tribal name Malmay be a variant of Male a man than to derive it from Mala a hillman or Malla a wrestler. Mals do not now intermarry with other Bediyas and repudiate any connexion with them for further particulars see the article Mal. (4) Mirshikar or Chamar hunters and fowlers takes birds with birdlime or horse hair nooses and the *Salmali* or light lance divided into sections like a fishing rod. Some of the animals which the Mirshika catches are highly prized for medicinal purposes or for charms. The flesh of the scaly ant eater

Banrahu or Bajrakit (*Manis pentadactyla*) is believed to restore virile energy its scales bound on the arm cure palpitations of the heart and worn on the finger in the form of a ring are a sovereign prophylactic against venereal diseases. The flesh of the crow phasant (*mīlī* or *pān kori*) if killed on a Tuesday or Saturday cures enlargement of the spleen and puerperal disorders. The claws and droppings of the spotted owl (*pencha*) if pounded up with betel nut are a powerful and certain love philtre and the dried flesh of the duck (*Gallinuli* sp.) is very beneficial in rheumatism. (5) Sámperia snake charmers hawkers of medicinal goods and makers of fish hooks and such like articles. According to Dr. Wise the snakes usually exhibited are the cobra, the light and dark varieties of the Ophiophagus Elap, namely the Dullhraj and Manraj, the pyther, a white snake with red black and yellow spots called Udiya Sámj and a light brown snake with black stripes on its neck known as Ghár banki from the singular way it bends before striking.

The Sámperia catches a snake by running it to the ground with a forked stick and seizing it by the neck the thumb being held over the first vertebra. If the snake be a poisonous one the fangs are cut out but the poison bag is carefully preserved. Snake poison is highly valued by Hindu physicians for the treatment of disease and fetches in the market from fifteen to sixteen rupees per bhū (1 lb.) grain. Another valuable prize is the tick (kilmī) occasionally found on the hood of the black cobra about which many fabulous stories are told. One of these parasites worth a large sum of money is particularly believed to be a certain preservative against snake bites and is used in general.

The Sámperia feeds his snakes on fish frogs and mice. Samperias have no specific for snake bite but each man carries as a charm the root of the Bhutrāj a forest creeper. The popular idea is that the bud (mālātī) of the Bhatrāj is a specific but the Samperias deny this. When any one is bitten by a poisonous animal the Sámperia ties a string round the limb such the wound bathes the extremity in hot water and covers the bite with the leave of the Bhutrāj. One of the company then recites Hindu stāva nātra or incantations which are usually utter gibberish.

Members of this caste are in great request at the festival of Manasā Devi their patron deity in the month of Śrāvan (July-August) being engaged by Brahmans to exhibit their collection and make the snakes crawl in front of the idol. On such occasions the Sámperia plays on a pipe while his wife or child chants a monotonous Hindustani song and irritates the reptile to strike.

The Sámperia also tames jungle cocks to entrap wild ones and the Kora (*Gallus cristatus*) a bird famous for its pugnacity. When he is in want of food he tethers the decoy near a marsh arranging a low screen with three movable leaves from which horsehair nooses hang. The wild bird advancing to test the courage of the captive gets entangled and falls an easy prey to the Sámperia who is lying concealed close by. Like other Bediyās the Sámperias keep tame cormorants to drive fish into the net but they do not sell

what they catch. They are keen sportsmen and when an opportunity offers they stalk deer and shoot partridges, paddy birds and egrets.

(6) The Shándárs have the reputation of being the most orderly and industrious of the Bediya divisions. Their name is derived from the Persian Shánah a comb. This comb or more correctly reed through which the warp threads pass is in great demand by Tántís and Julahas for their looms and no one can make them so cheaply and neatly as the Shándár. The frame work of the comb (*thangi*) is made of split bamboo and the teeth (*jabi*) of well seasoned wood. The latter are fixed at equal distances apart by strong cotton thread. The Shándár is also a Manihár or seller retailing in the villages beads and trinkets, waist strings (*Kathaw*) bought from the Latw and needles, thread and tape procured from Mughuliyá shops.

Hand rars are expert divers and when anchored in suitable localities gather the common bivalve shells (*síqá*) and sell them to the Chun ri or lime burner. They also use the *at* or bamboo reel of seven joints tipped with bird lime catching bulbuls and their small birds. Like the Samjeris they keep tame koras, jungle cocks and cormorants and if they can afford to do so take out a gun licence to shoot game.

Of late years they have all become converts to Islam but Mahomedans limit them into their society and refuse to intermarry with and to pray with them.

(7) The Bediyas use boats of curious construction only half covered over while the tilt is cocoon or bottle shaped tapering gradually towards the stern where there is a small round opening through which a man can with difficulty crawl. These Bediyas work with zinc which is bought in pigs melted and run into moulds. From the similarity in colour of zinc and mercury (*rasa*) the division has derived its distinctive name from the latter metal. The Bediyas make anklets, bracelets and collars for the neck (*hanth*) which are worn by all Hindu and Mahomedan females of the lower class. At their homes they are cultivators, and being strict Farazís are accepted as members of the Mahomedar community. Their social standing however is so precarious that prolonged absence from home or a manifest partiality for boat life is punished by expulsion from society.

Begampurá a section of Biháris in Behar

Begra Oraon a sub tribe of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Begri a cutter of precious stones other than diamond

Begsaria a section of Kanaujia Lohars in Behar

Behal a section of the Bahánnajti sub caste of Khatriis in Bengal

Behára Bahára a title of Hindu castes such as Bhaís, Bauris, Chandals, Lawáns, Bahars, Orhs and others who are employed as plankton bearers also of Dhawas or low Mahomedans who follow the same occupation. Wilson derives the word from Sanskrit *varaha* business profession but it seems equally possible that the word bearer may have been adopted into Bengali like many

other English words. The word is also used as an honorary title of Gonds and of some Triya Brahmins of the headmen of Jharua Kumhar Bhuiya and Kewat castes.

Behārī **Bihārī** a *nul* or section of the Kanauiya sub caste of Sonars in Behar.

Beherá a title of Sudhás in Orissa.

Behna a cotton vendor. Occ.

Behnáhan a section of the Banodhiá and Jaiswar Kalwars in Behar.

Bejeá a synonym for Bediá.

Bekh a totemistic sept of Oraons who cannot eat earth salt.

Bel a fruit a sept of Indians a totemistic section of the Bhui caste in Western Bengal the members of which will not touch or eat the *bel* fruit.

Belálar a sub caste of Kámárs in the Santál Iarganas.

Belási a sub caste of Kámárs in Bardwan.

Belaunche Káko a *nul* of the Bhairawja section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar.

Belaunche Ghaul a *nul* of the Bhairawja section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar.

Belaunche Súdai a *nul* of the Bhairawja section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar.

Belaunche Ra pár a *nul* of the Bhairawja section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar.

Belaunche Garh a *nul* of the Bhairawja section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar.

Belaunche Dih a *nul* of the Bhairawja section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar.

Belawaharí a section of Mauliks in Chota Nagpur.

Beldár one who works with a *bel* or hoe. A wandering Dravidian caste of earth workers and navvies in Bihar and Western Bengal many of whom are employed in the coal mines of Raniganj and Barakar. Both men and women labour the former digging the earth and the latter removing it in baskets carried on the head. The Beldars regard this mode of carrying earth as destructive of themselves and will on no account carry earth in baskets slung from the shoulders. They work very hard when paid by the piece and are not proud for their skill in manipulating the pillars (// witness) left to mark work done so as to exaggerate the measurement. On one occasion while working for me on a large lake at Govindpur in the north of the Moulhum district a number of Beldars transplanted an entire pillar during the night and claimed payment for several thousand feet of imaginary earthwork. The fraud was most skillfully carried out and was only detected by accident. In Western Bengal they rank with Korus and Bauris and like them are terribly addicted to drink. They profess to marry their daughters as infants but the practice of adult marriage still survives among them while they certainly allow widows to remarry and recognise considerable licence of divorce. Divorced women may marry again.

The origin of the caste is obscure. They are certainly closely akin to the Binds and Numias and it seems probable that the former represent the remnant of a compact aboriginal tribe from which

the Numás broke off by taking to the manufacture of saltpetre and the Beldars by going in for earthwork. The functions of the Beldars are less specialised and this circumstance coupled with the fact that they reckon hunting and fishing among their characteristic occupations leads me to regard them as the oldest of the three groups and probably the parent of both Numás and Beldars. The internal structure of the Beldars throws little light upon their tribal affinities. In Behar they have two sub-castes—**Chauhan** and **Kathautiá** or **Katháwá** and one section **Kasyapa**. Their marriages are regulated by the standard formula *varachari* etc. Infant-marriage is in vogue and the marriage ceremony is of the standard type. A second wife may be taken if the first is barren. Widows marry by *sagai*. Divorce by the *crepanchayat* is recognised and divorced women may marry again.

Beldars employ Maithil Brahmins as their priests and conform in matters of religion funeral rites etc. to the average Hinduism of the lower castes. On the Til Sankranti festival in Mugh they worship the *Lasha* a pointed iron instrument used in pounding bricks—one of their standard occupations. A few of them are cultivators with occupancy rights, most however earn their living as navvies or as agricultural day labourers. Their social rank is much the same as that of Numás.

In treating of the Beldars much confusion is caused by the fact that the term Beldar mattock bearer besides denoting a distinct endogamous group is also used as a generic title common to the low castes of Hindus employed on earthwork. This use of the word in its proper etymological sense as denoting merely an occupation comes out even more clearly in Eastern Bengal where we find Mahomedan Beldars who act as scavengers in their own villages removing carasses or cutting brushwood and serve as torch bearers (*nulchi*) at Hindu and Mahomedan weddings.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Beldars in 1872 and 1881 but the statistics are worthless by reason of the confusion in the use of the name explained in the last paragraph—

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
Bardw	161	13	Tppe h	154	3
B k	26		I	18 46	18 48
B h m	12		C	16 85	41
M d p	102	34	Sl h b d	9 003	2 2
H gh l w th H w ah	3		T h t { Da bl ga	} 10 092	{ 8 647
24-Parganas	63		P { M ff rp		
Nad y	65		S ra	79	831
Jenao	4	3	Ch para		966
M rshodabad	538	195	M nghy	16 676	17 411
D pur	1 440	27	Lhak ip	1 238	1 351
Raj h by	68	49	P	7 392	11 865
Raagp	19		S tal f ga	83	497
B gra	88		M l h h		400
J ip g	28	37	H l h		1 065
D	12	15	I h h		8
B k ga j			S gh h	1	01
M m h	781	308	M l m	103	110
Ch itagong	100	2	Trib ta y St tes		6
Noakhali	60				

Beldár a title of Nunias in Behar

Belgách: a sub caste of Kumhárs in Jessore

Belgrám: a *gám* of the Kásyapa *gám* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Belha a section of Sonárs in Behar

Beljár a sept of Asuras in Chota Nagpur

Belkharíyá *Bikhari Bikhari* a section of Bábhans in Behar

Belkuar a section of Babhans in Behar

Bella a section of Goálás in Behar

Beloar fruit a totemistic sept of Lohars in Chota Nagpur

Belonchá a section of Babhans in Behar

Belontíá a division of Brahmans in Behar

Belsandi a section of the Magahíyá Pachainyá and Tirhutíyá sub castes of Doms in Behar

Beluri a *gám* of the Sándi *lya gótra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Belwadhíya a sub tribe of Thárus in Nepal

Belwár a sub caste of Dhobis in Behar a *mul* or section of the Naomuhá or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Bernwár a section of Bábhans in Behar

Benátíyá a sub caste of Chasás in Orissa

Bendah a *mul* or sept of Dejong Lhoris in Darjiling whose ancestor had emigrated from Bhotan

Bendiár a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Bendkar a sub tribe of Savars 21

Beng frog a totemistic sept of Bhuiyas and Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Beni a *pathi* or hypergamous sub group of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal a variant of Baniya 15

Beniah Kandh a sub tribe of Kandhs in Orissa

Beniario frog a totemistic sept of Ians in Chota Nagpur

Benk a section of the Karan Kayasths in Behar

Benkurá a section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Benrd a synonym for Páttar a class of fishermen in Eastern Bengal

Beopár: *bepari* an importer of grain and a wholesale dealer who frequently supplies goods on trust to retail shopkeepers to sell at a minimum price fixed by the *leo pari*. If the goods are not sold within a month after delivery the *leo pari* charges interest at one per cent per mensem on the value

Bepári a title of Málos in Eastern Bengal

Berá a title of Kaibarttas in Bengal

Berar a *mul* or section of the Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Beraut a section of Awadhíá Hajáms in Behar

Bere a section of the Satmulia Maghaya sub-caste of Kandus in Behar

Berga Kharía a sub caste of Khariás in Chota Nagpur

Beri a section of the Panch játi sub caste of Khatri in Bengal

Bermán a section of Kanaujia Lohars in Behar

Berrá Rajwár a sub caste of Rajwars in Lohardaga

Beruá *Rutra Berua* a small cultivating and fishing caste of Eastern Bengal probably an offshoot of the Chandal tribe with the members of which they still eat and drink but do not intermarry. Their name is derived from *bera* a weir of bamboos or reeds used for catching mullet. It is the well known habit of this fish to jump over any obstacle it meets with in water. The Beruas at full tide throw a weir across a creek and on the surface of the water below it they moor a broad raft. As soon as the mullet encounters the weir and finds no opening it leaps over and is caught on the raft. The fish are sold in the market but no Beruá will cast a net or earn a livelihood as the Kaibarttas do.

The whole of the Beruá caste belongs to the Kanyapa *gotra* and they therefore practise exogamy only in name. Their headman is called *Itra*. The intimacy of their connexion with the Chandáls is attested by the fact that the same purohitis officiate for both.

Beruar a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Beruká Kisán a *mul* or section of the Biyahut sub caste of Kharwars in Behar

Beru ke Máhto a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kharwars in Behar

Beru ke pátre a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kharwars in Behar

Besáti *Bi al* a vendor of small wares generally Mahomedans

Beserwar a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Besra small hawk a totemistic sept or section of Lohars, Mundas, Santals, Cheros and Gonds

Besyá putra the son of a prostitute a bastard

Betiah Kandh a sub tribe of Kandhs in Orissa

Betra Pan or **Raj Pan** a sub caste of Pans in Orissa

Betuá a sub caste of Muchis in Bengal

Bhabanipurí a *pathi* or hypergamous sub group of Landrá Brahmins in Bengal

Bhabaniswar a section of the Kunr sub caste of Dosadhs in Behar

Bhabhut or **Bibhuti** the ashes of burnt cow dung with which men licent of the Suva orders chiefly besmear their bodies hence a title of such mendicants

Bhadáya a *pangat* or section of Dosadhs in Behar

Bhadaniá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bhādar a *gain* of the Bharadwāja *gotra* of Bārendra Brahmans in Bengal

Bhadariá or **Bhareri** a sect of mendicants of Brahmanical descent professors of astrology in Behar a sub caste of the Kraunchdwipi Brahmans in Behar

Bhadauria a sept of the Suryabansi sub tribe of Rajputs and of Kowats in Behar

Bhad bhadria sparrow a totemistic section of the Jigannathi sub caste of Kumhars in Orissa

Bhaddal a *gotra* or section of the Agarwal caste

Bhādisawār a *mul* or section of the Ghosin sub caste of Goals in Behar

Bhadpá a *mul* or sept of the Bedtshan gyi sub tribe of Djong Lhoni or Lhotias of the south

Bhadra a title of Dakshin Rarhi and Langaja Kayasths and of Sukhans in Bengal

Bhadraghát a section of Patnis in Bengal

Bhadraj a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Goria sub caste of Goálas in Behar

Bhadsuhiá a section of Bahans in Behar

Bhādúa or **Bhánruá** a title of Nápits from the *bhanr* or bag in which they carry their shaving implements

Bhaduri a *gain* of the Kayapa *gotra* of Bārendra Brahmans also a title of Sadgops in Bengal

Bhadwariá a *mul* or section of the Buiáhut sub caste of Kalwars in Behar

Bhādya bau a title of Tántis in Bengal

Bhagabán a section of the Mahmudabaz sub caste of Nápits in Bengal

Bhágá a *gain* or sub section of Saptasati Brahmans in Bengal

Bhagan Bhájan a family of the Grihasth group of Jugis in Bengal

Bhagat a title of the Jaiswár and Buiáhut sub castes of Kulwars in Behar a title of those members of the Kasliun sub caste of Baniyas in Behar who refrain from eating fish. The same title is also used by Kasarwani Baniyas without this distinction

Bhagwat *Blalat* literally a worshipping of Vishnu—a class of Baniyas who strictly observe the rules of the Hindu religion abstain from meat and intoxicating drinks

Bhainsá buffalo a totemistic sept of Gonds Iain and Korwas in Chota Nagpur

Bhainsu a section of Goálas in Behar

Bhair a section of Binjhias in Chota Nagpur

Bhairab Ghatak a *mel* or hypergamous sub group of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Bhaiskayá a section of the Banodhna and Jaiswár Kalwars in Behar

Bhaji Sag vegetable a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bhaju a section of Newars in Darjiling also a pet name for a Newar child

Bhaju Chakwar a section of | **Bhākar Bhākur** a section of
Bāphans in Behar | Kanauiā Lohars in Behar

Bhakat Bhagat This term properly denotes a worshipper and particularly Vaishnavas of the middle and lower castes who from religious motives abstain from meat fish and spirituous liquors. It is used as a title of Vaishnavas generally of the Jaiswār and Bīyāhut sub castes of Kalwars and of Tambulis in Behar of Kasarwānī Baniyās and of those members of the Kasodhan sub caste of Baniyās who refrain from eating fish. In Manbhum and Hazaribagh Bhakats are very numerous and have in their hands most of the business of the *chattis* or halting places along the Grand Trunk Road.

The word Bhakat also denotes a sub tribe of the Oraons which has been formed on the same basis of religious asceticism as the Kharwar or Satahor division of the Santāls. These Bhakats acknowledge themselves to be Oraons and admit disciples from the tribe which indeed forms their only source of recruits but they will not intermarry with their unconverted brethren nor take cooked food or water from their hands. They abstain from all flesh except that of goats which have been sacrificed to one of the Hindu gods nor do they drink spirits. Fish and *w* is not prohibited and sweetmeats may be eaten with Oraons. Mundas and Telis. Tobacco they will only smoke among themselves or out of the *hulka* of their own *guru* or spiritual guide.

The favourite deities of the Bhakat Oraons as of most recently Hinduised aborigines are Mahadeva and *kali* to whom goats *ghu* sweetmeats etc. are offered. *Rel gi* on Wednesdays and Sundays the offerings being eaten by the worshippers and their families. They employ Brahmans as *gurus* but these Brahmans do not officiate as their priests and the sacrificial victims are slain by any influential person among themselves who happens to be acquainted with the ritual. In marriages again while the attempt is to imitate the Hindu ceremony the pundit who officiates is not a Brahman but a Bhakat and the binding portion of the ceremony is the payment of the bride price which consists of a pair of bullocks or Rs 5 to Rs 10 in cash.

Along with this striving after conformity with the externals of Hinduism we find the Bhakats retaining in their entirety the totemistic exogamous sections characteristic of the Oraons and observing the same prohibited degrees. They show at present no signs of carrying their asceticism into the domain of marriage. Like the Oraons they marry their girls as adults usually between the ages of twelve and sixteen. Unrestricted courtship is permitted before marriage and sexual intercourse is tolerated it being understood that if a girl becomes pregnant she will name the father of her child and the two will get married. Polygamy is permitted but is not usually resorted to unless the first wife is barren. Widows are allowed to marry again but no ceremony is performed on such occasions and the

transaction is deemed to be complete when a few maunds of grain have been paid to the relatives of the woman. Divorce is easy and very common a woman runs away from her husband with any man who suits her fancy a man turns out his wife and takes up with another woman. In either case the parties may marry again and thus render the divorce final but this may also be effected without remarriage by refunding to the husband the bride price which he paid in the first instance for his wife.

In the disposal of the dead the usages of the Bhakats do not differ materially from those of the Oraons. The rule is to burn the body preserving some of the ashes and bones for burial at the time of the *haddiphoi* festival in the *bhuanhuri* village of the deceased that is to say in the village from the first founders of which he believes himself to be descended. At this festival pigs and great quantities of rice are offered for the benefit of departed ancestors who are also held in continual remembrance by fragments of rice or *dul* cast on the ground at every meal and by a pinch of tobacco sprinkled whenever a man prepares his pipe. The bodies of women who die within fifteen days after child birth are buried and fowls offered over the grave. People who die during the rainy season are also buried but the remains are exhumed and burned when the dry season sets in.

Bhakla animal a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Bháklun a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces

Bhakta a title of Kaibarttas and Sunris in Bengal a sect of Vaishnavas in Behar

Bhalauniár a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Bhale a section of the Chha játi sub caste of Khatris in Behar

Bháklíá a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Bhalráit a *kul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Bhal Sultán a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bhámbasrá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Bhandári *Napt Hayam* the barber caste of Orissa. The name Bhandári or store keeper is supposed to have reference to the position of trust and influence which the barber often occupies in the household of a Hindu landholder. In Orissa the caste claim to be the modern representatives of the Sudras of early Indian tradition but they are usually classed among the mixed castes and believed to be the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Sudra mother. There are seven sub castes—Bangáli, Dakhíní, Desí, Khariá, Khurda Gola, and Hátuá. Of these the Bangáli and Dakhíní are immigrants from Bengal and Madras respectively the Desí are indigenous to Orissa, and Khurda are supposed to have come from the estate of

Origin and term

that name in Puri district. The Khariá and Hátná sub-castes are found in Cuttack the former being barbers who have for the most part given up their traditional occupation and taken to making salt and letting out pack bullocks for hire while the latter are an itinerant class of barbers who are attached to no particular village, but wander about plying their trade wherever they can find customers. The sections of the caste which are shown in the Appendix appear to have been borrowed from the Brahmanical system.

Bhandáris marry their daughters as infants and regard it as a breach of a distinct religious obligation if a girl remains unmarried at the age of puberty.

Marriage

Such cases however do occur sometimes when a girl's parents are poor or when some personal blemish renders it difficult to procure a husband for her. The ceremony is supposed to be identical with the *prajapatya* form referred to by Manu. Its essential portion is *hastaganthi* or binding together the hands of the bride and bridegroom with a wisp of *kuśa* grass. Polygamy is permitted to the extent that a man may take a second wife if the first is barren, suffers from an incurable disease or has certain specified physical defects. A widow is allowed to marry again and is generally expected to marry her late husband's younger brother if there is one. She may however marry any member of the caste outside the prohibited degrees of kinship. The ceremony in use at the marriage of a widow is called *thar* change of place and is performed under the supervision of the bridegroom's family priest who receives *dakshina* for his services. It commences with the worship of an earthen vessel filled with water and is completed by putting *saṅkha* and brass bracelets (*saṅkha* and *katuni*) on the bride's wrists and smearing vermillion on her forehead. The status of a widow thus married though clearly distinguished from that of a mere concubine is deemed inferior to that of a woman who has been married as a virgin by the full *prajapatya* ritual. The caste council (*panchayat*) may grant a divorce (*chhāda patia*) to a husband if it be proved before them that his wife has committed adultery. Pending the decision of the case the husband is held to be unclean and he must burn a *kuśa* grass figure of his wife and give a feast to the *panchayat* before he can be again admitted to social intercourse. Divorced wives get alimony for six months and may marry again by the form used at the remarriage of a widow but they must first perform an expiatory ceremony of the same general character as that demanded from a husband who applies for a divorce.

All Bhandáris are Vaishnavas and conform in the course of their regular worship to the precepts of that sect. They also regard Visvakarma as the patron of their craft and on the fourth day of the Durga Puja the razors, scissors and the mirror which they deem the special emblem of their caste are laid before his image with offerings of sweetmeats and flowers while for three days all members of the caste rest from their usual avocations. In this as in other religious offices performed in honour of the regular Hindu gods Bhandáris employ Brahmans who are received on equal terms by other members

of the sacred order The village goddess *Grām devatī* on the other hand is worshipped by the heads of households unassisted by Brahmins with offerings of fruits sweetmeats and parched grain No special day is set apart for these sacrifices but Sundays Tuesdays Saturdays and the first day of every month are believed to be auspicious times for approaching the goddess Some Bhandāris are *sebayats* or secular priests of *Grām devatī* and in this capacity hold small grants of rent free land

The dead are usually burned but the bodies of children and women who die in child birth are buried When a pregnant woman dies before delivery her body is cut open and the child taken out both corpses being then buried in the same grave *Sraddh* is performed in the regular fashion on the eleventh day after death Offerings are also made on the anniversary of the death of near relatives and a *sraddh* is performed for remote ancestors at the Mahālaya festival and on the night of the Kālī Pujā

The social standing of the caste is respectable A Brahman will not only take water from the hands of a Bhandāri but will go to his house as a guest and partake there of any food that has been cooked by a Brahman Their own practice in matters of diet is in accordance with that of orthodox Hindus They eat *pakki* food with members of the Nabasākh only and will only take the leavings of their own spiritual guide (*guru*) As a rule they practise their hereditary profession and hold their homestead lands rent free in consideration of the services rendered by them to the village community Others again have special tenures (*hajūmī jagū*) created by the former rulers of the country Comparatively few have regularly taken to agriculture and most of these are *thāmī sayats* with rights of occupancy *Zemindars* however and *lakhirajdars* are occasionally met with among them

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Bhandāris in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872	1881
Cuttack	29 494	35 955
Puri	17 867	21 761
Balasore	13 733	15 859
Trichinopoly States	14 372	16 286

Bhandāri: a treasurer a store keeper In Sylhet a servant an outdoor servant in other parts of Bengal a steward in Orissa a barber an honorary title of Kāyasths and Nūpats in Bengal a title of Sūdrās in Eastern

Bengal a title of Kāhārs Kewats and of Ganjwār Sunnis in Behar a section of Mālis and a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bhandi: a synonym for Bhat g

Bhandsālī: a grain storer

Bhandsár see *Arhativá*

Bhanduwál a *mul* of the *Kás* *yapa* section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Bhanga Kshatriya *Bhanga* a title assumed by the Paliyas and Rajbansis of Northern and Eastern Bengal which has reference to the legend of the Kochh tribe that they are an outlying branch of the Kshatriyas who took refuge in Kochh Behar when the caste was destroyed by Parasu Ram

Bhanga Kulín a hypergamous group of Rarhi Brahmins in Bengal

Bhángar a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Bhangerá a sub caste of Sunris in Behar

Bhang farosh a seller of *bhajag* (*amb satuu*) generally a Brahmin

Bhanj a sub caste of so called Rajputs in Singbhum and the Tributary States of Orissa

Bhanja a title of Dakshin Rárhí and Bangaja Káyasths

Bhanja Khandait a sub-caste of Khandaits in Puri

Bhanjor a sept of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Bhánr a generic name of mimics buffoons and jesters mostly Mahomedans who attend at births and marriages to amuse the guests with their jokes a sept of the Pautar sub tribe of Iharus in Behar

Bhansriá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Bhant a section of Goálás in Behar

Bhaonrá a large black bee supposed to be enamoured of the lotus a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bháonroá a *mul* or sector of the Nacmulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Bhar a small Dravidian caste of Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur most of whom are cultivators while a few occupy the position of hereditary personal servants to the Rájás of Pachete. The Bhars are divided into two sub castes **Maghaya** and **Báigál** the members of which do not intermarry. Their sections show a curious mixture of the totemistic and eponymous types which may perhaps indicate that the caste is undergoing the process of gradual conversion to Hinduism and incorporation into the regular caste system. This view is borne out on the whole by their domestic institutions which appear to be in a similar state of transition. Thus the remarriage of widows has been discarded and the license of divorce conceded so freely by the non Aryan races entirely done away with while adult marriage still survives as a relic of the past side by side with the growing usage of infant marriage. It deserves notice that in this respect the Bhars form an exception to the usual course of development. It may be laid down as a general rule that the adoption of infant marriage is the first step taken in the direction of conformity to orthodox usage while the prohibition of widow marriage usually follows as a later stage. The Bhars however have completely given up widow marriage while still

recognizing the marriage of adults as permissible for those who cannot afford to marry their daughters as infants

For the rest they appear in all respects to follow the usages of orthodox Hindus professing the Hindu religion employing Brahmins burning their dead and performing their *śradh* on the thirtieth day after death. In the matter of inheritance they deviate slightly from the standard school in that they give the eldest son an extra share (*jeth-anj*) of the property. This however is not uncommon in Western Bengal and we may hazard the conjecture that it has some connexion with the custom of primogeniture which governs the succession to many of the large estates in that part of the country. The connexion of the Bhars with the Pachete family has probably tended to raise their general social position. They rank in Manbhum with Tamolis and Mairas and the higher castes can take water from their hands.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Bhars in the Lower Provinces in 1872 and 1881. It includes the Bhars of Behar a Hinduised branch of the original stock who disown all connexion with the Bhars of Western Bengal and claim affinity with the Bhars of the North Western Provinces. A full account of the latter is given in Mr Crooke's Ethnographical Hand book.

D	CT	1872	1881	D	CT	1872	1881
B rdw			39	Gy		28	11
Bil			2	Sh h b d		5 679	2 593
24-P rra as			6	T h t { D bh s		252	{
N d y			232	{ M uff pur			128
Y soo			11	S ra		7 6 7	8 397
M hed bad			41	Ch mpara		4 8 5	2 1
D ji			45	M ghy		2	18
Ra p			7	Bh s li			34
Bogra			10	P rn ah			2
P t			8	M id h			1
D j l k			12	S tál Parganas		2 770	2 463
K h B har			37	H sarib gh		5 898	18
Uacca			11	Lchardaga		1 6	44
Far dp			14	S ng h m		10	
M m h			357	M bh		10 917	12 2
P t		28	8	T b ta y State			120

Bhar a title of Tantis in Bengal

Bharadwaja a Brahmanical section of Khatris and Rajputs in Behar of Kayasths in Bengal and of Karans and Khandáts in Orissa a *gotra* or section of Babhans in Behar borrowed from the Brahmanical system and superadded to the original exogamous groups (*kúls*) characteristic of the caste a *gotra* or section of Brahmins Baidyas, Aguris, Bháts, Gandhabaniks

Goálás Kámárs Madhunápts Mayarás and Tántis in Bengal

Bharadwaj a section of Chams in Behar

Bharáit a *mul* or section of the Kamarkalla sub caste of Sonars and of the Maghaya sub caste of Barhis in Behar

Bharan rás a section of Málos in Eastern Bengal

Bharar a title of the Ghosin sub-caste of Goalas in Behar

Bharári: *a* *ghar* of the Basiehta *gohā* of Nepālī Brahmins

Bhárata a title of Brahmins and of Bhats

Bhárath a section of the Satmula Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Bhárathi: **Bhárati:** (i) a worshipper of Siva a title of Mahants (ii) a name of Saraswati Goddess of Learning used as a title by Káyasths (iii) a name of one of the ten orders of Dásanāmi ascetics

Bharatia a tenant a renter

Bhárauli: a *mul* or section of the Jimulhá Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Bhar Bhunjá grain parcher or fryer The name of a sub caste of Kándus who are employed in parching and frying different sorts of grain pul etc. They are said to bring in a Kásh father and Sulá mother and pretend to be devil into seven tribes which do not in turn. There is also a list of Kayasths in Bihar distinct from these who follow the same business. A synonym for Kandus in Behar

Bhar Chhutár a sub caste of Sutradhars in the Santal Parganas

Bharchuihá a sect of Rajputs in Behar

Bharduár a *mul* or section of the Satmula or Kishnaut sub caste of Golas in Behar

Bhardwár a *mul* or section of the Ayodhya-basi sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Bhargava a section of Brahmins

Bharhe a *mul* of the Kásyapa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Bhariyá a metal caster a braver laundryman

Bharotat a section of the Ari r sub caste of Bais Banyás in Behar

Sharpáik a section of Kanaujiá Hajams in Behar

Bharsahr a section of Bhojpuria Halwais in Behar

Bharsárwala *Bhandarwala* a grain storer or corn factor

Bhars: **Misr** a title of Bábhans in Behar

Bharsuriá a sept of the Surya-bansi Rajputs in Behar

Bharthari: **Bhartari:** a sub sect of Saivite religious mendicants who go about begging singing and playing on the *arun* said to be descendants of Raja Bharthari of Dharauar

Bharthi: a synonym for Bharti *iv*

Bhartkul one of the branches of the Gaur Brahmins

Bhartri: **Har:** **Jogi:** an order of Hindu mendicants who profess to have been instituted by Bhartrihari the brother of Vikramáditya in the century before Christ

Bharwe a section of Sunris in Behar

Bhali: a small caste of the cutters who make idols of stone wood or metal and occupy about the same social position as the Dhobis

Bhāt (Sansk *bhatta* a title of respect probably connected with *bhart* : a supporter or master) a caste of genealogists and family bards usually supposed to have sprung from the intercourse of a Kshatriya with a Brahman widow Others believe them to be the modern representatives of the Magadha spoken of in Manu x 17 as the offspring of a Vaisya father and a Kshatriya mother Lassen regards this mythical pedigree as merely a theoretical explanation of the fact that the professional singers of the praises of great men had come by Manu's time to be looked upon as a distinct class ¹ Zimmer on the other hand seems to take the tradition more seriously and speaks of the Magadha as a mixed caste out of which as we learn from numerous passages in later writings a guild of singers arose who devoting themselves to the deeds of the Kosala Videha and Kuru Ianchala may have laid the foundation of the epic poems ² Other authorities say that they were produced to amuse Iarvati from the drops of sweat on Siva's brow but as they chose to sing his praises rather than hers they were expelled from heaven and condemned to live a wandering life as birds on earth Sir John Malcolm (*Central India* vol II p 132) says — According to the fable of their origin Mahadeva first created Bhats to attend his lion and bull but the former killing the latter every day gave him infinite vexation and trouble in creating new ones He therefore formed the Charan equally devout as the Bhat but of bolder spirit and gave him in charge these favourite animals From this period no bull was ever destroyed by the lion ³ In his brief view of the

caste system of the North Western Provinces and Oudh Mr J C Nesfield propounds the original view that the Bhats are an offshoot from those secular Brahmins who frequented the courts of princes and the camps of warriors recited their praises in public and kept records of their genealogies Such without much variation is the function of the Bhat at the present day The ancient epic known as the Mahabharata speaks of a band of birds and eulogists marching in front of Yudhishtira as he made his progress from the field of Kuru Kshetra towards Hastinapur But these very men are spoken of in the same poem as Brahmins Nothing could be more natural than that as time went on these courtier priests should have become hereditary bards who receded from the parent stem and founded a new caste bound together by mutual interests and sympathies In support of this theory of the origin of the caste Mr Nesfield refers to the facts that one of the sub-castes is called Baram-Bhat that some Gaur Brahmins still act as bards and genealogists that the Bhat still wears the sacred thread and is addressed by the lower classes as Mahatya—an honour generally only accorded to Brahmins and lastly that by an obvious survival of

¹ Lassen *I d Alt* : 777

Zimmer *Alt Indisch s Leben* 35 quoting Weber *I d Stud* : 186

³ Elliot's *Glossary* vol I p 18

Brahmanical titles the Bhát's employer is called *yaman* he who gives the sacrifice while the Bhat himself is called *yagwa yajak* or *yachak* the priest by whom the sacrifice is performed

Strong testimony in favour of Mr Nesfield's view comes to us from Eastern Bengal where according to Dr Wise the Bhats repudiate the traditional descent from a Kshatriya and a Brahman widow and claim to be the offspring of the aboriginal Brahmans employed as ghataks or marriage brokers by the other members of the sacred order. They say that they retired or were driven to the borders of Bengal for refusing to accept the reforms of Ballal Sen. In Silhet the Rárhí Brahmans still eat with the Bhats but in Dacca the latter are reckoned unclean and in Tipperah having fallen in rank they earn a precarious livelihood by making umbrellas. It is a curious fact that the Bhát would consider himself dishonoured by acting as a *pudá* or priest of a temple or as a purohit.

Admitting the force of this evidence and fully recognising how great an advance Mr Nesfield has made on the traditional methods of dealing with such questions I find some difficulty in reconciling his theory as stated above with the internal structure of the Bhát caste. If the Bháts of the present day are descended solely from a class of degraded Brahmans—i.e. in other words they are a homogeneous offshoot from the priestly caste—how do they come to have a number of sections which are certainly not Brahmanical and which appear rather to resemble the territorial exogamous groups common among the Rajputs? Brahmans however degraded hold fast to their characteristic series of eponymous sections and I know of no case in which it can be shown that they have adopted section names of a different type. On the other hand there is nothing specially improbable in the conjecture that Rajputs may have taken up the profession of bard to the chiefs of their tribe and thus may in course of time have become incorporated in the Bhat caste. It will be seen that this solution of the difficulty in no way conflicts with Mr Nesfield's view but merely modifies it by introducing as a new factor into the formation of the caste. Mr Nesfield regards the Bhats as a homogeneous functional group thrown off by the Brahmans. I look upon them as a heterogeneous group made up of Brahmans and Rajputs welded together into one caste in virtue of their exercising similar functions. I may add however that the inviolability of the Bhát's person which was admitted in Western India towards the end of the last century makes rather for Mr Nesfield's view than for mine while the theory of both Anli Zimmer that the first germ of the Brahman caste is to be sought in the singer of Vedic times may perhaps be deemed to tell in the same direction.¹

The sections of the caste are shown in Appendix I. A man may not marry a woman of his own section nor any one descended from his sister paternal

aunt paternal grandmother maternal aunt maternal grandfather and maternal great grandfather (mother's mother's father) as long as any relationship can be traced. The endogamous divisions of the caste are somewhat obscure. Two sub-castes appear to be known in Behar—Rājbhāt and Baram Bhat. To these may be added the Turk Bhāt who are converts to Islam and perform the same functions in Mahomedan households as the Hindu Bhats for men of their own religion. The wives of Mahomedan Bhats sing in public on certain occasions. There seems to be no marked difference of occupation between the Rājbhats and Baram Bhat's but I understand that they do not intermarry. Regarding the Bhats of the North West Provinces Sir Henry Elliot says—By some tribes the Bhāt and Jāga are considered synonymous but those who pretend to greater accuracy distinguish them by calling the former Birmbhāt or Badī and the latter Jāgabhaṭ. The former recite the deeds of ancestors at weddings and other festive occasions the latter keep the family record particularly of Rajputs and are entitled by right of succession to retain the office whereas the Birmbhats are hired and paid for the particular occasion. Jāgabhaṭs pay visits to their constituents every two or three years and receive the perquisites to which they are entitled. After having recorded all the births which have taken place since their last tour they are remunerated with rupees, cattle or clothes according to the ability of the registering party. In another place Sir Henry Elliot mentions a number of subdivisions of the caste which are shown in a note in Appendix I.

Bhats usually marry their daughters between the ages of nine and twelve but in exceptional cases where
 MARRIAGE a girl's parents are poor it may happen that she is not married until after the age of puberty. The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type and *kanjadan* or the presentation of the bride to the bridegroom and his acceptance of the gift is reckoned to be the essential and binding portion of the ritual. Polygamy is not supposed to be allowed but a man may take a second wife if the first is barren or suffers from an incurable disease. Widows are not allowed to marry again nor is divorce recognised. An adulterous wife is turned out of the caste and ceases thenceforth to be a member of respectable society.

In questions concerning the devolution of property the caste
 SUCCESSION are guided for the most part by the standard Hindu law recognised in the area where they live that is to say in Bengal they follow the *Dāyabhāga* and in Behar the *Mitāksharā* Code. In one point however they observe a peculiar usage of their own. Where under the ordinary law a daughter's son would succeed Bhāt custom holds him to be excluded by the nearest male relative of the same section. It is the more remarkable that this custom should have survived as the Bhats are not governed by panchayat or caste councils to the same extent as the lower castes and thus lack the most effective machinery for preserving peculiar usages which the courts tend on the whole to destroy.

The religion of the Bhāts of Behar differs little from that of the average middle-class Hindu Representatives of all the regular sects are found among their numbers and the caste cannot be said to favour the tenets of any particular body In Eastern Bengal on the other hand they are said to be mostly Sakti worshippers and to be greatly addicted to intemperance They employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes who are received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order Their minor gods are Bandi or Sanvardhi² and Bariji who are worshipped on the 22nd Śrāvan and the 24th Chait with offerings of he goats wheaten cakes *sichauri* made of rice and molasses coloured cloths and vermilion The eatable portion of the offerings is divided among the members of the household The dead are burned and the ceremony of *śradh* is performed on the thirteenth day after death

In point of social precedence Bhāts rank immediately below Kāyasths They wear the sacred thread (y^o) and Brahmans take water from their hands Their own rules concerning diet are the same as are observed by the higher castes and like them they will take water and certain sweetmeats from Kurmis Kāhars and castes of corresponding status

The characteristic profession of the Bhāts has an ancient and distinguished history The literature of both Greece and India owes the preservation of its oldest treasures to the singers who recited poems in the households of the chief and doubtless helped in some measure to shape the masterpieces which they handed down Their place was one of marked distinction In the days when writing was unknown the man who could remember many verses was held in high honour by the tribal chief who depended upon the memory of his bard for his personal amusement for the record of his own and his ancestors prowess and for the maintenance of the genealogy which established the purity of his descent The bard like the herald was not lightly to be slain and even Odysseus in the heat of his vengeance spares the *aoidos* Phemius who sang among the wooers of necessity¹ Possibly the duties of bard and herald may often have been discharged by the same person However this may be it is curious to find that about the middle of the sixteenth century the person of a Bhat was deemed inviolable by highway robbers in Rajputana and Guzerat so that a member of that caste could protect a caravan of traders from attack by threatening to kill himself if they were molested while as late as 1775 many of them made their living by pledging themselves as hostages for the payment of revenue the performance of treaties and bonds and the general good behaviour of princes or private individuals²

In most parts of modern India except perhaps in Rajputana the Bháts have fallen from their former state and are now the tawdriest parody on the Homeric *ioideōs*. Mr Nesfield describes them as rapacious and conceited mendicants too proud to work but not too proud to beg. Mr Sherring says they are notorious for their rapacity as beggars and are much dreaded by their employers on account of the power they have of distorting family history at public recitations if they choose to do so and of subjecting any member to general ridicule. Dr Wise's notes contain a telling sketch of the Bháts of Eastern Bengal — In January they leave their homes travelling to all parts of Eastern Bengal and being in great request are fully engaged during the subsequent Hindu matrimonial season. Each company receives a fixed yearly sum from every Hindu household within a definite area amounting usually to eight annas. In return they are expected to visit the house and recite *Kavitas* or songs extolling the worth and renown of the family. Satirical songs are great favourites with Hindus and none win more applause than those laying bare the foibles and well intentioned vagaries of the English rule or the eccentricities and rascality of some local magnate. Very few bards can sing extemporaneous songs their effusions usually composed by one and learned off by heart by the others being always metrical often humorous and generally seasoned with puns and equivocal words. Their sole occupation is the recital of verses unaccompanied by instrumental music. They are met with every where when Hindu families celebrate a festival or domestic event appearing on such occasions uninvited and exacting by their noisy importunity a share of the food and charity that is being doled to the poor. Their shamelessness in this respect is incredible. During the Durgá Pujá they force their way into respectable houses and make such a horrid uproar by shouting and singing that the inmates gladly pay something to be rid of them. Should this persecution have no effect on the rich man inside they by means of a brass *ota* and an iron rod madden the most phlegmatic Babu who pays liberally for their departure. The Bengali Bhát is as a rule uneducated and very few know Sanskrit.

At weddings in Behar it is one of the duties of the Bhát to march out several miles to meet the bridegroom's procession bearing with him a letter of welcome from the bride's father and to conduct them to the bride's house. For these services and for reciting verses and making himself generally useful he receives presents of money and clothes. In some Behar districts and in parts of Chota Nagpur Bháts hold small parcels of land usually about three or four *bighás* in extent rent free under the tenure known as *bhatottar*. Such grants are mostly of rather ancient date and are regarded with disfavour by the landholders of to day who look more to Government as the fountain of honour and do not make much account of the Bháts. A few Bháts have risen to be zamindars or tenure holders but the bulk of the caste are occupancy raiyats cultivating by means of hired labourers and disdaining to touch the plough themselves.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Bháts in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
B dw	369	35	P tna	1 988	3 865
B k ra	17	74	Cy	4,763	4,998
B bh u	146	1 881	Shah bad	7 101	18 000
M dnapur	1 484	1 151	T h t { D h g	5 288	1 99
H ghl	78	103	Mozul p	5 288	3 996
H wrah		68	Sara	16 032	11,344
24-P rganas	176	237	Ch mparan	2,133	6 098
Nad y	117	86	M ghyr	1 706	2,041
Jes re	113	6	Rhaalp	2 975	246
Kh lna		8	P rn h	1 179	1 909
M rshadabad	156	69	M ld h	152	16
D j p		17	S tal Parganas	729	879
Raj h hy	2	5	C t k	108	1 018
Ra kp	91	175	Ch	575	291
Bogra		1	B lasore	575	291
P b		24	Trib t ry States	351	249
Da jh g		7	H za bagh	1 784	973
J lp g ri		370	L b rdaga	1 334	2,093
K h B h			S bh m	68	38
M an h	136	48	M bh m	678	1 148
Ch t t g	87	823	Trib tary States	480	1 515
N kh l		31			

Bhát a section of Ghasis in Chota Nagpur

Bhatá brinjal a totemistic sept of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Bhatan a section of Babhans in Behar

Bhátásan a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Goria sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Bháter Bhátes a section of the Satmulia Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Bhatgaián a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bháthidár a manufacturer or sell r of spirituous liquor a title of Kalwars in Behar

Bhatiara probably from *that* boiled rice a class of Maho m dans who keep inns or eating h ues and also sell tobacco l h u f male relatives are often of in different character

Bhatip a low mendicant caste in Bengal who live by dancing, juggling and singing

Bhátánagar a sub-caste of Káy asths and of Nagars in Behar

Bhatore a *mul* of the Sándil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Bhátápára a *samaj* or local group of the Páschátya Baidik Brahmans in the 24 Parganas

Bhatriharí a religious group of Jugis

Bhatt or *Bhatta* a learned Brahman In some parts of India it specially designates a Brahman who professes a knowledge of the Vedas or belongs to a family in which they have been taught

Bhatta a *gain* of the Kásyapa *gotra* of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal A title of Brahmans who officiate as priests for the Sukh caste

Bhattáchary Bhattáchary a learned Brahman who teaches any branch of Sanskrit literature In Bengal it is also applied to any

respectable Brahman performing the functions of a priest

Bhatta Misra a group of the Srotriya sub caste of Utkal Brahmans in Orissa

Bhatta Rái a *thar* of the Basistha *gotra* of Nepáli Brahmans

Bhattasáí a *ná n* of the Bátsya *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal.

Bhattváí a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Bhatuntara a sub-caste of Karans in Orissa

Bhaurnik, a title of Brahmans and Koochhs also conferred on petty landholders by the Nawabs of Dacca.

Bhaunrájpurí a section of Sonárs in Behar

Bhawániá a section of the Baranwár sub-caste of Baniyas in Behar

Bhedbakárár a *pur* or section of Sákadwipí Brahmans

Bhekh a *mul* or section of the Kanaujiá sub-caste of Sonárs in Behar

Bheloríá a section of Bábhans in Behar

Bheludih a *mul* or section of the Naomuliá or Majraut sub-caste of Goálás in Behar

Bhengra a horse a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bherápákrí a *pur* or section of Sákadwipí Brahmans in Behar

Bherihar, *Bheríáí* a synonym for Garerí the shepherd caste of

Behar who also weave and sell blankets

Bhikhári a mendicant, a beggar

Bhilár a section of Kamaralla Sonars in Behar

Bhimkalí a *gáin* of the Bátsya *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Bhin a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Bhinása *S byasa* destroyed occupier of a deserted village a sub sept of the Nah pá sept of Sherpa Bhotias of Nepal

Bhind a synonym for Bind

Bhindhuni a synonym for Kámár in Singbhum

Bhindowár a *mul* or section of the Ghosin sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Bhingraj king crow a totemistic sept of Chiks Lohars, Mundas and Pátors in Chota Nagpur

Bhínjo a yellow bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bhishak a synonym for Bai dya in Bengal

Bhogá a sub-caste of Goálás in Bengal who castrate bulls

Bhogta *Bhogtá* a sub caste of Bhuiyas in Behar engaged in service and agriculture They worship Masan Dák and other inferior gods In Chota Nagpur a sub caste of Goálás a title of Goálás in Behar A sub tribe of Kharwárs in Southern Lohar dagá a title and a sept of Kharwars and a section of Rajwárs in Chota Nagpur

Bhojpuran a section of Oraons in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Bhojpuria a sub caste of Beldars Do adhs Halwais Nuniyas Sonars Rajputs and Tambulis in Behar also a group of the hut Mchitar sub caste of Doms a section of the Bichit and Kharid há Kalwars and of Iachanyia Doms in Behar

Bhojraj a kind of medicine a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Bhojyal a synonym for Sakadwipi Brahmans

Bhokwar a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Bhojark a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Bhomapoli a *mul* or section of Babbhans in Behar

Bhora a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bhotiet a *mul* or section of the Njomulia r Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Bhownrá a hornet a totem of the sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bhritta a hired servant or labourer

Bhuá a title of Kaibarttas in Bengal

Bhuana a section of Ghasis in Chota Nagpur

Bhubankui a hypergamous group of Kaibarttas in Bahar ganj

Bhudeta a synonym for Brahman

Bhughi a *mul* or section of the Maghiya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Bhui Bhui a title of Dak lun Parhi and Langrya Kayasths

Bhuia a title of Kewats in Orissa

Bhuan a title a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bhurdhar *Bhu undar* a synonym for Bhunmali

Bhushara a title of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Bhui Kaibarta a synonym for 'Ialia Kaibartta a sub caste of Kaibarttas who have taken to agriculture

Bhuhnar a synonym for Babbhan

Bhuhár *Bhun ya* a title of the Bhumi tribe in Manbhum and of Mundas and Oraons in Chota Nagpur denoting their status as tenants of *bhuhna* lands

Bhuhnar Munda a sub tribe of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bhukora a section of Ghasis in Chota Nagpur

Bhunmali *Bhusundar* a cultivating palanquin bearing and menial caste of Eastern Bengal generally considered to be the remnant of an aboriginal tribe which embraced Hinduism and accepted a servile position in relation to the Hindus of Eastern Bengal This is likely enough as instances are not wanting where it can be shown that the demand for labour in servile occupations such as palanquin bearing was met by admitting aborigines to

limited participation in the privileges of Hindus. In Dinájpur the names Hari and Bhuinmáli are used as synonyms and it seems probable that the Bhuinmáls of the east are really the Haris of other parts of Bengal disguised under a more high sounding name. According to Dr. Wise the Dacca Bhuinmalis assert that they were

originally Sudras degraded in consequence of the following absurd incident. Parvati obtained permission from her husband Siva to give a feast to her worshippers on earth. All castes were assembled at the entertainment and in the midst of the enjoyment a luckless Bhuinmáli was overheard saying: "If I had such a beautiful woman in my house I would cheerfully perform the most menial offices for her." Siva did not allow the speaker to retract what he had said but gave him a beautiful wife and made him her sweeper. In confirmation of this legend a Bengali proverb defines the Bhuinmáli as the only Hindu ever degraded for love of garbage.

The Bhuinmáli caste has two main sub-castes the Bara bhágiyá and Chhotta bhágiyá who never intermarry or hold social intercourse with each other. The former are chiefly cultivators, musicians and palik bearers; the latter scavengers looking down with contempt on the Dom Mehtar and Halakhors who after work enter their houses without bathing and allow their females to labour at the same offensive trade. At Saial in Tipperah

Bhuinmalis keep swine but these recreants are not acknowledged as brethren. In certain villages the Bhuinmáli has ceased to be a professional musician and become a *chaukidar* or watchman. No member of the caste ever keeps a shop as he would have no customers while want of capital precludes him from engaging in trade. A third division of the Bhuinmáli caste is known as Mitra Sení Beharas tracing their descent from Mitra Sen the reputed son or relative of Ballál Sen and claiming to be the original bearers of Bengal. They cultivate the soil and are in great request as household servants by Hindu families. Although the same Brahman officiates the cultivating Bara bhágiyá despises the cultivating Mitra Sení and declines to eat with them. These palanquin bearers again will not carry torches and look down upon those who do.

Although the caste has split up into divisions following special occupations the Bhuinmáli is properly one of the village servants employed in cutting down brushwood, repairing footpaths, sweeping the outside of the zamindar's house, removing carcasses from the village and preparing the *marocha* or marriage area for doing which he receives one rupee if the marriage is that of a village boy and eight annas if that of a girl. He is likewise the masalchi engaged to carry the torch at Hindu weddings. A Bhuinmáli sweeper never enters a Hindu house to pollute it, but a maiden called *dási* or *chhokri* is engaged to sweep the floors of rooms and passages. Bhuinmáli women are sometimes employed as *maiwives* or domestic servants.

The Bhuinmáli levels the space where the *sráddha* is held, constructs the small shed in which the votive offerings are placed and when a sacrifice is to be made smears the ground with cowdung.

If the victim is killed in the morning the flesh is distributed among Brahmins and clean Sudras but if it is a *anulha* or evening sacrifice everything including the cloth by which the animal is bound becomes the perquisite of the Bhummali. He also prepares and places the mound on which the Vastu Puja is celebrated receiving the ram as his remuneration and whenever a new house is built he sits crouching over the sides only as he would lose caste if he touched the interior. Hindus of all castes mean the misdeed and stay if they own houses but never those of others. The Bhummali is the only native who will not laud a strange house.

The *joti* is among the Bhummali of Dacca are *Ira ara* and *Alman* the latter being only found along the banks of the old Brahmaputra. Both have clearly been borrowed from the higher caste. Marriage within the *joti* is not prohibited. The caste has a degraded Brahman as prohibited and their washermen and barbers are members of the caste. The Bhummali generally worship Krishna and celebrate all the popular Hindu festivals. Among the *Iakhya* *Kawaj* who is probably the same as *Kawaj* *Khar* is invoked as is also *Iir* *Ladr* *Lilo* the Hindu and Muhammadan peasants generally the *Ithumli* abstains from work during the three days known as

Amavasya which last from the tenth to the thirtieth of the waning moon of *Ashad* (June July) when the earth is believed to be injured and no Hindu can dig plough or even touch it.

Although most anxious to represent themselves as Sudras by assuming the privileges of the higher ranks the *Bhumli* are condemned and obliged to live on the outskirts of village apart from the Hindus and to perform any menial work that is required of them. Like other low castes the Bhummali now a day have abjured *ik*. Until the last twenty years they associated on friendly terms with the Chandals and would eat in a *Chandras* house. They now decline to eat with or even to work for members of this caste although they serve others quite as low.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Bhummals in 1872 and 1881 —

I	1872	1881	D	187	1881
B iw			I lp	178	53
B k		34	K i B i		381
M i i			I	787	128
E i i as	14	1	I i	18	8
N i	180	19	I i j h		
J	1	4	M i	63	131
K i		5	C i		1412
M i i i d	1	1	N i i	141	924
I i i i d	9	3	I i p i	522	120
K i i i y	1	21	M i i i	2109	297
B i	3771	7	I p		8
P i	0	0	M b b u		183

Bhupuran a title of Purans
or Bhuiyas in Moharbhaj

Bhuputra a title of Kaibart
tas in Bengal

Bhuist a synonym for Śākadvīpi Brahmins

Bhūipá, Bhūnyá Bhūyan Bhūnhar Bhūmyá Mushar Naik Khandayat Khandayat Pak Ghatwal Ghatwar Tikayat Puran Rajwár Rai Rai Bhuiya Ber Bhuya Sardar The bewildering array of synonyms which stands at the head of this article suggests a problem of great importance to ethnological research in India—the question what value can properly be attached to the names of tribes and castes as we find them at the present day. Are such names mainly for tenuous deriving their origin from such accidents as locality occupation habit and the like or do they take us back to periods of remote antiquity and furnish clues that may safely be followed to the actual descent and true affinities of the human aggregates which they now serve to distinguish? Take for example the name *Bhūyá*. Are we to regard this as the original designation of a tribe once compact which has now spread into the ends of the earth and disguised itself—*πολλων νομ την επωνυμος*—under a variety of titles which in course of time have come to be the badges of distinct endogamous groups or should we rather say that the word *Bhūyá* is itself no tribal name at all but a mere title conferred on or assumed by many groups of men in different parts of India on the strength in each case of their real or supposed claim to be deemed the original settlers and first clearers of the soil? If we adopt the former view we are led to infer that all tribes or castes calling themselves *Bhūyá* are offshoots from one original stock while the latter theory points to no such general conclusion and leaves us to account as we may for the various groups which use this title in a more or less pronounced and exclusive fashion. Most of the authorities who have written about the *Bhūyas* have assumed at starting that the name must be a genuine tribal designation of very ancient date and have thus been led into speculations which in my judgment rest on a very scanty foundation of ascertained fact. Thus Buchanan finding in Bhágalpur Behar and Dinájpur a number of people calling themselves *Bhūnyas* seems to take it for granted that they all come of one stock. His line of argument on this point is not free from obscurity but it certainly goes perilously near to identifying the distinctly non-Aryan *Bhūnyás* of North Bhagalpur and Dinajpur with the highly Aryan Babhans of Behar who assume the title *Bhūnyá* or *Bhūnhar* with reference to their claims upon the land. Sir George Campbell travels still further afield and suggests that the *Bhūyas* of Bengal are connected with the Buis of Madras and the Central Provinces. Colonel Dalton thinks this opinion probable adding that the *Bhūya* features are on the whole of a Tamulian cast and that the tribe is found in its greatest strength and purity on the southern frontier of Bengal.² The reference to the Barah *Bhūyas* of Assam which

² *Eastern India* vol. 1 p. 426. Bu ha spells the name Bhung v. I think this is obviously an attempt to transliterate the nasal *n* with which the word is usually written.

follows leaves it uncertain whether Colonel Dalton looked upon them also as an offshoot of the same stock as the Bhuiyas of Bengal but it is clear from several passages in his account of the latter that he regarded them as a distinct tribe extending from Eastern and Northern Bengal to the southern borders of Chota Nagpur. His remark that there are grounds for supposing that some of the noblest families in Bengal are sprung from this race and they still hold high positions in the Jungle and Tributary Mahals may even be taken to imply acceptance of Buchanan's identification of Bhuiyas and Bhunihar Bibhans but this point is not entirely clear.

It seems to me that the history of the Barah Bhuiya of Assam and Eastern Bengal should of itself be sufficient to throw suspicion on a theory which admittedly rests on the basis of a mere resemblance of names. In an article published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* the late Dr James Wilson worked out with the patience and thoroughness which mark all his researches the obscure history of these twelve Bhuiyas or landlords and showed that their designation had so little of a tribal character about it that at least one of them was a Mahomedan. They were in fact merely territorial chiefs of portions of Eastern Bengal or Assam. Nor is this state of things confined to the twelve historical Bhuiyas. The title survives in Assam at the present day as the designation of several forms of landholding rights. So in Chota Nagpur the Bhumi of Manthum and the Orsons and Mundas of Lardaga habitually use the term to denote a certain class of tenants who claim to hold large areas of land at privileged rates of rent in consideration of their being the descendants of the first clearers of the soil. In the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur and Bilaspur the talukdars of the chief arc called Bhuiyas by their members and in virtue of their status in connection with the land in which we find the high caste Bibhan and the Khasi Musahar like styling themselves Bhuiyas or Bhunihar though the latter have at the present day no special status in relation to the land. Lastly in Rajputana the term Bhumia or Bhuiya denotes Rajputs who hold land on a tribal tenure in virtue of their descent through a particular line.

Seeing then how wide is the area over which the term Bhuiya is distributed that it ranges from Assam to Rajputana and from Bihar to Madras and that its use is elastic enough to include Rajputs and Bhumi Mahomedans and Orsons would I think be idle and demand some independent evidence of affinity before we pronounce it to be an original tribal designation and accept the conclusion that all tribes which bear the name at the present day are sprung from a common stock. Further light is thrown upon this inference by the fact that the word Bhuiya is itself a Sanskrit derivative and is always associated with some sort of claim to the privileged tenure of land. Were it a genuine tribal name we might expect that its etymology would be traceable to one of the non-Aryan languages and that it would attach to groups defined rather by descent than by territorial status.

Although however the evidence taken as a whole goes to show that the title Bhuiya does not necessarily denote a large

original circle of tribal affinity embracing all manner of men who now belong to separate groups it by no means follows that there are no distinct tribes bearing the name. Among the Dravidian races of Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur large endogamous groups are certainly found who call themselves Bhuiyá and believe this to be their original designation. It may well be doubted whether their belief is correct but the point is not very material for our present purpose. Among a considerable proportion of the non-Aryan tribes of Bengal a Sanskrit derivative has displaced the original tribal name so completely that in some cases no trace of the latter can now be discerned and as often as not it happens that the name now sanctioned by actual usage may plausibly be referred to locality or to supposed rights in respect of the land. It is easy to see how this might happen. The advanced guard of the Aryan immigrants pressing forward in quest of land and seeking a name for the alien races whom they found in possession of scanty clearings in the forest clad tract of Central India whither they had themselves been driven would naturally ignore the tribal names of the groups with which they came in contact and would call the strangers Bhuiyas or children of the soil. In course of time as the Aryan domination grew the name conferred by the conquering race would abide and the older savage designations would pass away and be forgotten. But wherever the title of Bhuiyá conferred in this rough general fashion by the new settlers on all the non-Aryans whom they came across chanced to be adopted by a compact tribe it would become the tribal name of that aggregate and would be used by them for the purpose of describing themselves collectively. Thus it would seem very likely arisen the distinction well known in most parts of Chota Nagpur between a Bhuiya by tribe and a Bhuiya by title. The Bhuiyas of Bonai and Keonjhar described by Colonel Dalton belong to the former category, the Bhumij Mundas and Oraons to the latter. The distinction will be made somewhat clearer if it is explained that every tribal Bhuiya still as a matter of course describes himself as Bhuiya while a member of the other tribes mentioned in the last sentence will only call himself Bhuiya if he is speaking with reference to a question of land or desires for some special reason to lay stress on his status as a landholder or agriculturist.

It is a plausible conjecture that the tribal Bhuiyas properly so called as distinguished from the titular Bhuiyas of other tribes or castes may have had their original settlements in the Tributary States to the south of the Chota Nagpur plateau. In Gangpur, Bonai, Keonjhar and Bamra the organisation of the tribe is more complete than elsewhere and the name Bhuiya is unequivocally recognised as the tribal designation. They form also a substantial proportion of the population of Singhbhum but their position there is less assured than in the Tributary States and tradition avers that in the western and southern parts of the district they were subjugated by the Hos. Further north they seem to have been displaced in Lohardaga by the Mundas and Oraons and in Manbhum by the Bhumij for in those districts their settlements are scattered and

weak. In Hazaribagh the tribe again gathers strength and in Southern Behar we meet with Bhuiyas in large numbers bearing the opprobrious name of Musahar, a rat eater but invariably calling themselves by their original tribal designation which in Behar at any rate is not associated with any claim to hold land on privileged terms. The present distribution of the tribe seems in fact to accord fairly well with the hypothesis that the south of the Chota Nagpur country may have been the original centre of distribution. Spreading from that point their social fortunes seem to have been determined by the character of the people with whom they came in contact. The strong non-Aryan tribes—Mundas, Hos and Santals—cut like a wedge through the line of the Bhuiya advance towards the north, a small number were fully established themselves in Hazaribagh beyond the range of Mundas while those who travelled furthest in this direction fell under the domination of Hindus in Behar and were reduced to the servile status which the Musahars now occupy. Travelling southward from the assumed centre the conditions appear to have been more favourable and the tendency has been for the Bhuiyas to rise rather than to decline in social status. Some of their leading families have come to be chiefs of the petty States of Orissa and have merged their identity in the claim to a Rajput descent. The main body of the southern colonies furnished the tribal militia of Orissa and have now sunk the Bhuiya in the Khanbat or Swordsman—a caste of admitted royal dignity in Orissa and likely in course of time to transform itself into some variety of Rajput.

Writing of the Bhuiyas of Gangpur and Bonai Colonel Dalton says—

They are a dark brown well proportioned race with black straight hair plentiful on the head but scanty on the face. The height of middle height figures well knit and capable of enduring great fatigue but light framed little muscular than presenting the usual muscular development of a hill man. The features are very much of the same cast throughout. The cheek and jaw bones are projecting as they are well defined in relation to the face. The nose is but slightly raised but the nostrils are not so broad at the root as the coarseness of the features and rather of a retreating type. Mouths and teeth well formed and the facial angle generally good. The eyes well light and straight but never very large or deep set. The Khamti and Hill Bhuiyas on the other hand are rather of an exaggerated hill man type very large mouths thick and somewhat protruding. The face is narrow and low but not receding eyes dark but well lighted hair plentiful on the head though rather thin and generally scanty on face but to this there are notable exceptions short stature averaging about five feet two inches round the shoulder and many of them with the lumpy that is produced by the displacement of the muscles in carrying loads in a baggy fashion. The colour of the skin varies from a deep chocolate the predominating tint to tawny. Further north again in the country round Masnath Hill the landholders though pretending

to be Kshatriyas are believed by Colonel Dalton to be Bhuiyas and are described as swarthy almost black in complexion and with coarse Negro like features

The traditions of the tribe vary greatly in different parts of the country and in many cases refer merely to local migrations of recent date which give no clue to their real affinities. Colonel Dalton says that the Bhuiyas to the south of Singhbhum call themselves *Fauan bans* the children of the wind to this day and connecting this with Hanuman's title *Pawan kripus* son of the wind suggests that the Bhuiyas are the veritable apes of the Ramayana. The coincidence no doubt is curious but can hardly be pressed to the point of associating a particular tribe with the epithet by which the early Aryans indicated their sense of the marked racial difference between themselves and the non Aryans of Central India. With a single exception their other traditions are valueless. This is the fact that all Bhuiyas from the Musahars of Behar to the Khandait Lakhs of Southern Lohardaga affect great reverence for the memory of Rikhmun or Rikhiyasam whom they regard some as a paternal deity others as a mythical ancestor whose name distinguishes one of the divisions of the tribe. It seems probable that in the earliest stage of belief Rikhmun was the bear totem of a sept of the tribe that later on he was transformed into an ancestral hero and finally promoted to the rank of a tribal god. However this may be his cult is peculiar to the Bhuiyas and serves to link together the scattered branches of the tribe.

The internal structure of the Bhuiyas is intricate and confusing and illustrates the disorganisation which sets in when a tribe becomes scattered over a wide range of country and is exposed to different religious and social influences. An examination of the groups into which they have now been broken up may throw some light upon the causes which work towards the disintegration of tribes and the formation of castes out of their fragments. The Bhuiyas of the Tributary States may be taken to represent the original nucleus of the tribe. They form at present a compact body marrying among themselves and secure in the possession of the ancestral landed tenures. Some of the chiefs have transformed themselves into Rajputs but the memory of the tribal bond between them and their Bhuiyas is preserved by the usage described in detail below which requires the firm right to seek investiture at the hands of the principal Bhuiya. In Orissa and parts of Lohardaga the practice of military service for land has become the distinctive characteristic and an offshoot of the Bhuiya tribe has parted from the parent body and assumed an independent existence as the Khandait caste. The social conditions of Orissa and the comparative weakness of its caste system seem to have favoured this development so that the Khandaites now occupy rather a high place in the scale of precedence and many of them look down upon the original stock and disown the tribal name.

In Behar the converse process has been at work. The Bhuiya colonists of that part of the country fell under the domination of

people stronger than themselves. Unlike their brethren in Orissa they were in no demand as soldiers while the swords of Rajputs and Bábhans were to be had for the asking. So the Bhuiyás found their level as landless workers in the fields serving the men of the sword who would not touch the plough and their Hindu masters named them Musahars from their non Aryan practice of eating field mice. Cut off geographically from the original nucleus of the tribe and socially degraded by their unclean habits of food they have now finally taken rank among the low castes of Behar. Known to the Hindus as Musahar or mouse eater they still treasure among themselves as a sort of distinction the old tribal name of Bhuiyá which as we have seen above the Khandaits of Orissa are eager to cast off. These two groups—the Musahar caste of Behar and the Khandait caste of Orissa—mark for the Bhuiyá tribe the extremes of geographical and social displacement. Both are castes in the strict sense of the word occupying a definite place in the systems to which they belong. One ranks high in the Orissa system and tends on the whole to rise* the other is near the bottom of the social scale in Behar and its prospects are not likely to improve.

The Bhuiyás in Keonjhar says Colonel Dalton are divided into four clans—the Mal or Desh Bhuiyás (they call themselves and are called the Desh lok or the people of the country) the Dandseña the Khattu and the Rajkuli Bhuiyas. The latter as connected with the royal line I should have placed first but I give them in the order assigned to them by my informants. The Bhuiyas it is said twenty seven generations ago stole a child of the Mohurbhanj Rájá's family brought it up amongst them and made it their Rájá. He was freely admitted to intercourse with Bhuiyá girls and the children of this intimacy are the progenitors of the Rajkuli. But they are not considered first among Bhuiyas because they are not of pure Bhuiya descent.

The other divisions of the Bhuiyas need only be briefly noticed. The Ghatwal Bhuiyas of Hazaribagh and the Santál Parganas hold service tenures and the Tikait Bhuiyas are usually small zamindars. Both affect to be endogamous reject the name Bhuiya and regard themselves as belonging to independent landholding castes and both will probably sooner or later gain admission into the large and miscellaneous community of local Rajputs. In the Santál Parganas Lalai Bhuiya and Ber or Bhar Bhuiya and Deswalí Bhuiyá are mentioned as sub-castes but it is not clear that these are anything more than titular distinctions which may or may not have an occasional bearing upon marriage. In Manbhum on the other hand, the Katras Bhuiya Musahar Bhuiyá and Dhora Bhuiyá seem to be true sub-castes.

Our information regarding the exogamous system of the tribe is unfortunately rather incomplete. We know nothing of the rules followed by the Bhuiyas of the Tributary States where we might look for the closest adherence to primitive usage. In Singhbhum a number of exogamous groups are recognised and a man may not marry a woman belonging to his own group. Beyond this circle marriage is regulated by the ordinary method of counting prohibited

degrees from the generation of the parents. The Musahar Bhuiyas too who are shown in Appendix I as a distinct caste under the name of Musahar have a long list of exogamous sections to which the ordinary rules apply. But among the Bhuiyas of Lohardaga and Hazaribagh the common tribal system of exogamy appears to be falling into disuse and many groups which were at one time exogamous now admit of marriage within the group. I have endeavoured to represent the complex and obscure relations of the various divisions of the tribe in the Table given under the heading Bhuiya in Appendix I but the data available were in many cases far from perfect.

Among the Bhuiyas of the Tributary States a girl rarely marries before she is fully grown up. Her freedom of courtship is allowed and she is of morality so long as they are confined to the tribe. It is much heeded. Colonel Dalton describes a curious and useful custom by which the young men of one village pay a visit of courtship to the maidens of another village, sit with them and receive a meal after which they spend the night in singing and dancing. He also mentions the fact that the bride is always slept together in a large house set apart for that purpose and that in some villages the girls also have a house to themselves where they spend the night with no one to look after them. In Santhum the Arcadian habits seem to have died out and a further change though by no means universal is said to be going on among the tribe. Khandaits, Tikaits, Ghatwals and others treat all holding Bhuiyas as Hindu surroundings marry their daughters as infants when they can get husbands for them. The two latter groups however are comparatively small and their numbers are put to some difficulty in finding husbands within their own class so that with them as with the pseudo Rajputs of Cutch Nagpur girls often remain unmarried until they have long passed the age of puberty. Musahars on the other hand still hold to adult marriage.

Polygamy is allowed and in theory at least a man may have as many wives as he can maintain. Few however can afford the luxury of more than one and custom does not favour the taking of a second wife except when the first is barren. A widow may marry again by the *sagai* form and it is usual though not compulsory for her to marry her late husband's younger brother. If she marries an outsider her children by her late husband belong as of right to his family though children at the breast are usually left in her charge till they are big enough to be independent of their mother. Marriage with an elder brother is strictly forbidden.

Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the panchayat of the tribe if the wife be proved unchaste or the husband neglect to maintain her or if either party suffer from an incurable disease such as leprosy or impotence. A divorced woman may marry again by the *sagai* form unless she has been guilty of a *huson* with a man of a lower caste in which case any Bhuiya who married her would render himself liable to expulsion from the community. An intrigue

within the tribe or with a man of respectable caste admits of being condoned by a fine and does not operate as a bar to remarriage

Colonel Dalton has the following remarks on the religion of the Bhuiyas in the Tributary State of Bonai —

They have their own priests called *deoris* and their sacred groves called *deota sara* dedicated to four deities—*Dásam Pat*, *Bamoni lat*, *Koisar Pat* and *Boram*. The three first are brethren but there was some difference of opinion as to whether *Bamoni* was male or female. *Boram* is the sun also worshipped under the name of *Dharm Deota* as with the *Orasns*. The three minor deities are represented by stones in the *sara* but *Boram* has no representation. *Borám* as the first and greatest of gods and as the creator as invoked at the sowing season with the offering of a white cock. In cases of sickness goats are offered to *Dasum Pat* and his brethren. On such occasions the goat is given by the owner of the house in which the sick person resides. On other occasions the victim is provided by the community. The sacrifices are all offered at the foot of trees in the *sara* only men partake of the meat. The *deori* gets the head.

The Bhuiyas of Southern *Lo rínga* have advanced somewhat further on the path of orthodox Hinduism but do not regularly employ Brahmins except as has been stated above at the marriage ceremony. On certain occasions however Brahmins are called in to recite *mantras* and the tendency towards conformity with Hindu usage will doubtless go on spreading as the country is opened up by the gradual improvement of communications. Already *Thakurani Mai* the bloodthirsty tutelary goddess to whom only twenty years ago the Hill Bhuiyas of Keonjhar offered the head of the obnoxious Dewan of their chief has been transformed in Singhbhum and Iohardga into the Hindu *Durga* to whom a Bhuiya priest makes offerings of goats sheep etc. which are afterwards partaken of by the worshippers. Changes of this sort raise an impassable barrier against researches into the origin of things so that vestiges of the earlier beliefs of the people must be sought rather among the gods of the village and of the family than among the recognised deities of popular worship. Thus the communal ghosts *Darhá*, *Kudrá*, *Kudri*, *Dáno*, *Pacheria*, *Haserwar*, *Pakahi* with their ill defined functions and general capacity for mischief and malevolence are clearly akin to the host of evil spirits which people the world of the *Munda* and *Orason*. To appease these ghosts by occasional offerings of fowls and rice and thus to guarantee the community against the consequences of their ill will is the special function of the village *Pahan* who levies small subscriptions for this sort of spiritual insurance. The tribal deities *Rikhmun* and *Tulsibir* belong to a different and less primitive type. *Rikhmun* as has been mentioned above is believed to be the original ancestor of the tribe while *Tulsibir* was a restless and valorous Bhuiya who made war upon the gods until they appeased his wrath by admitting him to divine honours. I venture the conjecture that both *Rikhmun* and *Tulsibir* are merely transmuted

totems in the hope that further enquiries among the more primitive Bhuiyas may bring out evidence on this point. Neither of these gods has special priests: their worship is conducted by any elder of the tribe. Sheep, goat, pigs, sweetmeats and wine are the usual offerings which afterwards form a feast for the assembled votaries. Snakes are only worshipped by those families who have lost one of their members by snake bite. A certain herb known as *ju Harai* and used as a medicine is much worshipped once a year and can only be eaten if this rule is complied with. The custom suggests that the herb must once have been a totem of the tribe but this cannot be certainly ascertained to be the case.

The following table shows the number and distribution of Bhuiyas in 1872 and 1881 —

I	1872	1881	D	I	1881
B. Iw	16	17	B. I. I. d	19	
B. k	2	2	I. I. t	19	
I. I. I.	97	7			
M. I.	1134	7	(I. I. I.)	1	227
H. I. I.		1	M. I.	136	4
2. I.	87	8	B. I.	3313	29487
N. I. I.	7	70	I. I. I. h	1	177
I.		7	M. I. I. I.	194	28
M. I. I. I.	949	13	I. I. I. rga	817	7172
I.			(I. I. I. k)		3
R. I. I. I.	77	3	I.	12	
I.	11	1	I. I.	1	152
P. I.		13	I. I. I. y St t	3074	962
I. I. I.		2	I. I. I.	7	11003
K. I. I. I.		5	I. I. I.	127	22
M.			I. I. I. m	51	9
(I.)			I. I. I. t tes	1468	34274
I.	97	373			

Bhuiyá a synonym for Kadar a title of Búris Kaylis and Sunris in Bengal a sept of Bhumijs

Bhuiyá Paik a synonym for Khamlut

Bhujál a *thar* or sept of Mangai in Darjiling

Bhuiyá a synonym for Káandu

Bhukhar a group of the Aghari sect of Saiva ascetics founded in Guzerat by a Das namimendi ant named Brahma ji. See Aogar

Bhuktuár a section of the Muli Munda sub caste of Mahlis in Chota Nagpur

Bhulá a *mul* or section of the Nary caste in Behar

Bhuluá a sub caste of Bhumi mahis Dhobis Jugis Npit and of Kumhárs found in Noakhali

Bhuluá a sub caste of Kai barttas in Noakhali

Bhumar a sept of the Tung janya sub tribe of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Bhumisá a landlord a proprietor of the soil descendant of the founder of a village

Bhumij, a non Aryan tribe of Manbhum Singbhum and Western Bengal classed by Dalton and others mainly on linguistic

grounds as Kolarian. There can be no doubt that the Bhumij are closely allied to if not identical with the Mundas but there is little to show that they ever had a distinct language of their own. In 1850 Hodgson published a short vocabulary prepared by Captain Haughton then in political charge of Singbhum but most of the words in this appear to be merely Ho. The most recent observer Herr Nottrott of Gossner's Mission says, that the Bhumij resemble the Mundas most closely in speech and manners but gives no specimens of their language and does not say whether it differs sufficiently from Mundari to be regarded as a separate dialect. I am inclined myself to believe that the Bhumij are nothing more

Origin.

than a branch of the Mundas who have spread to the eastward mingled with the Hindus and thus for the most part severed their connexion with the parent tribe. This hypothesis seems on the whole to be borne out by the facts observable at the present day. The Bhumij of Western Manbhum are beyond all doubt Mundas. They inhabit the tract of the country which lies on both sides of the Subarnarekha river bounded on the west by the edge of the Chota Nagpur plateau on the east by the hill rim of which Ajodhya is the crowning peak on the south by the Singbhum hills and on the north by the hills forming the boundary between Lohardag, Hazaribagh and Manbhum districts. This region contains an enormous number of Mundari graveyards and may fairly be considered one of the very earliest settlements of the Munda race. The present inhabitants use the Mundari language call themselves Mundas or as the name is usually pronounced in Manbhum Muras and observe all the customs current among their brethren on the plateau of Chota Nagpur proper. Thus like all the Kolarians they build no temples but worship Buru in the form of a stone smeared with vermilion which is set up in a *anna* or sacred grove near the village. A *anna* is invariably composed of purely jungle trees such as *sal* and others and can therefore be recognised with certainty as a fragment of the primeval forest left standing to form an abiding place for the aboriginal deities. They observe the *sarhul* festival at the same time and in the same way as their kindred in Lohardaga and Singbhum and the *liya* or priest is a recognised village official. Marriages take place when both parties are of mature age and the betrothal of children is unknown. Like the Mundas of the plateau they first burn their dead and then bury the remains under gravestones some of which are of enormous size. On certain fast days small supplies of food and money are placed under these big stones to regale the dead and are abstracted early about morning by low cast Hindus.

On the eastern side of the Ajodhya range which forms a complete barrier to ordinary communication all is changed. Both the Mundari language and the title of Munda have dropped out of use and the aborigines of this eastern tract call themselves

Bhumij or Sardár and talk Bengali. The physical characteristics of the race however remain the same and although they have adopted Hindu customs and are fast becoming Hindus there can be no doubt that they are the descendants of the Mundaris who first settled in the country and were given the name of Bhumij (a toichthon) by the Hindu immigrants who found them in possession of the soil.

The early history of the tribe and its general characteristics are sketched by Colonel Dalton¹ in the following paragraphs —

The Bhumij of the Jungle Múhals was once under the nickname of *chuar* (robbers) the terror of the surrounding districts and their various outbreaks were called *chuaris*. On several occasions since they came under the British rule they have shown how readily a *chuar* may be improvised on very slight provocation. I do not know that on any occasion they rose like the Mundaris simply to redress their own wrongs. It was sometimes in support of a turbulent chief ambitious of obtaining power to which according to the courts of law he was not entitled and it was sometimes to oppose the Government in a policy which they did not approve though they may have had very little personal interest in the matter. Thus in the year A.D. 1798 when the Inchet estate was sold for arrears of revenue they rose and violently disturbed the peace of the country till the sale was cancelled. After hostilities had continued for some time in reply to a very pacific message sent to them by the officer commanding the troops they asked if the Government were going to sell any more estates. I do not think that the settlement of any one of the Bhumij Jungle Múhals was effected without a fight. In Dhalbhum the Rájá resisted the interference of the British power and the Government set up a rival but after various failures to establish his authority they set him aside and made terms with the rebel. In Barabhum there was at one time a disputed succession. The courts decided that the eldest born of Rájá Vivika Narayan though the son of the second wife should succeed in preference to the son of the first wife the Iát Rání. The Bhumij did not approve of the decision and it was found necessary to send a military force to carry it out. This was the origin of the last disturbance known as Ganga Narayan's rebellion which broke out in 1832. Lakshman the son of the Iát Rání alluded to above continuing to oppose his brother was arrested and died in jail leaving a son, Ganga Narayan. On the death of Rájá Raghunath Singh he also was succeeded by the son of his second Rájá who was declared by the Supreme Court to be heir in opposition to a claim again set up by Madhab Singh the younger son but the son of the Pat Rání but failing in his suit Madhab Singh resigned himself to his fate and was consoled by being appointed *dará* or prime minister to his brother. In this capacity he made himself thoroughly unpopular more especially by becoming an usurious money lender and extortionate grain dealer and soon Ganga Narayan found that in opposing a man so detested a majority of the people

would side with him. Accordingly in the month of April 1832 he at the head of a large force of *ghatwals* made an attack on Mádhab Singh and slew him. This foul crime was committed with great deliberation, cunning and cruelty. Mádhab was seized and carried off to the hills to be sacrificed. Gangá Narayan himself first smote him with his battle axe then each *sardar ghatwal* was compelled to discharge an arrow at him and thus all the leading *ghatwals* became implicated in the plot. A system of plundering was then commenced which soon drew to his standard all the *chuars*—that is all the Bhumij of Barabhum and adjoining estates. He attacked Barabázár where the Rajá lived, burned the Munsif's *kachari* and the police station from which the police had fled but three unfortunate peons (runners) of the Munsif's court were caught and killed. The officials and the police fell back on Bardwan and for some time Gangá Narayan had the country at his mercy. He sacked every place worth plundering but in November following a force was collected consisting of three regiments of Native Infantry and eight guns and military operations against the insurgents commenced. They were soon driven to take refuge in the hills but being pressed there also Ganga Narayan fled to Singhbhum and endeavoured to enlist in his favour the rejected inincible and irrepressible Thákurs. They were put then at issue with one of the chiefs who claimed supremacy over a portion of them the Thákur of Kharsawan and though they were not willing to join in the row they wished before they committed themselves to Ganga Narayan's leadership to test his capacity to lead. They therefore demanded that he should in the first place make an attack on the fort of the Thákur of Kharsawan. In complying with this request he was killed and the Thákur had the pleasure of sending his head to Captain Wilkinson with a letter quite in the style of Lalstaff.

I have not been able to discover that the Bhumij possess any independent traditions of migrations. Those who live in proximity to Chutia Nagpur recognise no distinction between themselves and the Mundas. They intermarry and associate and coalesce in all matters indicating identity of race for though it may be said that they are not much troubled with caste prejudices there is no portion of the old Indian population which is quite free from it. The Bhumij farther east have become too Hinduised to acknowledge their relationship. The Dhalbhum Bhumij consider themselves autochthonous and will not admit that they are in any way connected with the Mundas Hos or Santals. It is pretty certain that the *zamindars* of all these estates are of the same race as their people though the only man among them whom I found sensible enough to acknowledge this was the Rajá of Bghmunli. The others all call themselves Kshatriyas or Rajputs but they are not acknowledged as such by any true scion of that illustrious stock. In claiming to be Rajputs they do not attempt to connect themselves with any of the recognised families of the tribe but each family has its own special legend of miraculous production. The family legend of the Rajá of Barabhum may be given as a specimen of their skill in making pedigrees—Nath Varaha and Kes Varaha two brothers quarrelled

with their father the Rájá of Virít and settled at the Court of Vikramáditya (This has some connection with the tradition of the adjoining estate of I'thum the Rájá of which claims descent from Vikramáditya) The younger brother was slain into two pieces and with his blood Vikram gave a tilak on the forehead to the elder brother and a pair of umbrellas and told him that all the country he could ride round in a day and night should be his. Nath mounted his steed and accomplished a circuit of eight *yojanas* within the time specified in what is now I'aribhum and this must be all true as the prints of his horse's hoof are still visible on the southern slopes of the hills. With one or two exceptions all the *ghatials* (ajuns of the border and their men) of the Bhumij part of M'aribhum and Singbhum districts are Bhumij which is a sure indication of their being the earliest settlers. They were the people (like the Mund in Bhumhurs in Chutia Nagpur the Bhumij in Bonai Gangpur Kenujhar etc. and Gonds in Sarguj and Udaipur) to whom the defence of the country was entrusted. The Bhumij *ghatials* in M'aribhum have now after all their escapades settled down steadily to work as guardians of the peace. The Rájá of the extensive *amundar* of Dhalbhum is no doubt of Bhumij extraction but for him the Herald's College of the period failed to manipulate a Rajput descent. His ancestor was a washerman who afforded refuge to the goddess Káli when as Rankini she fled from a demon in I'anoet. The goddess in gratitude gave the washerman a young Bráhmaṇa a wife of her own to wife and the Rájás of Dhalbhum are the descendants of this union. The origin of the story appears to be that a Bhumij chief of Dhalbhum probably at the instigation of a Bráhmaṇa stole from its shrine in I'anoet an image of Rankini and set it up as his own tutelary deity. The shrine from which the image was abstracted is shown at the village of I'ara near Purulia in Manbhum and it became the popular object of worship in Dhalbhum for all classes of people there. Rankini especially rejoiced in human sacrifices. It is freely admitted that in former years children were frequently kidnapped and sacrificed at her shrine and it cannot be very positively asserted that the practice of offering such victims has long been discontinued. At the shrine of this goddess a very cruel scene was enacted every year till 1861 when with the concurrence of the *amundar* it was put a stop to. It was called the *Bandaparab* and Ganga Narayan probably had it in his mind when he so cruelly disposed of Madhab Singh. At this *parab* two male buffaloes are driven into a small enclosure and on a raised stage adjoining and overlooking it the Rájá and suite take up their position. After some ceremonies the Rájá and his *purohit* or family priest discharge arrows at the buffaloes others follow their example and the tormented and enraged beasts fall to and gore each other whilst arrow after arrow is discharged. When the animals are past doing very much mischief the people rush in and hack at them with battle axes till they are dead. The Santals and wild Kharrias it is said took delight in this festival but I have not heard a murmur at its discontinuance and this shows it had no great hold on the minds

of the people Many of the Bhumij tribe are well off Some of them who are *sardar ghatwals* are in virtue of their office proprietors of estates comprising each from one to twenty manors but as the most substantial tenants under them are also hereditary *ghatwals* rendering service and paying besides but a very low fixed rent these *ghatwal* estates are not so valuable to the proprietor as villages on the ordinary tenure would be The Bhumij live in commodious well built houses and have all about them the comforts to which the better class of cultivators in Bengal are accustomed Those who live quite amongst the Bengalis have retained few of their ancient customs none perhaps except the great national amusement the gay meetings for dance and song both at their villages and at *rit a* which are characteristic of all Kols In appearance they are inferior to the Hos of Singbhum and to the best of the Munias of Chutia Nagpu They are short of stature but strongly built and like the Santals rather inclined to fleshiness In complexion they are variable like the Mundas ranging from a dark chocolate to a light brown colour they observe many of the Hindu festivals but retain their sacred groves in which they still sacrifice to the *chil gols* They have generally left off using cow's flesh in which their unreformed brethren in Singbhum and Chutia Nagpur indulge but eat fowls The Bhumij have in a great degree lost the simplicity and truthfulness of character for which their cognates are generally distinguished They have acquired from the Bengali Hindu the propensity to lie but they have not the same assurance or powers of invention and their lies are so transparent that they are easily detected

The internal structure of the Bhumij tribe is shown in Appendix

I t m l t t I The sub tribes are numerous and vary greatly in different districts With the possible exception of the iron smelting Shelo in Manbhum the names of these groups seem to have reference to their supposed original settlements It deserves notice that the tendency to form endogamous divisions seems to be stronger in outlying districts than it is at the recognised head quarters of the tribe Thus in Manbhum and Singbhum we find only one sub tribe Shelo which obviously got detached from the parent group by reason of its members adopting or perhaps declining to abandon the comparatively degraded occupation of iron smelting In Midnapur on the other hand where the Bhumij settlements are of comparatively recent date we find five territorial sub tribes in addition to the functional group of Shelo The reason seems to be that when the stream of emigration is not absolutely continuous successive sections of immigrants into distant parts of the country are affected in various degrees by the novel social influences to which they are exposed Some groups become more rapidly Hinduised than others and thus there arise divergences of usage in matters of food and drink which constitute a bar to intermarriage and in time lead to the formation of sub tribes These divisions often outlast the differences of custom and ritual from which they took their origin and in some cases the

prohibition of intermarriage comes to be withdrawn and the names alone remain to show that such a prohibition was once in force. The exogamous divisions of the tribe are totemistic and closely resemble those met with among the Mundas. The rule of exogamy is simple.

A man may not marry a woman of his own sept nor a woman who comes within the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees calculated as a rule to three generations in the descending line but sometimes extended to five where *bhaiyad* or mutual recognition of kinship has been maintained between the families.

The aboriginal usage of adult marriage still holds its ground among the Bhumij though the wealthier members of the tribe prefer to marry their daughters as infants. The extreme view of the urgent necessity of early marriage is unknown among them and it is thought no shame for a man to have a grown up daughter unmarried in his house. Sexual intercourse before marriage is more or less recognised it being understood that if a girl becomes pregnant arrangements will at once be made to marry her to the father of her child. Brides are bought for a price ranging usually from Rs 3 to Rs 12 and the wedding may take place according to arrangement at the house of either party. When as is more usual it is celebrated at the bride's house a square space (*marua*) is prepared in the courtyard (*angan*) by daubing the ground with rice water. In the centre of this space branches of *mahua* and *sudha* trees are planted bound together with five cowrie shells (*Cypræa moneta*) and five pieces of turmeric and at the corners are set four earthen water vessels connected by a cotton thread which marks the boundary of the square. Each vessel is half filled with pulse and covered with a concave lid in which a small lamp burns. On the arrival of the bridegroom with his following of friends he is led at once to the *marua* and made to sit on a bit of board (*pura*). The bride is then brought in and given a similar seat on his left hand. A sort of mimic resistance to the introduction of the bride is often offered by her more distant female relatives and friends who receive trifling presents for allowing her to pass.

After the bride has taken her seat and certain *mantras* or mystic formulæ have been pronounced by the priest usually a Bengal Brahman the bridegroom proceeds to light the lamps at the corners of the square. As fast as each lamp is lighted the bride blows it out and this is repeated three five or seven times as the case may be. The couple then return to their seats and the bride is formally given to the bridegroom appropriate *mantras* being recited at the time, and their right hands being joined together by the officiating priest. Last of all the bridegroom smears vermilion on the bride's forehead and his clothes are knotted to hers the knot being kept intact for three four five seven or ten days according to the custom of the family. At the end of that time they must rub themselves with turmeric and bathe and the knot is solemnly untied in the presence of the bridegroom's relations. No priest is present on this occasion.

The Bhumi recognize polygamy and in theory at least impose no limitation on the number of wives a man may have. The tribe however are for the most part poor and their meagre standard of living proves an effectual bar to excessive indulgence in the luxury of polygamy. When a man has no children by his first wife he usually marries again if he can afford to do so and it frequently happens that the second wife is a young widow whom he marries by the *anga* ritual paying a nominal bride price and incurring far less expenditure than would be necessary in the event of his marrying a virgin. Widow marriage is freely permitted by the *sanga* ritual in which

Widow marriage

a widow smears on the bride's forehead with vermilion which the bridegroom has previously touched with his great toe. It is deemed right for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother or cousin if such an arrangement be feasible and in the event of her marrying an outsider she forfeits all claim to a share in her late husband's property and to the custody of any children she may have had by him. Traces of the growth of a sentiment adverse to the practice of widow marriages may perhaps be discerned in the fact that the children of widows by their second husbands experience some difficulty in getting married and tend rather to form a class by themselves.

The Bhumi of Manbhumi allow divorce only when a woman has been guilty of adultery. A council of relations is called who hear the evidence and determine whether the charge has been proved. If their finding is against the woman her husband solemnly draws from her wrist the iron ring which is the visible sign of wedlock. Water is then poured on a *sal* leaf and the husband tears the wet leaf in two to symbolise separation. This ceremony is called *pat pini chua* the wet leaf rent and besides making the divorce absolute relieves the husband from any claim by the wife for maintenance. He himself socially impure after the ceremony until he has shaved and performed certain expiatory rites the most important of which appears to be giving a feast to the relatives who came together to adjudicate on the case. A woman has no right to divorce her husband and if neglected or ill treated her only remedy is to run away with another man. Divorced wives may marry again by the *sanga* ritual but their offspring by their second husbands are at the same social disadvantage in respect of marriage as has been noticed above in referring to the children of widows. In both cases the sentiment is unquestionably due to the influence of Hinduism in modifying the original usages of the tribe.

In matters of inheritance and succession the tribe usually affect to follow the school of Hindu law in vogue in their neighbourhood and hardly any vestiges of special tribal custom can now be traced. Almost all Bhumi however give the eldest son an extra share (*jethan's* or *bara anga*) when the property is divided and the *gnatras* members of the tribe follow the local custom of primogeniture the younger sons being provided for by small maintenance grants.

If a man leaves no children his widow takes a life interest on the property

The religion of the Bhumij varies within certain limits according to the social position and territorial status of the individuals concerned. Zamindars and well to do tenure holders employ Brahmans as their family priests and offer sacrifices to Kali or Mahamayá. The mass of the people revere the sun under the names of Sing Donga and Dharm as the giver of harvests to men and the cause of all changes of seasons affecting their agricultural fortunes. They also worship a host of minor gods among whom the following deserve special mention — (1) Jáhir Buru worshipped in the sacred grove of the village (*jáhir than*) with offerings of goats fowls rice and ghee at the Sarhul festival in the months of Baisakh (April-May) and Phalgun (January-February). The layá presides at the sacrifice and the offerings are divided between him and the worshippers. Jáhir Buru is supposed to be capable of blasting the crops if not duly propitiated and her worship is a necessary preliminary to the commencement of the agricultural operations of the year. (2) Kárakata (*Kara* = buffalo and *Kuta* = to cut) another agricultural deity to whom buffaloes and goats are offered towards the commencement of the rains. The skin of the buffalo is taken by the worshippers the horns form the perquisite of the layá while the Doms who make music at the sacrifice are allowed to carry off the flesh. In the case of goats the layá's share is one-third of the flesh. If Karakata is neglected it is believed there will be a failure of the rains. The cult of this deity however is not so universal as that of Jáhir Buru. (3) Bághut or Bágh Bhut who protects his votaries from tigers is worshipped in Kartick (October-November) on the night of the Amabasyá or the day preceding it. The offerings are goats fowls ghee rice etc. which may be presented either in the homestead or on the high land (*tanu*) close to the village. In the former case the head of the family officiates as priest in the latter the layá's services are enlisted and he can claim a share of the offerings. (4) Grám Deota and Deosháli gods of village life who ward off sickness and watch over the supply of water for drinking and irrigation of the crops. They are propitiated in Ashár (July-August) with offerings of goats fowls and rice at which layás preside. (5) Buru a mountain deity associated with many different hills throughout the Bhumij country and worshipped for recovery from sickness and general prosperity on the first or second Magh. The head of the family or a laya serves as priest. (6) Kudra and Bisaychandi are malignant ghosts of cannibalistic propensities whom the layás propitiate in the interests of the community. Private individuals do not worship them. (7) Páneh bahini and Báradelá are local deities worshipped by the Bankura Bhumij in much the same fashion as Jáhir Buru the chief difference being that the offerings to Pánehbahini are she goats and a kind of serpent called *mathaghasha* while only fowls are presented to Báradelá.

With the Bhumij as with other non Aryan tribes of Chota Nagpur the Karam festival Colonel Dalton describes of which is quoted in the article

The sacerdotal arrangements of the tribe have already been incidentally referred to. The upper classes employ Brahmans of their own and ignore the cult of the earlier gods while the mass of the tribe are guided in their regular observances by the teachings of the layás or priests of the forest gods and only call in the assistance of Brahmans on the comparatively rare occasions when it is deemed necessary to propitiate one of the standard Hindu deities. But the Brahman who serves the Bhumij zamindar or tenure holder as a family priest takes a higher place in the local community of Brahmans than the casual Bra' man who ministers to the spiritual needs of the ordinary cultivator. The former will call himself a Rarhi Kulin and will be received on equal terms by all other members of the sacred order while the latter belongs to a much lower class and associates with the comparatively degraded Brahmans who work for Kurmis and Dhoabas.

The funeral rites of the Bhumij are characteristic and lend strong support to the opinion that the tribe is merely a branch of the Mundas. On the death of a Bhumij his body is laid with the head to the south on a funeral pyre which is kindled by his male relatives. When the pyre is well alight the males go home and the wife, sister or other female relative of the deceased comes to the burning place carrying an earthen vessel of water. There she waits till the fire has burned down, quenches the ashes with water and picks out and places in the vessel the fragments of bone left unconsumed. Some of these fragments are interred at the foot of a *tulsi* plant (*Ocimum sanctum*) in the courtyard of the dead man's house; others are taken in the vessel to the original cemetery of his family.¹ There a hole is dug and the vessel of bones placed

() The theos that the bon s h ld b t ken t th llag n'wh h the an to of the d d halh t t f b/ h fi t l arer f the sol but th n t nva bly a t l up to dth ul h ld to b suffice ntly mpl d w th f a man b b d a vill g wh deorh anc to h b n ottd fo tolerab y l g t me lt d e rves notce that th T m rha Blum j of M dn p r t an port h b n f th dead to the great Munda c motery at Ch kah to the pla of o r ang in p rgana lam rh of Loh d g No t ng i oof ld well b t n of the identity of the Bhumi j w th the Mui la The D Bl m j f M dnapu go to Ku h ng in d ngbhum and some of th d ngbhum Bhumi j to Suia in Bagmundi of Manbhum

inside supported by three stones. The earth is then filled in and a large flat stone laid over all on which a fowl is sacrificed to ensure the repose of the dead. The spirits of those whose bones rest in the same place are solemnly informed that another has been added to their number and are enjoined not to quarrel but to abide peacefully in the land of the dead. The survivors then partake of a feast of rice *dal* and other vegetables prepared by the more distant relatives of the deceased. This strictly non Aryan ritual has of late years been to some extent overlaid by observances borrowed from the regular Hindu *sraddh*. On the tenth day the mourners are shaved and on the eleventh balls (*prida*) of rice sesamum molasses and plantain are offered to ancestors under the supervision of a Brahman who receives such presents as the means of the family permit them to give. A more primitive mode of appeasing the departed spirit is met with among the Sfele Bhumij. On the eleventh day after death the chief mourner beats a bell in the drinking vessel with a stick while another relation standing by his side calls loudly on the name of the dead. After a while a third man unconnected with the family and often a laya comes forward to personate the deceased by whose name he is addressed and a ked what he wants to eat. Acting thus as the dead man's proxy he mentions various articles of food which are put before him. After making a regular meal he goes away and the spirit of the deceased is believed to go with him. The relatives then finish the food prepared for the occasion.

Mention is made in the article on the Mundas of the custom by which the graves of the *bhumhar* or representatives of those who first cleared the soil and founded the village are marked by an upright stone pillar in addition to the horizontal slab which covers the bones of an ordinary raiyat not descended with one of these pioneer families. Precisely the same distinction is made among the Bhumij *ghatwals* of Manbhum between village *ardar* or holders of estate *ghatwahi* tenures and the *tabidars* or rural constables who make up the rank and file of the *ghatwahi* force. The graves of the former are invariably distinguished by an upright monolith sometimes bearing traces of rude attempts at ornamental shaping while the tombs of the latter consist merely of a slab laid flush with the ground. This singular correspondence of funeral usage coupled with the fact that many of the Manbhum *ghatwals* call themselves

by the title *bhumhar* or *bhumya* suggests the conjecture that the *ghatwahi* tenures in the south of that district are a survival under different names and changed conditions of the ancient tribal holdings known in Lohardaga as *bhumhari*. Personal service of various kinds is one of the oldest incidents of the *bhumhari* tenure and it is not difficult to see how in a border district like Manbhum the character of this service might gradually be changed in accordance with local necessities until it came to take the form of the petty police functions which the *ghatwals* perform or are supposed to perform at the present day. Their duties it is true are now discharged under the orders of Government and not at the will of the zamindar but this change

has been brought about gradually and is due partly to local disturbances in which the Bhumij took the lead and partly to the fact that the zamindars of Barabhum originally the heads of the Bhumij community have within the last hundred years assumed the style of Rajputs and have made no effort to sever their connexion with their own tribe. The antagonism thus set up between the chief and his retainers showed itself on his side by constant endeavours to resume their privileged tenures and on theirs by steady resistance to his authority and assertion of their direct subordination to the Magistrate of the district. Thus in course of time it has come about that a number of very ancient tenures representing in their inception the tribal rights of the first clearers of the soil have been transformed into police *jagirs* and have recently been surveyed and demarcated at the cost of Government in the interest of the executive administration of the Manbhum district.

The original occupation of the Manbhum Bhumij is believed by themselves to have been military service, and there can be little doubt that the bands of Chuáras or plunderers who repeatedly overran the Midnapur district towards the end of last century were largely recruited from this tribe. The circumstance however that they took a more or less prominent part in a series of marauding attacks on an unarmed and unwarlike population affords no ground for a belief in the existence among them of any real military instinct and in fact they are conspicuous for the dislike of discipline which is one of the prominent characteristics of the Kolarian races. For many years past agriculture has been the sole profession of all the subtribes except the iron smelting Shelo. A few have engaged in petty trade and some have emigrated to the tea districts of Assam. Their relations to the land are various. The zamindars of Barabhum Dhalbhum Manbhum Patkum and Bagmundi probably belong to the Bhumij tribe though they now call themselves Rajputs. Next to them rank the sardar ghatwals of the large service tenures known in Manbhum as *taraf*. Three of these admit themselves to be Bhumij while the fourth Manmohan Singh of *taraf* Satrakhami now claims to be a Rajput regardless of the fact that a few years ago his grandfather wrote himself down in public documents as Bhumij. I mention this instance as an illustration of the facility with which brevet rank as a self-made Rajput may be obtained. Manmohan Singh keeps a Brahman to support his pretensions and professes to be very particular in all matters of ceremonial observance. His descendants will doubtless obtain unquestioning recognition as local Rajputs, and will intermarry with families who have undergone the same process of transformation as themselves. The great bulk of the Bhumij who are simple cultivators and labourers stand on a far lower social level than the landholding members of the tribe. They rank somewhat below the Kurmi and members of the higher castes will not take water from their hands. In their turn the Bhumij though eating fowls and drinking spirituous liquors look down upon Bauri Bagdis Doms and Ghasis as more unclean feeders than themselves.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Bhumij tribe in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
Bardhaman	293	7	Darjiling		31
Bankura	1466	18053	Idar	11	66
Bahadurpur	40	58	Fardipore	4	192
Midnapore	3534	25639	(1) Darjiling		36
Hughli with H. W.rah	11	383	Midnapore	188	
24 Parganas	660	5531	Sa. tal Parganas		2909
Nadua	1	37	Cuttack	2169	24
Jessore	106	65	H. W.rah	175	291
Khulna			T. tal. y. M. hals	29696	1081
M. tal. od. bad	42	12	H. W.rah	86	2
D. J. pu		683	L. h. d. K.		154
Rajshahi	92	667	K. g. l.	3723	43
Ka. up.	3		M. h. m.	9021	1043.8
P. bha.	121	296	I. b. ta. y. St. te	689	1268

Bhumik a title of Kaibarttas and Bangaja Kayasths in Bengal

Bhumiká a title of Koras in Western Bengal

Bhumjan a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Bhumphor a title of the Mal sub caste of Mauliks in Chota Nagpur

Bhunāngali plougher of the soil a title of the cultivating castes a title of Kaibarttas

Bhunáti *Bhumti* *Bh. man. di* a grain parcher See *Kandu*

Bhunaware a section of Bahans in Behar

Bhunáwalá *Bhunari* up country men who sell parched grain In Behar the profession is followed by the Dhanuk and *Kandu* castes

Bhuníá the head of a village In Cuttack one of the former petty chiefs holding lands by tenure of military service

* **Bhunja** a synonym for *Kandu*

Bhunja *Lhaju* a dealer in fried grain See *Bharbhunja*

Bhunjá Telí a sub caste of Telis in Eastern Bengal

Bhupál a synonym for *Rajput*

Bhupati a prince a sovereign a landholder a synonym for *Rajput*

Bhuputra *Bhubuta* a title of Brahmins

Bhuri a *gain* of the *Kaisyapa gotra* of Barhi Brahmins in B. n. gal

Bhurji a synonym for *Kandu* or for oil maker

Bhurswa a sept of the Suryabansi sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Bhurtyál a *thar* or section of Nejali Brahmins

Bhusáwalá or **Bhusiwála** a dealer in chaff—chopped straw—and bran of gram and pulses who goes to villages and buys up the chaff at the threshing floor by the *khara* or *kut* *Khara* is a net like basket containing from a maund to a maund and *huc* or *kut* is valuation or guess

Bhusbarát a section of Bábhans in Behar which may possibly be of totemistic origin

Bhusbare a *kul* or section of Bábhans in Behar

Bhushná a sub caste of Kumhárs in Jessore a *pathi* or hyper gamous sub-group of Barendra Brahmanś in Bengal

Bhusiwar a sub group of Maghaiyá Telis in Behar

Bhuskuliá a *mul* or section of the Ghosin sub caste of Goálas in Behar

Bhusnapati a sub-caste of Kamárs in Eastern Bengal

Bhusundari a synonym for Bhunmah

Bhusi a synonym for Brahman and Rajput

Bhusuwal a *thar* or sept of Damis in Darjiling whose chief profession is sewing

Bhu swami a landholder proprietor prince sovereign

Bhusware a *mul* of the Krishnan section of Muthul Brahmanś in Behar

Bhut a title of Dakshin Rarhi and Bangaja Káyasths

Bhutane a section of the Biyahut and Kharidahá Kalwars

Bhutani a native of Bhután

Bhuthá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bhutkuar a sept of Iohars and Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Biahot Biahut a sub-caste of Kalwars in Behar who do not sell liquor and do not permit widows to remarry a sub caste

of Kumhárs and Telis in Behar See Biyáhut

Biallisgrámi a sub caste of Tambulis in Bengal

Biar a section of Sunris in Behar

Bibarhiá a section of Sonárs in Behar

Bich a group of the Sundi sub caste of Sunris in Western Bengal who are distillers

Bichhu a section of Sunris in Behar

Bichila a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bichwar a centipede a totemist sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Bid a title of Baniyas

Bidhiya a workman who performs precious stones pearls coral etc

Bidrisáz a maker of *bidi* or mixed work in silver on a basis of inferior metal

Bidyábagis a literary title of Brahmanś in Bengal

Bidyadhar a *mul* or hyper gamous sub group of Rarhi Brahmanś in Bengal

Bidyaratna a literary title of Brahmanś in Bengal

Biyáthi a seeker after learning a student

Bidyasáholu a seeker after knowledge

Bigahiá a section of Bábhans in Behar

Biha or **Binjha** a fish a totemistic sept of Bedyás in Chota Nagpur

Bihan a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bihia a section of the Biyahut and Kharid in Kalwars in Behar

Bihishti a water bearer generally Mahomedans

Bijái a minor section of the Chhamulia Mithila sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Bijaibanáras a minor section of the Chhamulia Mithila unit of Bhoggi in Halwais and Kándus in Behar

Bijalpuria a section of Bahans in Behar

Bijayapandit a minor sect in us belonging to the Brahmins in Behar

Bijhunia a sept of Rajput in Behar

Bijkunja a group of the Kisyur sept of the Bendi Brahmins in Behar

Bikauwa a tribe of Mithil or Indhiya Brahmins in Behar who derive their name from the practice of selling their lives for their sons in marriage to the daughter of the lower class of Mithil Brahmins. Some Bikauw Brahmins have as many as fifty wives under this system. The wives live with their husbands and are provided with food by their husbands.

Bikauwá Brahmins who have married into the lower classes are not received on equal terms by the members of their own class but the women whom they marry consider themselves raised by the alliance.

Bikfal a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmins

Bikrampur a sub caste of Telis in Eastern Bengal a section of the Lachanya sub caste of Doms

Bilar a section of Sonárs in Behar

Bilar a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Bilauria a section of Ayollia in Sonar in Behar

Bilkharía a sept of Rajput of the Bachgati Chauhán sub tribe named from Bilkhar in Oudh

Bilsar a minor section of the Ayollia sub caste of Hujjams in Behar

Bilung earth salt a totemistic section of Kharias in Chota Nagpur

Bilwár a section of the Amashtak yasths in Behar

Bilwár or *Bahalur* a sub caste of Dosadhs in Behar

Bin a sub caste of Mullahs in Bihar a sub caste of Lunds in Eastern Bengal

Bind *Im Indu* *Indu* a large non Aryan caste of Behar an Upper Indu employed in agricultural earthwork fishing hunting making altpetic and collecting indigenous drugs. A tradition current among the caste professes to trace their origin to the Vindhya Hills in Central India and one of these legends tells how a traveller passing by the foot of the hills heard a strange flute like

sound coming out of a clump of bamboos. He cut a hoot and took from it a fleshy substance which afterwards grew into a man the supposed ancestor of the Binds. The myth seems to be of a totemistic character but other traces of totemism are not forthcoming. Another theory is that the Binds and Numias were formerly all included and that the present Numias are the descendants of a Bind who contented himself with digging a grave for a Mahomedan king and was cut off for long so. Mr Sherring treats the Binds as a branch of the Numias. Other regard the Numias as a sub caste of the Binds. The two castes are probably related in some way but the evidence at present available does not enable us to determine with any approach to certainty which should be considered the parent group. It seems not improbable that the Bind may be a true aboriginal tribe and the Numias a functional group differentiated by taking to the manufacture of earth salt. But this is mainly conjecture.

The Binds of Behar are divided into two sub castes—**Kharat** and **Gondh**. These again are broken up into the *mukh* sections shown in the Appendix. The section going by the male side and the rule which forbids a man to marry a woman of his own section is supplemented by the standard formula *manisa cha heri* etc. prohibiting intermarriage within certain degrees of collateral relationship. Binds admit both infant and adult marriage but the former is deemed

more respectable and all who can afford to do so endeavour to get their daughters married before they attain the age of puberty. Polygamy is permitted but only to the limited extent that a man may marry a second wife in the event of the first proving barren. A widow is allowed to marry again by the *agau* form but is expected to marry her deceased husband's younger brother or younger cousin should such a relative exist. Under no circumstances may she marry her late husband's elder brother or elder cousin. For the rest she is subject to the same table of prohibited degrees that we all have regulated her marriage as a virgin. Divorce is not allowed. If a woman goes wrong with a man of another caste she is summarily turned out and becomes a prostitute turns Mahomedan or joins some other sect of dubious morality. Infractions within the caste are however more leniently dealt with and almost fleeing attention is given by certain moles of penance. In such cases the woman after having made amends for her offence turns to her husband. It should be added that the morals of the Bind woman are said to be by no means above reproach.

The marriage ceremony of the Binds presents no features of special interest and has obviously been modelled in many respects on the orthodox Hindu ritual. After the first negotiations have passed between the parents of the bride and bridegroom the *heilmann* (*manjan*) and the caste council (*pan hayat*) are consulted on the important question of prohibited degrees. This being settled the next step is *ghar kh* an exchange of visits at which the bridegroom's people see the bride and *vice versa*. In the course of the *ghar dekhi* a date is fixed for *tilak* when the bride's relatives come

simpler fashion each man in his own house by presenting flowers perfumes and sweetmeats. The latter after having done duty before the god are eaten by his votary. Kasi Baba no doubt was an actual person who came by his end if not exactly as told in the legend at least in some tragic fashion which led to his being elevated to the rank of a god. In some of the other objects of the rural worship we may perhaps see survivals of the primitive animism which formed the religion of the aborigines of India before their insensible conversion to Brahmanism. Some of the tribal deities were as we know promoted to seats in the Hindu pantheon others whose position was less prominent and whose hold on the mind of the people was weaker got thrust into the background as patrons of various rural events.

Some of the Binds in Behar possess occupancy holdings but for the most part they are non occupancy rayats or landless day labourers paid in cash or kind. Fishing well sinking building mud wall mat and basket making preparing saltpetre and doing earthwork on roads and tanks are among their chief occupations. A few of the more enterprising members of the caste have risen to be traders and visit Bengal during the cold season with boat-loads of wheat pulse and gram. Binds or Rawats as they are commonly addressed rank socially with Kasis Gangotas etc and have Maithil Brahmins for their priests. In Chuzipur says Dr Wise they are considered a pure caste and in Shahabad they are employed by Brahmins as water carriers. Their status however in relation to Brahmins as regards water and *pakki* articles of food seems to vary in different districts. In Champaran and Chitta Naipur for example I am informed that Brahmins will take water and sweetmeats from the hands of a Bind while in Shahabad and Gaya this appears not to be the case. In view of the fact that Binds freely indulge in spirit-drinking eat crocodiles and field rats like the Musahars and are very fond of pork when they can get it I think it likely that the rule is for them to be deemed impure.

Scattered colonies of Binds are also found along the great river Central and Eastern Bengal. In Dacca they recognise three subdivisions—Jutaut Bind Nun Binds and Bin. The first is the most aristocratic while those belonging to the second are degraded from working as palanquin bearers manufacturers of salt (nun) diggers and it is said grave diggers. Representatives of the Bin division are rarely met with and I am inclined to doubt its existence. These settlers who are distinguished by the title Chaudhri lead an irregular life eating pork and drinking spirits freely. Being debarred by reason of having settled in Bengal from intermarriage with the Binds of Behar and Upper India they often find it difficult to procure wives from the small expatriated communities along the Padma. Some cultivate the soil others kill mullet with the harpoon or catch them with *suki* screens like the *lema*. Another occupation is cutting *phum* on the sandbanks of the Padma and selling it for fuel wood. By Binds too are made the best mud basins or *chull*.

on board all native boats for cooking. Many are cunning sportsmen and during December and January net great numbers of wild fowl and snipe. After the rice harvest the Binds wander about the country digging up the stores of rice accumulated by field rats in their burrows. From four to six pounds of grain are usually found but even this quantity is sometimes exceeded. It is said that the Binds feast on the rats but thus they deny explaining that to do so would be to reduce the next year's find of grain.

A Dasnami Gosain periodically visits the Dacca Binds acting as their Guru while a degraded Kanaujia Brahman officiates as purohit. Many of the Bengali Binds belong to the Lanhi Piriya sect others worship Siva and at the Mahabali festival sacrifice a ram instead of the usual he goat. At the Ganga Puja a swine is offered to Jalka Devi the popular goddess of the Chamars. Karamat Ali and the Farazi Maulavis have of late years converted many of these outcaste Binds but the village Muhammadans will not as yet associate with them. These converts are usually styled by the peasantry Chayli from the Bengali word for the bera or fish trap.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Bind caste in 1872 and 1881. —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
Brdw	76	14	M m l	37	57
B k	12	3	Cl t g k	3	
B l m		130	F p rah	7	
M d	41	8	P t	340	9
H gh		16	(13	
H w l	38	9	Sl h l l	1	2
24 P nas	4	14	T l t { l l }	1333	{
N t y	107	1081	{ M l l p }		177
J	47	4	S	184	117
K l		31	(h	217	
M h i b d	77	887	M g l	11	1
l j	7		l l k l p		
Raj h l y	7	87	P l l h	70	7
Ra p		4	M l l l		7
H			l l l	24	27
l t	110	1008	H l l b g l		1
K l B h		6	l l l		
l	1	167	l l l		
F l	1	7	M l m t l		
B k g j		2	T l y t l		

Bindu a synonym for Pind

Bindu a title of Dakshin Barhi and Bangiya Kayasths

Bindumbo a son or sept of Dejong Lhoris whose ances

tor had emigrated from Lhotan

Bindya a resident of Brindabin

Binha a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Binjha, Buja, Biya, Binjhar an agricultural and land holding tribe found in the south of the Lohit district in Lalmau and in the Tributary States of Gujur and Surguja in Bengal and Patna in the Central Provinces. The Binjhas in the south are peculiar in that within their own households they speak

Uriya, their language for ordinary purposes being the jargon of Hindi current in Chota Nagpur. Mr W. H. L. Driver describes them as a quiet unwarlike people, flat faced and black but of good

physique and wearing their hair in matted locks. He considers them nearly allied to the Asuras or Agarias. Like many similar tribes they are divided into two sub tribes—the Pahariya Binjhiyas and Dand Binjhiyas so called from living respectively in the hills and in the plains. Their traditions link them with the Bindu caste of the Vindhya Hill where the god Mahadeo is supposed to have created them by breathing life into a scarabæw and the present representatives of the caste in Chota Nagpur say that Latampur in the Central Provinces was their original habitat. From Latampur they moved eastward to Bomsar thence to Kanhjar and thence to Nagra in Canpur. From this place a branch of them found their way nineteen generations ago to the plateau of Chota Nagpur where they now settled the bulk of them as occupying a vast and fertile district of the best as tenure holds is the elder third claiming *thut kiti* rights under the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur.

The Real Binjhiyas have four exogamous septs—Nág the royal, Dadul Brai supposed to be his first heir and Kas. The first two are declared to be the members of these septs reverence the animals whose names they bear. The sept names go only by the male side. He prohibited marriages also the same as in the case of the Rautias. The hill Binjhiyas have no septs or rather the village of the place of the sept the rule being that a man must get his wife from a strange village. A man may marry two or three provided he marries the eldest of the two first but not otherwise. A widower's sister (*ji*) being regarded by the husband in the light of a mother. Among the Dand Binjhiyas girls are married either as infants or after they have attained the age of puberty the marriage being arranged between the parents

by a matchmaker or *chut* but the Pahariya-Binjhiyas still adhere to a *chut* marriage. The usual bride price is Rs. 4. Polygamy is permitted without any theoretical limit on the number of wives. It is unusual however to find a man with more than two wives and the largest number ever heard of is six. Mr Driver says there is the outside limit but I suspect this statement represents little more than the improvised reply of his informants to a question which they had never considered. At all events one would be curious to know on what principle this particular number was fixed. With the Binjhiyas as with all polygamous castes the standard of living sets impassable bounds to the indulgence of caprice in the matter of wives. Widows are allowed to marry again by the *si* form. It is considered the right thing for a widow to marry her husband's younger brother (*dewan*) if there is one but she may marry any one outside of her father's section and her original circle of prohibited degrees. Divorce is permitted on the ground of adultery by the wife or the inability of the parties to get on together. Either husband or wife may take

the initiative and the bride price and marriage expenses are supposed to be repaid

The marriage ceremony of the Dánd Binjhias differs little from that in vogue among the Rautias *Sundudan* or the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and knotting the clothes of the bride and bridegroom together are the essential portions of the rite. Sometimes the parties are married first to a mango tree but this practice is not universal or necessary. The full Binjhias use oil instead of vermilion.

In matters of religion the more civilised Dánd Binjhias of the south profess to be orthodox Hindus and worship Devi under the name Vindhu basini the dweller in the Vindhya as the *ishtilevata* or patron goddess of the caste. They also reverence Jagannath. Their minor deities are Chadri Devi and Gramsri the goddesses who preside over villages. To both goats are sacrificed but those offered to the former must be black. The gods of the Palárya Binjhiás are Dhi Sina Bonga or the Sun Nind Bonga or the Moon and Mahadeo who are worshipped by a Binjhia priest called the Buga lalan and his assistant the Dewar who offer the sacrifices while the Lujari or consulting priest determines what the sacrifice should be. Brahmans are employed in the worship of the greater gods and in the propitiation of dead ancestors whom they call *mua*. These Brahmans incur no social degradation by serving Binjhias. The dead are burned or buried. In the latter case the grave is dug deep and a cairn of large stones set with thorn bushes made up to keep off jackals and hyenas. Wealthy men make a merit of taking some of the ashes from the funeral pyre and casting them into the Ganges at Benares but in fact this is rarely done and the pretence of doing it is a mere imitation of the customs of the higher castes. *Sradh* is performed by those who wish to make a parade of their orthodoxy but even in these cases I am informed that some of the essential portions of the standard ceremony are omitted. The festivals of the tribe are the Phaguá in February the Sarhul in April the China parab or sowing feast in June or July the Karmá in October and the Arwá or Kharway (harvest home) in November when a sacrifice is offered to Mahadeo.

Binjhias do not follow the Mitakshara which is the personal law of most Hindus residing in Lohardagá.

Inheritance among them is governed by a tribal custom of their own which gives the bulk of a man's estate to his eldest son subject to the obligation to make life grants from the property for the maintenance of his younger brothers. Daughters do not share in the inheritance but the eldest son is expected to maintain them in the paternal house and to get them married. In the order of succession a younger son by a wife who was married by the full marriage ceremony (*byah*) excludes an elder son by a *agay* wife but the latter is entitled to maintenance—a right which is denied to the son of a concubine. These customs are recognised by the courts.

For the decision of questions of caste usage the Binjhias have a representative assembly consisting of delegates from every household in the community. The president whose office is hereditary is called *kartaha*. The rules of debate are as might be supposed highly primitive. After enough talking has been done to enable the president to gather the sense of the assembly he states his own view and the decision as in Homeric times goes by acclamation.

Notwithstanding that they eat fowls and wild pig both abominable in the eyes of the orthodox the Dānd Binjhias of the south are deemed to be Hindus and enjoy much the same social rank as the Rautias. They will take cooked food only from the hands of known Brahmans, sweetmeats etc. from Rajputs and water from Rautias, Ors, Kumhars, Ahirs, Khinduts and Zamindars, Jhoras but not Kharwars or Bhogtas. The hill Binjhias according to Mr. Driver eat buffaloes, cows and the *thaman* snake but monkeys, frogs and ordinary snakes are forbidden food.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Binjhias in 1872 and 1881 —

D	872	881
In Darbhanga	286	1043
In British States	2705	2615

Binjhuar a synonym for Binjhia

Binjoar a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Binjuar another name of a totemistic sept in Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Binria a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Binsaiya a *mu* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Bipa a synonym for Brahman in Bengal

Birāji a *mul* or section of the Chosin sub-caste of Goals in Behar

Birar cat a totemistic sept of Tantis in Chota Nagpur

Birbansa a title of Doms

Birbhairab a section of Jugis

Birbhumia a sub-caste of Lohars in the Santalparganas

Bireri a section of Maghaya Kandus in Bihar

Birho or *Birhor* a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Birhor wood man a small Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur who live in the jungle in tiny huts made of branches of trees and leaves and eke out a miserable living by snaring hares and monkeys and collecting jungle products especially the bark of the *chob* creeper (*Banhinia scandens*) from which a coarse kind of rope is made. They claim to be of the same race as the Kharwars and to come from

Khairagarh in the Kaimur hills but this legend like similar stories told by the Santals and Oraons can hardly be deemed to possess any historical value and probably refers to a migration of comparatively recent date. A list of the Birhor septs is given in Appendix I. Two at least are tlemistic the others appear to be local or territorial. One of them Hemrom is found also among the Santals but with them it means a horse while the Bihors say it is a kind of fish.

Primitive as the habits of the Bihors are they seem to have been to some extent affected by the influence of Hindu ideas. Marriage is a case in point. The free courtship in vogue among the compact Dravidian tribes has fallen into disuse and parents arrange the marriage of their daughters at an early age. Three rupees is the standard bride price. The tribe does not employ Brahmans nor have they any special priests of their own. The marriage ceremony is therefore very simple its essential and binding portion consisting in the process of drawing blood from the little fingers of the bride and bridegroom and smearing it on each of them. The bride stays two days in her husband's hut and then goes back to her father's until she is grown up.

The Birhor religion is as might be expected a mixture of Animism and Hinduism. If questioned on the subject the Bihors themselves will endeavour in their replies to give prominence to the Hindu elements and to make themselves out more orthodox than they are and with singular ingenuity they seek to harmonize the two systems by assigning to Devi the chief place in their Pantheon and making out the animistic godlings to borrow Mr Ibbatson's expressive word to be her daughters and granddaughters. Thus according to Colonel Dalton an oblong piece of wood painted red stands for Maha Devi's daughter a small piece of white stone dyed with vermilion for her granddaughter Buria Mai and an arrow head for Dudha Mai Buria's daughter. A trident painted red represents Hanuman who carries out Devi's orders. The minor gods whose animistic character has not as yet been disguised by any veneer of Hinduism are Biru Bhut worshipped in the form of a raised semi globe of earth and Darhi a Mundari Oraon deity represented by a piece of split bamboo some three feet high stuck slantwise in the ground. The latter is also known as the sipahi or sentry a term not uncommonly applied to minor gods of this type and is supposed to be the immediate guardian of the place. A small round piece of wood about a foot long with the upper part painted red is called Banhi goddess of the jungles. Another similar emblem stands for Sugu a big hill in the south of the Hazaribagh district. Sets of these symbols are placed on either side of their huts to scare off evil spirits snakes tigers and misfortune generally. When a Birhor dies his body is burned and the remnant thrown as Bihors say into the Ganges but really into any stream that may happen to be handy. For ten days the relatives show their grief by not shaving. On the eleventh they shave and have a feast. Bihors have been accused of eating their dead relations but the evidence on this point is not convincing and Colonel Dalton says he has no faith in the story.

Bisaiwár Nanhpur a *mul* of
the Kasyap section of Maithil
Brahmans in Behar

extent as a bar to intermarriage. In fact no systematic use appears to be made of these Brahmanical exogamous designations for the sub caste has no less than 360 sections (*muls* and *dihis*) of the ancestral or local type. The adoption of the tutelary god of the caste as the eponym of a section is an instance of a practice noticed by Professor W. Robertson Smith as common among the early Arabs. A *gotra* bearing the name Viswakarma is also found among the Maghaya Bārhīs of Behar.

Bisokia a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Bisra hawk a totemistic sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur. The word is apparently a variant of *Besra* qv

Bisrot a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bisru a bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bissoi or *Bishayi* the chief of a district in Orissa collecting the Government revenue and exercising police and judicial authority

Biswāl a title of Uriya Brahmins

Biswāmītra a section of Brahmins Kāyasths, and of Tāntis in Bengal

Biswās a title of Bārhīs Chasadhobas Jugis Kaibarttas Kewats Kumhars Nāpits and Pods and an honorary title of Kayasths in Bengal a section of the Maghaya sub caste of Kumhārs and a title of Nagars in Behar

Biswās Madak a sub caste of Mudhunāpits in Bengal

Bit a title of Tāntis in Bengal

Bitāl a sub sept of the Murmu sept of Santals

Bitār a title of Doms in Behar

Bitwār a sub-caste of Sunris in Behar

Biyāhot **Biyahutā** a sub caste of Hajjams in Behar who do not permit the marriage of widows

Biyāhut a sub caste of Sunris in Behar who do not allow widow marriage they are grain dealers and shopkeepers a sub caste of Kurmis in Behar who do not permit widows to marry again. It is often used in contradistinction to Sagahut

Biyāhut or **Bhojpurī** a sub-caste of Kalwārs in Behar

Biyāhuta a sub caste of Banyas who sell grain and do not allow widows to remarry

Boār fish a sub sept of the Murmu sept of Santals

Bocho a bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bod a sept of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Bodo a sub-tribe of the Kochh tribe in Northern and Eastern Bengal

Bodra a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur whose ancestors neglected to wash their mouths after eating

Bodrá a sept of Lohars in Chota Nagpur

Bodru a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Boga a sept of Chakmās in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Bohandiá a cultivator who has not a plough of his own and either works with a hoe or a borrowed plough

Bohit a title of the Dhusia sub caste of Chamars in Behar

Bojra a kind of grass a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bokhime a *phar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Bolá a sept of the Tungjainya sub tribe of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Bomjan a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Bon Gonju a title of Náges warsen Chota Nagpur

Bonthárua a *phar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Bora a kind of snake a totemistic sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Boral a title of Kaibarttas in Bengal

Bordi a section of Tantis in Chota Nagpur

Borha a section of Sonárs in Behar

Borhgrami a *gaim* of the Batsya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmins in Bengal

Boria a group of Maghaiyá Telis in Behar

Borośánp a section of Mauhs in Chota Nagpur

Borsege a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Bosmátha a sept of the Agni sub tribe of Muchos in the Darjiling Terai

Bot a sub tribe of Tharus in Behar

Boyong a *phar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Brahma a title of Dakshin Barhi and Lingaja Kayasths

Brahmachári a youth of either of the three first purúshas during his pupilage and while studying the Vedas. A mendicant who professes to have prolonged the period of studentship and to observe through life the practice of study poverty and continence. In general however an ignorant vagrant a Brahmin recluse a title of Brahmins

Bráhmaṇ *Buman Ripa Dujji Thikun Saima Deva Sarma*

T d t n s f r n

Bhulíá Bhūsai Apaya Maháya Bihari

Gosainji the highest of the three twice born

castes originally the priests of the Aryan community and now engaged in various professions and following all respectable means of livelihood except those involving personal or ceremonial pollution. Concerning the origin of the caste there has been much discussion and it is hardly possible to speak of it without to some extent touching upon the vexed question of the origin and development of the caste system itself. Orthodox tradition as expressed in the so called Institutes of Manu in the Mahábhárata in the Puranas and in the Jatimála or Garland of Castes refers the evolution of the four original castes to a special act of creation whereby from the mouth of the Supreme Being proceeded the Brahman from his arms the

Kshatriya from his thighs the Vaisya and from his foot the Sudra. Each of these orders had their special function in life assigned to them according to their natural aptitudes. To the Brahman the knowledge and teaching of things divine, to the Kshatriya defence of the land from its enemies, to the Vaisya pasture and tillage of the soil, and to the Sudra the duty of doing willing service to the higher ranks. In the *Iurusha Sukt* hymn of the *Rig Veda* we find a more fanciful and mystic variant of the same legend. The gods drag the primeval man (*puruṣa*) regarded apparently as the microcosm or type of all mankind to the sacrifice and hew him into four pieces which according to the dignity of the members as in the former legend become the four castes. Another account of the matter is given in the *Mahabharata*—In the beginning says Bhṛigu there was no distinction of castes or colour. All men were Brahmins. Created by Brahman on one model their own actions served to divide them. Brahmins who yielded to the desires of the senses, who gave themselves up to anger and pride—these redden by anger became Kshatriyas, others who followed after pasture and agriculture grew yellow and were Vaisyas, others again hasty, mendacious and immoral wholly lost their pristine purity became black and were turned into Sudra. A third legend seeks to bring the rise of the caste system into some sort of genealogical relation with the heads of ancient tribes and families of the Vedic era. This story represents the mythical *Manu* as the father of all mankind and ascribes to his sons or grandsons the formation of the four castes. Members of the race of the Sun are mentioned who became Brahmins—Kshatriya by birth, Brahman by profession—as the legend puts it, while the *Saunaka* of the race of the Moon the descendants of *Iururu* became Brahmins, Kshatriyas or Vaisyas according to their degree of personal merit. In another place we hear of a mighty king named *Bali* to whom Brahman delegated authority to found the caste system.

These and similar legends however destitute of historical accuracy serve nevertheless to throw some light upon the probable origin of the caste system generally and of the Brahman caste in particular. They make it clear that early Indian tradition assumes the substantial unity of the Aryan race, that it looks upon kings and priests as men fashioned of the same substance, and on the distinctions of caste as having been gradually evolved rather than created before the beginning of time.

Caste then at least in the rigid form in which we now know it is an institution of comparatively late origin. During Vedic times though the germ of Brahmanism may be traced in the relations between the *purohita* and the *majhavan*, the separation of classes was no sharper than naturally arose from differences of occupation, and with the exception of a single hymn of later origin the testimony of the whole body of Vedic literature as interpreted by modern scholars is adverse to the existence of a clearly defined hierarchy of endogamous castes. Even in the Epic era the system

had not hardened into its later form. Marriages between members of different castes were possible. We hear of Vidura the Kshattar son of a Bráhmaṇ father and Sudra mother of Yuyutsu the Káuran son of Dhritarashtra by a Vaisya woman and we are told that the former took a prominent part in public business while the latter was conspicuous in battle. Finally in the statement that among the impious Aryans of the Panjab only the eldest son of a Bráhmaṇ becomes a Brahman we may surely find a survival of an earlier order of ideas of the belief that all Aryan are of one blood and that Brahmanhood is a matter of personal qualities and aptitudes rather than of descent.

The best modern opinion seems disposed to find the germ of the Brahman caste in the birds, ministers and family priests who were attached to the king's household in Vedic times. Different stages of this institution may be observed. In the earliest age the head of every Aryan household was his own priest and even a king would himself perform the sacrifices which were appropriate to his rank. By degrees families or guilds of priestly singers arose who sought service under the kings and were rewarded by rich presents for the hymns of praise and prayer recited and sacrifices offered by them on behalf of their masters. As time went on the sacrifices became more numerous and more elaborate and the mass of ritual grew to such an extent that the king could no longer cope with it unaided. The employment of *purohitas* or family priests formerly optional now became a sacred duty if the sacrifices were not to fall into disuse. The Brahman obtained a monopoly of priestly functions and a race of sacerdotal specialists arose which tended continually to close its ranks against the intrusion of outsiders. The idea that virtue made the Brahman gave place to the belief in the efficacy of birth. Inter-marriage with other ranks of the Aryan community was first discouraged and then wholly prohibited and thus by degrees was developed the rigid law of endogamy which distinguishes the Indian caste system from other apparently similar forms of social gradation.

The Bráhmaṇ caste is commonly divided into ten large classes according to their locality: five on the north and five on the south of the Vindhya range. The classes are thus arranged in a Sanskrit mnemonic stanza quoted by Dr. Wilson—

(I) The five Dravilas south of the Vindhya range —

- (1) The *Mihirashtras* of the country of the Maratha language
- (2) The *Andhras* or *Tulanjits* of the country of the Telugu language
- (3) The *Dravidas* of the country of the Dravidian or Tamil language
- (4) The *Kannatas* of the Kanataka the country of the Canarese language
- (5) The *Gurjars* of Gurjarashtra or the country of the Gujarati language

(II) The five Gauras north of the⁴Vyndhyá range —

- (1) The *Saraswatas* so called from the country watered by the river Saraswati
- (2) The *Kanyakubjas* so called from the Kanwakubja or Kanauj country
- (3) The *Gauras* so called from Gaur or the country of the Lower Ganges¹
- (4) The *Utkalas* of the province of Utkala or Odra (Orissa)
- (5) The *Mathilas* of the province of Mithila (Sirhut)

The Brahmans found in the Lower Provinces of Bengal belong to one or other of the Gaura groups. A tabular scheme of their subdivisions which are extremely intricate will be found in the Appendix. In the following brief description it will be convenient to deal first with the Brahmans of Bengal Proper then with those of Behar and lastly with the Utkal or Orissa Brahmans. The Bengal Brahmans are divided into five main sub castes—**RARHI** **BARENDRA** **VAIDIK** **SATTASATI** and **MADHYA RENI**.

The Rarhi Brahmans derive their name from the Rarhi or the high lying alluvial tract on the west bank of the river Bhagirathi. Their claim to be of comparatively pure Aryan descent is to some extent borne out by the results of the anthropometric inquiries recorded in another volume of this work. The current tradition is that early in the eleventh century A.D. Adisura or Adisvara King of Bengal invited the Brahmans then settled in Bengal too ignorant to perform for him certain Vedic ceremonies applied to the Raj of Kanauj for priests thoroughly conversant with the sacred ritual of the Aryans. In answer to this request five Brahmans of Kanauj were sent to him—Bhatta Narayana of the Sándilya section or *gotra* Daksha of the Kasyapa *gotra* Vedagarva or Vidagarbha of the Vatsa *gotra* or as other accounts say from the family of Bhṛigu Chandra or Chhandara of the Savarna *gotra* and Briharsa of the Bharadvaja *gotra*. They brought with them their wife their sacred fire and their sacrificial implements. It is said that Adisura was at first disposed to treat them with scanty respect but he was soon compelled to acknowledge his mistake and to beg the Bráhmans to forgive him. He then made over to them five populous villages where they lived for a year. Meanwhile the king was so impressed with the superhuman virtue of Bhatta Naráyana who was a son of Kshutisa King of Kanauj that he offered him several more villages. The Bráhman however declined to take these as a gift but bought them as the story goes at a low price. They were annexed to the village already in Bhatta Naráyana's possession and the whole area was relieved from payment of revenue for twenty-four years. Thus tradition chronicles an early *Brahmottar* grant the first it may be of the long series of similar transactions which have played so important a part in the history of land

tenures in the development of castes and in promoting the spread of orthodox Hinduism throughout Bengal. Adisura did what the Rájás of outlying tracts of country have constantly done since and are doing still. A local chief far removed from the great centres of Bráhmanical lore somehow becomes aware of his ceremonial shortcomings. Probably as is narrated of Adisura himself a wandering Bráhman brings home to him that his local ritual is not up to the orthodox standard. He sends for Bráhmans, gives them grants of land near his own residence and proceeds with their assistance to reform his ways on the model of the devout kings whom Bráhmanical literature holds up as the ideal for a Rája to follow after. The Brahmins find for him a pedigree of respectable antiquity or provide him with a family legend, and in course of time he succeeds in getting himself recognised as a member of some branch of the great Rajput community.

Although the immigrant Brahmins brought their wives with them, tradition says that they contracted second marriages with the women of Bengal and that their children by the latter were the ancestors of the Barendra Brahmins. The Barendra, on the other hand, claim to represent the offspring from the original Hindustani wives and allege that the Rárhí Brahmins themselves spring from the *mésalliance* contracted in Bengal.

By the middle of the eleventh century, when Ballál Sen, the second of the Sen kings of Bengal, instituted his famous inquiry into the personal endowments of the Rárhí Brahmins, their numbers seem to have increased greatly. They are represented as divided into 56 *gams* or headships of villages, which were reserved for them and might not be encroached upon by Brahmins of other orders.

It is interesting to trace in Ballál Sen's inquiry the survival or reassertion of the principle referred to above as recognised in ancient times, that the Bráhmanhood of the Bráhman depends not merely on birth but also upon personal endowments. It is a question of virtue, not a question of descent. Ballál Sen, of course, could not go so far as this. The time had long passed when a Kshatriya could transform himself into a Bráhman by penance and self-denial. But the Sen monarch sought to reaffirm the ancient principle so far as was then possible by testing the qualifications of each Rárhí family for the priestly office and classifying them in the order of their virtue according to the results of this examination. The following nine qualities were selected to serve as the touchstone of sacerdotal purity—*Achár* ceremonial purity, *vinaya* discipline, *vidya* learning, *pratiksha* reputation for purity, *tirtha-darsana* zeal in pilgrimage, *nuktha* piety, *avriti* observance of legal marriages, *tapa* ascetic self-devotion, *dána* liberality.

Tradition is silent concerning the precise method in which Ballál Sen carried out his somewhat inquisitorial measures. It seems, however, to be certain that some kind of inquiry into the nine characteristic Bráhmanical qualities was held under his orders and that the *kul* or social and ceremonial standing of each family was determined accordingly. Some say that twenty-two *gams*,

raised to the highest distinction Lakshmana Sen discarded fourteen *gāns* on account of their misconduct and they became *gāna Kulins*, an order which has now disappeared Nineteen families belonging to the other eight *gāns* were made Kulins The other families of these eight *gāns* were lost sight of Thus two classes or grades of sacerdotal virtue were formed — (1) the Kulin being those who had observed the entire nine counsels of perfection (2) the Srotriya who though regular students of the Vedas had lost *avrittis* by intermarrying with families of inferior birth The Srotriya were again subdivided into Siddha or perfect Sadhya or capable of attaining purity and Kashta or difficult The last named group was also called Ari or enemy because a Kulin marrying a daughter of that group was disgraced

The relations of these three classes in respect of marriage were regulated by the principle laid down in the Institutes of Manu for members of the three *twice-born* castes a principle for which Mr Denzil Ibbetson has adopted the convenient and expressive name of *hypergamy* The rule was that a man of the Kulin class could marry a woman of his own class or of the two higher Srotriya classes a Siddha Srotriya could marry in his own group or in the Siddha Srotriya group while the Siddha and Kashta Srotriyas might take wives only within the limits of their own classes Conversely women of the Siddha Srotriya class could marry in their own class or the two classes above them Siddha Srotriya women in their own class or in the Kulin class while Kulin women at one end of the scale and Kashta women at the other were restricted in their choice of husbands to the Kulin and Kashta groups Unequal or irregular marriages involved loss of reputation and forfeiture of rank On the other hand the marriage of a girl into a good Kulin house conferred a sort of reflected honour on her own family and in course of time this idea was developed into the doctrine known as *ulūḥ jātī* where by the reputation of a family depended upon the character of the marriages made by its female members

This singular and artificial organization deranged the natural balance of the sexes and set up a vigorous competition for husbands among the women of the higher groups The Bansaṇas are those Kulins who lost their distinction on account of misconduct or their want of charity discipline and due observance of marriage law three qualities which in later times constituted Kulinism

The growth of the Bansaṇa class introduced a further element of complication In the struggle for husbands Kulin girls who had no brothers or whose mothers were widows were often given to the sons of Bansaṇa parents but families resorting to this device were excluded from the recognised cadre Thus the brothers of a girl who married beneath her at once became Bansaṇa but this degradation did not extend to her uncles If an original Kulin married a Bansaṇa maiden he himself became a Swakṛita Bhanga or broken Brāhman His descendants in the second generation were known as Dwāpurusha in the third as Tripurusha and in the fourth as Chaturthapurusha After this stage special designations

were dropped and the branch was merged in the Bansaja class. Although in theory these lower branches were completely cut off from the original hierarchy formed by Ballál Sen, natural instincts could not be wholly eradicated from a number of closely related families and girls of the Bhanga and Bansaja groups used to marry their cousins of the elder branch. It might perhaps have been expected that these groups would have been admitted to the same privileges as the Srotriya but this was not the case.

The invasion of Bengal by the Muhammadans in 1203 and the instant collapse of the Hindu kingdom was not without its effect upon the matrimonial organization of the Barha Brahmans. Ballál Sen's reforms had been imposed upon the caste by the order of a Hindu ruler and their observance depended upon the maintenance of his supervising authority. When this check was removed the system could no longer hold together and soon showed signs of breaking up completely. Artificial restrictions had been introduced, the natural balance of the sexes had been disturbed and a disastrous competition for husbands had set in among the three original groups. New and inferior groups had sprung up and their natural ambitions still further swelled the demand for Kulin husbands. The pressure of necessity soon showed itself too strong for the rules. Poor Kuls lost their family rank and honour for the bridegroom price which had taken the place of the bride price of earlier times. They added to the number of their wives without regard to the respectability of the families from which they came and they raised their prices as the supply of suitable husbands diminished and competition ran higher for a Kulin bridegroom.

The reforms undertaken in the fourteenth century by Devi Vará a ghatak or genealogist of Tossore extended only to the Kulins. These were divided into three grades—(i) Swabháva or original Kulins (ii) Bhanga (iii) Bansaja. The Swabháva grade was further subdivided into 36 *mel* or endogamous groups, each bearing the name of the original ancestor of the clan or village. This restriction of the marriages of Kulins to their own *mel* was the leading feature of Devi Vará's reform. Its principle was adopted and extended; it is believed by the Kulins themselves in this singular arrangement known as *Pati Prakriti* or preservation of the type by which families of equal rank were formed into triple groups as it were for matrimonial purposes and bound to observe a sort of reciprocity. Thus Mukhuti families were bound to marry their sons to the daughters of the Chatterji and Banerji families and *vice versa*. All kinds of complications are said to have arisen

* The names of the families follow — Phuláya Káśh Sarvá
 naná Bálá S Alá S kh Pandá Rá Bálá G pála
 Chá Chá d P d Dáśá Glá S th raj khá
 N y R ya Blá l D h t Chay V j y l d Ch d Madhá
 B d y dha P l l S R nábhatt M ladhá a Khan Kák m Hárí
 Maj mdar Sr B dhan Bháa Ghatak Achambt Dha ádh rí Vále
 Raghava Ghos l Sango Sarvánaná Sadananda Khan Chandravat

from this understanding. If for example the Mukhuti had only one marriageable son and the Chatterji or Banerji ten daughters approaching puberty the former must marry all ten or all must remain spinsters. Meantime the rush of competition for Kulin husbands on the part of Bhanga, Bansaja and Srotriya classes was as strong as before while the proportionate number of pure Kulins had been reduced by the loss of those who had become Bhangas and Bansajas. In order to dispose of the surplus of women in the higher groups polygamy was introduced and was resorted to on a very large scale. It was popular with the Kulins because it enabled them to make a handsome income by the accident of their birth and it was accepted by the parents of the girls concerned as offering the only means of complying with the requirements of the Hindu religion. Tempted by a *pan* or premium which often reached the sum of two thousand rupees Swabhaba Kulins made light of their *kul* and its obligations and married Bansaja girls whom they left after the ceremony to be taken care of by their parents. Matrimony became a sort of profession and the honour of marrying a daughter to a Bhanga Kulin is said to have been so highly valued in Eastern Bengal that as soon as a boy was ten years old his friends began to discuss his matrimonial prospects and before he was twenty he had become the husband of many wives of ages varying from five to fifty.

With the spread of education among the upper classes of Bengal an advance in social morality has been made and the grosser forms of polygamy have fallen into disrepute. But the artificial organization of the caste still presses hard on a Kulin father who is unlucky enough to have a large family of daughters. These must be married before they attain puberty or disgrace will fall on the family and three generations of ancestors will be dishonoured. But a Kulin bridegroom can only be obtained by paying a heavy premium, many of the *mels* instituted by Devi Vara have died out and in such cases reciprocal marriage being no longer possible the son of a family left without a corresponding *m* must marry the only daughter of a widow while the daughter of a Kulin widow for whom no husband of equal birth can be procured may be married to a Srotriya and a premium accepted without endangering the family prestige. According to Dr. Wise a Kulin father in Eastern Bengal could only preserve his *kul* intact in one of three ways — By giving her to a Kulin of equal rank by making an effigy (*kusa kanya*) of her with *kusa* grass and giving it in symbolic marriage to a Kulin by saying to a Kulin in the presence of *ghatak* witnesses — I would give my daughter if I had one to you and putting on his forehead the *tilak* or distinguishing mark which a married woman wears.

The marriage ceremonies of the Bengal Brahmans comprise five important stages, viz —

I *Purba-biddha* consisting of—(1) The anointment called *tel*
halud After preliminaries have been settled
 Marriage ceremony and the *patra karan* or formal intimation
 of the consent of the parties or rather of their guardians on

both sides has been drawn up an auspicious day is fixed for anointing both the bridegroom and the bride with turmeri. The process must be undergone by both on the same day—the bride a little while after the bridegroom each in their own house. Usually a part of the turmeric prepared for the bridegroom is sent by his guardian for the use of the bride but if the couple live at a distance this is not deemed essential. In any case the time at which the ceremony should be performed is fixed by letter. Those who can afford to do so distribute oil and turmeric among their neighbours on this occasion.

(2) The entertainment *thulara* or *ayubruddhanna*. From the day of the anointment until the day of the marriage the betrothed couple are daily entertained by their friends and neighbours a piece of new cloth being presented at the same time. Presents of sweetmeats and cloth are sent to their houses by friends and well-to-do people with a large circle of acquaintances often prolong the interval between the anointing with turmeric and the wedding from two or three days to a month. The rule is that after the anointing the first entertainment is given by the parents and after that neither the bride nor the bridegroom should again eat in their own homes until they are married.

(3) The divination or *alibhas*. On the night before the wedding in marriage the neighbours and relations of the bride and bridegroom are entertained with a repast and given presents of betel leaves and areca nuts. This is supposed to render the occasion auspicious and to draw down the blessing of the gods through the goodwill of the ladies entertained who are looked upon as a sort of fairy god mothers.

(4) The propitiation of ancestors *Nandimulh* or *briddh sraddh* is an ordinary *sraiddh* performed at noon on the wedding day in order to procure the blessing of the deceased ancestors on the couple. Four ancestors on the father's side and three on the mother's side of both parties are thus invoked. If the father and grandfather of the intended bride or bridegroom be living then only their two immediate (deceased) predecessors and if only the father be living then his three immediate predecessors only. The *sraiddh* is performed by the father or in his absence by the brother or failing him again by a *gyati* (agnate) of the bride or the bridegroom as the case may be. If a *gyati* be not procurable then the family priest may officiate.

(5) The bridal procession (*bar jatri*). In the evening or if he lives at a distance earlier the bridegroom goes in procession accompanied by a *kolbar* or best man who is usually his younger brother and by a number of his relations, friends and neighbours to the house of the bride where he is received as in a *darbar*, his approach being welcomed by the cry of *ulu ulu* from the females of the bride's family. He sits on a *masnad* set apart for him in the centre of the hall and there surrounded by those who accompanied him and by the bride's people (*kanyajatri*) he awaits the moment fixed by the astrologers as auspicious for the performance of the actual ceremony.

(6) *Jamatā baran* or the bridegroom's welcome by the bride's father. When the proper time has come the bridegroom is taken by the bride's father into the inner apartments of the house and is made to stand on a piece of board painted with pounded or powdered rice stirred up with water. The bride's father then offers him water for washing his feet (*pād / i a jh i*) and also *m ihup u / ja* a concoction of honey in a small copper cup. These the bridegroom touches in token of acceptance.

(7) *Str achai* or woman's usage commences with the welcome given to the bridegroom by the bride's mother by pouring some curds on his feet. This is followed by—

(a) *Satus* or the seven lights of Hymen. Seven married ladies (including the bride's mother or if she be a widow one of the bride's aunts) in their best attire each with a small torch made of *chula* twig and cotton steeped in oil go round the bridegroom in procession led by the bride's mother who carries on her head a *kula* or flat bamboo basket on which are placed 21 small lights made of *thatuna* fruits. As they go round they sprinkle libations of water one of them blows a shell trumpet and all vocalise the hymeneal cry of *lu / lu*. After going seven times round the bridegroom the lights are thrown one by one over his head so that they fall behind him. The *kula* is then picked up and placed in front of the bridegroom and the bride's mother takes her stand upon it and touches (*baran*) the forehead of the bridegroom with water paddy and *dun / a* grass betel and areca nut white mustard seed curds white sandal paste vermilion a looking glass a comb a bit of clay from the bed of the Ganges a yak's tail shells a cluster of plantains and certain other odds and ends while the rest of the women keep up the cry of *ulu ulu*. The bridegroom's height is measured with a thin thread which the bride's mother eats in a bit of plantain. She then places a weaver's shuttle (*m / ku*) between his folded hands and ties them together with thread and calls upon him now that he has been bound hand and foot to bleat once like a sheep to signify his humility and subjection. Last of all she touches his breast with a padlock and turns the key whereby the door of speech is closed to the passage of harsh words against the bride.

(1) *Sitpal* or the seven rounds of the bride. The bride is now brought out attired in a red silk cloth and seated on a painted board is carried by two men seven times round the bridegroom who remains standing and then placed in front of him. As they face each other a cloth or cover is thrown over them and their natural shyness being thus for the moment hidden they are supposed to snatch the *ibhaskrishti* or auspicious glance which will secure their mutual happiness during their married life. Then follows—

(c) *Mal / adan* or the exchange of garlands when the bride and bridegroom give each other garlands of flowers.

II *San / pra / an* or the gift and acceptance. The bride and bridegroom are next brought to a place set apart in the outer apartment or

courtyard of the house, where the bride's party and the bridegroom's party can witness the formal gift of the bride and her formal acceptance by the bridegroom. The bride's father or guardian repeats the *mantras* recited by the family priest, and the bridegroom accepts the gift in these words — Who gave her? To whom did he give her? Love gave her. To love he gave her. Love is the giver. Love is the taker. Love pervades the ocean. With love I accept her. Love! may this be thine.

At the same time wedding presents (*dan* or *dan sāmāgrī*) are given to the bridegroom and after this the father or guardian is required to bear witness to the contract entered into by the bridegroom by accepting the bride as a token of his assent to the marriage accepts a present of five *hṛitakī* fruits and a piece of cloth. This present is called the *parihar*.

III *Dopara* or the bridal wake. The bridegroom is next conducted along with the bride to a room in the inner apartment of the house a corner of his *chadar* being tied to a corner of her cloth. The pair are there received by a bevy of young ladies who make it their business to tease the bridegroom and try to keep him awake for the rest of the night.

IV *Kusandika* includes the *saptapadi gaman* or pacing of the seven steps which may be deemed the essential and binding portion of the marriage rite observed by the higher castes. A sacred fire is prepared and worshipped with oblations of ghee. On the north side of the fire seven points are marked off and the bride setting her face westward walks along these points, placing her foot on each in turn. As she walks her husband follows close behind her touching her heel with his toe and reciting at each step *mantras* or sacred texts.

Saptapadi gaman is followed by *notra paribartan* or the changing of the bride's *gotra* for that of the bridegroom and the *sindūr dan* or the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair. The latter ceremony is performed by the husband with his own hand.

Properly speaking *kusandika* ought to take place on the day following the marriage but Tuesdays and Saturdays are considered unlucky days for the ceremony, and if the day after the wedding is Tuesday or Saturday, *kusandika* is deferred till the day following that. It is usually performed at the house of the bridegroom but if he lives a long way off the ceremony is performed at the bride's father's house. The marriage proper ends with *kusandika* but certain minor ceremonies follow which may be briefly mentioned here.

V. The concluding ceremonies—

(a) *Ekul sayyī* or the bed of flowers. On the third night after the marriage the married couple are laid together in a bed decorated with flowers.

(b) *Ashta mangala*. On the eighth day the pair are made to enact with toys and cowrie shells a sort of pantomimic drama of their married life playing the part of a faithful husband

and wife and affecting to bear with resignation the vicissitudes of fortunes

(c) *Baubhāt* or *Paka-sparsa* All the *gyātis* relations and friends of the bridegroom are entertained at his house Their acceptance of the invitation is deemed an admission on their part that the marriage has been duly performed and that the ceremonial purity of the bridegroom has in no wise been affected In token of their recognition of this fact they are supposed to eat rice prepared by the bride herself

After the *Paka sparsa* ceremony the bride is sent back to her father's house until she attains puberty When this time arrives it is the custom of some families to perform the ceremony known as *qarbhdāhan* (purification of the womb) or *punarbibaha* This rite to which some Hindu writers have attributed a sort of sacramental character seems to be closely analogous to the practices observed by a number of savage races on a similar occasion The idea seems to be as Mr J G Frazer¹ has pointed out that dangerous influences emanate from a girl when passing through this physical change and it is considered necessary to seclude her from the rest of the community and subject her to a sort of penance which varies greatly in severity Thus the Macusi tribe of British Guiana hang a girl in this state in a hammock at the top of the hut and make her fast rigorously so long as the symptoms are at their height When she gets well the pots and drinking vessels which she has used are broken and after her first bath she must submit to be beaten by her mother with thin rods without uttering a cry Another tribe instead of beating girls who have just recovered from this state expose them to certain large ants whose bite is very painful The usage followed by the Rarhi Brahmans of Bengal is less severe but of the same general character as the savage observances Like the Australian blacks and the African Bushmen they require a girl to live alone and do not allow her to see the face of any male During three days she is shut up in a dark room and is made to undergo certain penances She must lead the life of a Brahmachāri that is she must live upon *ātan* rice and ghee fish and flesh being strictly interdicted and she may not eat any sweetmeats Where this ceremony is observed it is held to be a necessary preliminary to the commencement of marital intercourse By a recent change in the law it has been made criminal to have intercourse with a girl under twelve years of age

It has been mentioned above that the Barendra Brahmans claim to be descended from the five Kanaujiya Brahmans imported by Adisura by their original or Hindustani wives General tradition however rejects the latter portion of the claim and holds that the Barendra are the offspring not of the original wives but of Bengali women whom the Kanaujiyas married after their settlement in Bengal The sub caste takes its name from the tract of country known as Barendra lying

north of the river Padma between the Karatoya and Mahánanda rivers and corresponding roughly to the districts of Pabna Rajshahi and Bogra. Ballál Sen reorganised the Barendra at the same time as the Rárhí Brahmans and divided them into three hypergamous classes (1) Kulin (2) Suddha or pure Srotriya (3) Kashta or bad Srotriya. The first class was subdivided into eight *gan* or communities Bhadrá Bhádri Bhima Laharí Maitra Rudra Vágrí Sadhu Vágri and Santamaní or Sandilya the second into seven groups of the same kind Atharthí Bhattasáhi Champatí Kamadevta Karanján Nandánavási and Navsí and the third into eighty-four families the names of which need not be enumerated here. In addition to the *gans* we find among the Kulins a further division into eight *pat*i or social grades Atab K hní Bainí Bosnah Janail Kutb Kahní Nirbhul Ian huria I sh la. The object of this grouping is not very clear. Every *jan* belongs to a *pat*i but the *pat*i is not always identical with the *gan* for members of the same *gan* sometimes marry into different *pat*is. The *gans* appear to be in theory endogamous. The system of reciprocal marriage (*páti prakṛiti*) which prevails among Rárhí Brahmans is unknown in the Barendra group. The rules governing the three main classes permit a Kulin to marry a Suddhí Srotriya girl and the children of such a marriage rank as Kulins. Should he marry a Kashta Srotriya he loses his kul and becomes a Kápi an irregular group occupying much the same position as the Bansaja among Rárhí Brahmans. If a Barendra Kulin marries the daughter of a Kápi he himself is degraded to the group to which his wife belongs but his children hold somewhat higher rank and are deemed eligible for marriage to Kulins. No Kulin girl may marry below her own class. If a suitable husband cannot be found he goes through the form of symbolical marriage to a figure of *Tusa* grass and has red lead smeared upon her forehead to show that she is really a wife. The *gotras* of the Barendra sub-caste are the same as those of the Rárhí viz. Bharadwaja Kasyapa S'ndilya Savarna and Vatsya. Their commonest titles are Bhattacharya Bhumi Chakravartí Chaudharí Majumdár Parihal and Sikhdár.

Concerning the origin of the Vaidik Brahmans some differences of opinion exist. All agree in honouring them for their adherence to Vedic rites their zeal for Vedic studies their social independence and their rejection of polygamy. From the fact that some of the most important settlements of the sub-caste are found in the outlying districts of Orissa and Sylhet some authorities have been led to describe them as descendants of the original Brahmans of Bengal who refused to accept the reforms of Ballál Sen and took refuge in regions beyond his jurisdiction. Genealogists of rival sub-castes maintain that Ballál Sen excluded them from his scheme on the ground that they did not come up to his standard of purity of descent. Buchanan mentions a tradition lingering among the Vaidik Brahmans of Dinápur that they had been introduced into that district by Advaita Suóuddhi Narayána Rájá of Sylhet. In Orissa on the other hand the representatives of this sub-caste are said to have come direct from Kanauj and to have

made their first settlement in Puri about the twelfth century A.D. This opinion derives support from Mr Sherring's statement that the Kanauiya Brahmans of Benares recognise the Vaidik as a branch of their own tribe who have settled in Bengal.

There are two main divisions of Vaidik Brahmans—(1) *Laschátya* or western claiming to have come from Kanauj and (2) *Dakshinatya* or southern tracing their origin to the original Bengal stock. The *Paschatya* had originally eleven *gotras* divided into two groups known as the *parcha* and *shash*. The former included Bharadwaja Sandilya Saunaka Savarna and Vasishtha; the latter Gautama Kasvapa Krishnátreya Rathikara Sunaka and Vachyara. The Bharadwaja *gotra* however became extinct its place being taken by the Sunaka *gotra* of the Shash group. In course of time other *gotras*—Ghríta Krúshí Maitrayali Tuthikara and Upamanya came to be formed but the relations of these to the original eleven are not very precisely defined.

Vaidik Brahmans have no Kulins and their *ghataks* or genealogists are Brahmans of other sub castes. Their titles are the same as those of other Bengal Brahmans Bhattacharya Chakravarti and Thakur are common designations among them. The *Paschatya* branch is said to have been formerly distributed in fourteen *siláns* or settlements. Three of these—Dadhichigram Marichigram and Santali—have now disappeared and even their sites are unknown. Of the remaining eleven—Chandradwip Kotilpada Samanta Sára—are in Backergunge Alamáí Brahma Paráka Jayári in Raishahi Akhará Gauráí Jani Kantaka in Faridpur Madhyadesa in Jessore and Navadvipa in Nuddea. In theory these settlements seem to have been of the same character as the *mis* created for the Rurhi Brahmans by Deví Vará. It was intended that all Vaidik Brahmans should reside in one of these villages and that marriage should be restricted to the local limits laid down. At the present day however many families live elsewhere and intermarry with families similarly situated. They can however rejoin the original *Samaí* or association of communes on payment of a heavy fine.

According to popular tradition the Saptasatí Brahmans are descended from the seven hundred ignorant Brahmans sent by Adisura to the Court of Kanauj for the purpose of learning their priestly duties. Others trace their origin to certain Brahmans who were exiled beyond the Brahmaputra river for resisting the innovations of Ballál Sen. It seems to be certain that they are peculiar to Bengal and that they cannot claim connexion with any of the ten standard Brahmanical tribes. This view is borne out by the names of their *gotras* which as will be seen from the list given in the Appendix differ entirely from the standard Brahmanical series and appear to be of a local or territorial rather than of an eponymous type. The Saptasatí themselves virtually admit their inferiority to the other orders of Brahmans. Men of education and respectability are reluctant to admit that they belong to this sub caste all distinctive practices are being abandoned and the entire group seems likely to be absorbed in the Srotriya grade of Barhi

Brahmans The Saptasati have no Kulin nor do they keep ghats for the purpose of maintaining genealogies. Notwithstanding this they give their daughters in marriage to Kuls of the Rarhi sub caste and by paying a heavy dowry often amounting to as much as one thousand rupees may even obtain brides from families of the Srotriya class. It is further said that a Rarhi Kulin will eat and drink with the Saptasati while a Kulini though of lower rank than a Kulin would consider this a degradation. The ordinary title of the Saptasati is Sarma not Dev Sarma as among the ten recognised tribes Chakravarti Chaudhuri Das and Sarkar are also common appellations.

The Madhyasreni Brahmins profess to derive their name from the fact of their original settlements being in the district of Midnapur lying midway (Madhyadisa) between Bengal and Orissa. They say that their ancestors were Rarhi Brahmins who settled early in Ballal Sen's reign in pargana Mayna in Midnapur. When Ballal Sen was engaged in suppressing the Brahmins of the rest of Bengal according to their degree of virtue he sent a *plutologist* or genealogist to the Brahman settled in Mayna to include them in the scheme. They declined however to have anything to say to the institution of Kulinism and there are no Kuls among them to this day. For their resistance Ballal Sen would threaten to be cut off from the rest of the caste and all intercourse between them and the Brahmins of Bengal proper was strictly forbidden. The Rarhi Brahmins of the present day with whom the Madhyasreni thus claim kinship are by no means inclined to accept this legend as true. They point out that it is *most unlikely* that a colony of Rarhi Brahmins should have left their original seats for no particular reason and have settled in an out of the way place like pargana Mayna. Again it is said if the Madhyasreni were really Rarhi Brahmins how is it that they have eight *gotras* including Parasara Gautama and Ghrita Kanika while the true Rarhi have only five? Gautama and Ghrita Kanika are found among the Brahmins of Orissa and Parasara is said to be characteristic of the Saptasati Brahmins of Bengal whose ignorance of correct ritual compelled Adisura to import the ancestors of the Rarhi Brahmins from Kanauj. On these grounds it is conjectured that the Madhyasreni Brahmins may be a composite group made up of members of the Rarhi Utkal and Saptasati sub castes who for some reason broke off from their own classes settled in an outlying district and in course of time formed a new sub caste. Some go so far as to suggest that the original Madhyasreni were expelled from their own sub caste and put to a local tradition attaching to them the name *Madhyasreni* guilty of drunkenness in support of this view. Although the standard form of Kulinism is not recognised by the Madhyasreni the families among them who bear the Rarhi Kulin names of Mukharji Chatterji Banerji are specially sought after in marriage which practically comes to much the same thing. Another curious form of hypergamy is also in force among them. People who live in the four villages (Bhamua in pargana Mayna

Gokulnagar in Chetua and Mahárájput and Bhogdanda in Kedar) supposed to be the original seats of the caste are held in great honour and residents of other villages who marry their daughters to them are expected to pay a heavy bridegroom price

Most of the Madhyasreni are worshippers of the Saktis but in the matter of religion and ceremonial observances generally they do not depart materially from the practices of other Brahmans. It should be observed however that widows among them are allowed to eat uncooked food on the eleventh day of either fortnight of the moon while the widows of other Brahmanical sub-castes are not allowed to touch even water on that day. Some Madhyasrenis again serve the Golas or Gops as their family priests and others are said to eat uncooked food at religious ceremonies performed by members of the Kaibartta caste and to accept gifts from them on those occasions.

The most striking features in the organization of the Brahman caste in Behar are the great number of sub-castes and sections and the complexity of the system of exogamy which prevails among them. All recognise the classical traditions concerning the origin of Brahmans in general and to these are superadded a number of more or less credible legends designed to account for the separation of particular groups from the main body.

The few SARASWATA Brahmans who are found in Behar claim descent from the Aryan tribe of the Saraswata who inhabited the banks of the Saraswata river in the Panjab. They rank as the first of the five Gauras living north of the Vindhya range. The Saraswatas of the Panjab have a very large number of subdivisions deriving their names from the places in which their ancestors had settled or from nicknames given to individuals. Lists of these were collected by Pandit Radha Krishna for Dr John Wilson and are given in the second volume of the latter's work on Indian castes. No attempt however is made to distinguish the endogamous, exogamous and hypergamous groups and it is clear from an examination of the lists that sub-castes, sections and titles denoting hypergamous classes have been mixed up together. The Saraswat Brahmans of Behar a comparatively small community living at a great distance from the main body of their tribe have been unable to maintain the elaborate endogamous organization which is found among their brethren in the Panjab. They have no sub-castes and the titles Sukul Bhopai Awasthi etc. which are found among them do not appear to have any bearing upon marriage. Within the last few years they have begun to intermarry with the Gaur Brahmans.

The KANYA KURJA or KANAUIA Brahmans are counted among the five Gauras. Three main divisions of them are found in Behar: (1) ANTARVARDI or KANAUIA proper coming from the country between the Ganges and Jamna; (2) SARJUPARI or SARWARIA who are said to have settled on the east of the Sarju or Gogra in the time of Raja Aja, grandfather of Rama. Another story of the origin of the Sarwaria group is worth telling here for the light that it throws

upon the part which misunderstood names may play in the growth of popular tradition — Once upon a time there were two brothers Kanha and Kubja. They lived at Kanauj and their descendants were called Kanaujia Brahmins. Now Ram Chandra King of Ajodhya wished to perform the great sacrifice of a horse and sent for the Kanaujia Brahmins to help him. When they were starting their father made them promise not to take any present for what they were going to do. But it seems that the sacrifice was of no effect unless the Brahmins were duly rewarded. The Rajá knew this and caused diamonds to be hidden in the packets of betel which he gave to the Brahmins. When they got home their father asked if they had taken any presents and they said they had not. But when the packets of betel were opened the diamonds were found and these Brahmins were at once turned out of their caste. So they went back to the king ready to curse him for his treachery. But he appeased them with smooth words and with grants of land to dwell on and the grants were made in this way. The king shot an arrow as far as he could and the place where it fell was the boundary of the land. Now the name of an arrow is *sar* so these Brahmins were called Sarwaria (i) Sanádhia or Sanaudhia a group of inferior status concerning whom the following legend is told. It is said that Rama King of Ajodhya celebrated his sacrifice and made a great feast to which he invited all the Kanaujia Brahmins. In order to test their orthodoxy he desired them to perform the sacrifice and afterwards to partake of the feast fully clothed and not merely with a loin cloth on as is the custom of Brahmins. The Sarwaria and the Antardvedi declined to agree to this departure from established usage but the Sanaudhia attended the feast and did as the king suggested. For this breach of Brahmanical etiquette they were cut off from communion with the orthodox and degraded to a lower level of social and ceremonial purity. The Kanaujias as a class are tall and athletic though wanting in the peculiar fineness of feature and intellectual cast of countenance which distinguish the higher grades of Brahmins in other parts of India. Those of them who enlisted in the Native Army are known as Furbias or men of the east in contradistinction to the people of the Deccan and one of their titles Panre or Pande being originally a corruption of the word *pant* a clothed man became under the form of Pandi the generic designation of the mutineers of 1857. Their immoderate scruples concerning ceremonial purity in matters of food and drink are held up to ridicule in the well known proverb *Tim Kanaujia tera chulha* — Three Kanaujias want thirteen fireplaces.

The Gaur Brahmins of Behar like their brethren of the Delhi district insist that their designation is derived from the ruined city of Gaur or Lakhnauti in Maldah once the capital of Bengal. They say that their ancestors left Gaur in the days of the Khánnavas at the commencement of the Kali Yuga and settled in the country round Delhi. Another version of the same story is that Rájá Agar the eponym of the Agarwal caste sent for these Brahmins from Bengal in the

same way as Alisor summoned Brahmans from Kanauj. The tradition reversing as it does the usual direction of the advance of the Brahmanical tribes has been received with doubt by all writers on the subject of caste. General Cunningham's opinion that the Gaur Brahmans must have belonged originally to the district of Gonda and not to the mediæval city of Gaur in Bengal seems to offer the best solution of the difficulty. The Gaur Brahmans serve the Agarwals as priests—a fact which is in keeping with and may have given rise to the legend noticed above. In Behar they recognise two sub-castes ADI GAUR and MADHA GAUR. Many observers have remarked on the liberal spirit displayed by the Gaur Brahmans and on their freedom from that pedantry which the Kanaujis show in caste questions. We may perhaps claim as an illustration of these qualities the fact that within the last few years intermarriage between Gaur and Saraswata Brahmans has come to be recognised in Behar. On the other hand it is equally probable that this relaxation of the strict rule of exogamy may have been the result of the numerical weakness of the two groups. The members of a small sub-caste broken up as such a group necessarily is into a number of exogamous groups and scattered over a large area of country are bound to find considerable difficulty in getting their daughters married. Whenever this difficulty occurs the tendency will be to enlarge the matrimonial circle so as to increase the number of husbands available at a given time. The Gaur and Saraswata Brahmans both immigrant into Behar from a distant part of India and separated from their original home by a number of intervening tribes would be in much the same position as the Kayasths and Baidyas in the outlying districts of Eastern Bengal and would like them be driven to modify the strict rules of caste in accordance with the dictates of social necessity.

The MAITHIL or TIRHUTIA Brahmans rank among the Panch Gaur. Their name is derived from Mithila, an ancient division of India comprising the modern districts of Sirin, Muzafferpur, Darbhanga, Lurniah and part of Nepal. Dr. Wilson following Colebrooke observes that fewer distinctions are recognised among the Maithil Brahmans than among any other of the great divisions of Brahmans in India. This statement needs to be qualified. It is true that the Maithil have no endogamous divisions, but their exogamous groups are peculiarly numerous and complex and they have a complete hypergamous system. For the latter purpose the caste is divided into five groups—SROTTRIYA or SOLE JOG, PANJABADI, NAGAR and JAIWAR—which take rank in this order. A man of the Srottriya group may take a wife from the lower groups and is usually paid a considerable sum of money for doing so, but he loses in social estimation by the match and the children of such unions though higher than the class from which their mothers came are nevertheless not deemed to be socially equal to the members of their father's class. The same rule applies to the other classes in descending order: each may take wives from the groups below it. The principle of this rule is the same as that followed by

disuse and the Sākadvīpi themselves prefer the legend associating them with Rama's famous invasion to that connecting them with a part of the country proverbial among Hindus for its ceremonial impurity. At the present day the bulk of the sub-caste are employed as priests in Rajput families, some are landholders, some practise Hindu medicine. It is a curious fact that although the Sākadvīpi have the standard eponymous *gotras* of the Brahman caste, their marriages are regulated not by these but by ninety-five *purs* or divisions of the local or territorial type, that is to say a Sākadvīpi man may marry a woman of his own *gotra* who in theory is descended from the same mythical ancestor (*rishi*) as himself but may not marry a woman whose forefathers are shown by the name of her *pur* to have come from the same village or the same tract of country as his own. To abandon the *gotra* altogether and to substitute for it exogamous divisions based on a wholly different order of facts involves so serious a departure from orthodox usage that one is inclined to doubt whether the Sākadvīpi can ever have been organized on the regular lines. This doubt is borne out by the statement made by Mr Sherring that the test applied to a stranger pretending to be a Sākadvīpi is to offer him what is called *ghutha pani* or water from a vessel from which another person has drunk — a custom prohibited by all strict sects of Hindus. Should the stranger not be a Sākadvīpi, he will refuse the water, probably with some indignation, as by drinking it his caste whatever it was would be broken. If a Sākadvīpi, however, he will take it readily.

According to Mr John Beames the best living authority on all questions touching the history of Orissa —

Utkal

Tradition relates that the original Brahmins of Orissa were all extinct at the time of the rise of the Gangā Vansa line of kings but that 10,000 Brahmins were induced to come from Kanauj and settle in Jājpur, the sacred city on the Baitarani river. The date of this immigration is not stated but the fact is probably historical and may have been synchronous with the well-known introduction of Kanauj Brahmins into the neighbouring province of Bengal by King Adisura in the tenth century. When the worship of the idol Jagannath began to be revived at Puri the Kings of Orissa induced many of the Jājpur Brahmins to settle round the new temple and conduct the ceremonies. Thus there sprang up a division among the Brahmins, those who settled in Puri being called the *Dakṣiṇatyā Sreni* or southern class and those who remained at Jājpur the *Uttarā Sreni* or northern class. This latter spread all over Northern Orissa. Many of the southern Brahmins, however, are also found in Balasor and the divisions of the two classes are fairly represented in most parts of the district though the southern class is less numerous than the northern. The former are held in greater esteem for learning and purity of race than the latter. Mr Beames goes on to explain how these two sub-castes are further broken up into functional divisions according

to the Veda whose ritual they profess to observe and into *gotras* or exogamous groups. In addition to this certain titles or *upathis* are appropriated to particular *gotras* for which they serve as Mr Beames points out the purpose of surnames. It is perhaps due to this connexion with the *gotra* that the titles themselves are frequently used as exogamous divisions. The scheme of *srenis gotras upathis* and Vedic classes worked out by Mr Beames is shown in the Appendix. Concerning the *gotra* names he observes that they are for the most part patronymics from well known Rishis and are identical with many of those still in use in the North Western Provinces. This circumstance seems to add confirmation to the legend of the origin of this caste from Kanauj. A Rishi's name occurs also among *upathis* in course of which Srangir being from Sanskrit Sarngir, patronymic from Srangir Rishi.

The entire series of names offers an interesting illustration of the curious complexity of the internal structure of the Brahman caste. Starting with the two groups DAKSHINAYANA and UTTARA based upon territorial habitat we find each of these broken up into smaller groups taking their names from certain specialised functions and also into groups tracing their descent from a mythical ancestor while through the whole runs a fourth series of distinctive titles indicating the form of personal merit whether proficiency in religious knowledge, fullness of ascetic virtue or it may be merely descent from famous ancestry. By making it possible to classify families in order as it were of hereditary merit such titles are specially adapted to give rise to a system of hypergamy. Once let it be admitted and placed on record that a particular family has attained to a high degree of ceremonial purity and it follows that marriages with members of that family will acquire a special value which in course of time will take the form of a bride or bridegroom price. But besides this titular groups can also be used for exogamous purpose and this is the case in Orissa though it is extremely unusual among the higher castes. Lastly I may draw attention to the remarkable fact that among the Brahmans of this part of the country unquestionable traces may be found of a survival of the totemist beliefs which are common among the Dravidian and semi Dravidian groups. Thus the Brahmans of the Batasa *gotra* revere the calf as their original ancestor though Pharadwaja claims descent not from the Vedic Rishi but from a bull bearing the same name. The Atreya are the offspring of a deer and will not eat that animal or sit upon its hide. The Kauchibasa trace their lineage to a tortoise and the Kaundinya commemorate their descent from the tiger by refusing to sit upon a tiger skin. No attempt can be made here to account for the prevalence of these superstitions. They may be a survival of ancient Aryan totemism, they may be due to the adoption by the immigrant Brahmans of Dravidian beliefs and observances or lastly they may show that the Brahmans of Orissa are themselves Dravidians or have undergone considerable infusion of Dravidian blood.

An attempt is made in the Appendix to reconcile Mr Beames' account of the divisions of the Northern Orissa Brahmans with the structural divisions of the caste in Orissa generally.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Brahmans in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872.	1881	DISTRICT	1872.	1881.
Bardw	160,634	167,684	Yonkhali	7,653	10,963
Bakura	49,473	84,372	Tpperah	31,020	31,502
Birbhum	42,287	89,734	Chittagong Hill Tracts	15	11
Midnapur	118,700	117,414	Purnea	36,878	47,441
Hughli	107,534	76,271	Gy	64,319	59,570
Hidraha		39,141	hahbad	1,386	11,408
24 Parganas	120,102	114,911	M. Herp	183,777	17,263
Nadua	60,024	51,894	l. l. hana		71,422
Jessore	51,999	57,752	Ban	149,430	7
Khulna	98,719	28,654	hampara	35	721
Mahadbad		3,35	M. ghy	43	71,00
Dhaka	6,280	8,913	hagarp	5,9	3,2
Rajshahi	1,680	1,23	Purnia	29,7	7
Raipur	10	12,775	M. lida	7	1
Hoora	4,283	4,14	S. thal Parganas	9,40	34,7
Fahp	2,5	20,7	C. ttaek	1,3,7	17,1
Danapur	1,00	3,882	P.	80,640	8,72
Jalpaiguri	1,275	9,403	R. lasore	1	1,480
K. h. Behar	51,632	3,0	T. b. tary State	2,7	1,3
Dacca		6,42	H. za. bagh	27,828	4,3
Fridpur	23,294	40	Loh. rida	4,84	2,846
B. k.	68,354	44,736	S. bh. m.	53,71	49
M. mans. nh.	33,414	50,12	M. bh. m.	7	8,452
Chittagong	22,657	21,365	T. b. tary States		

Bráhmaṇ a synonym for Babhan a religious group of Jugs in Bengal

Brahmapur a *samaj* or local group of the Sabarna *gotia* of Iáschátya Baidik Brahmans in Bengal

Bráhmaṛsh a section of the Bhar caste in Western Bengal. The term appears to have been borrowed from the Brahmanical system in comparatively recent times as the caste has also a set of the totemistic sections characteristic of the Kolarian races. An eponymous section of Santhals and Tantis in Bengal

Brahma vád a title of Brahmans meaning one who asserts that Brahma—the one spirit—really exists and nothing else

Bráhmichá a *thar* or sept of Sunuáras in Darjiling

Brahmima Dhan a *thar* of the Basishtha *gotia* of Nepáli Brahmans

Braili a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Brajabasi (i) residents of Braj the tract of country round Brindaban in the North Western Provinces (ii) the warlike character of the Braj people has led to the term Brajabási being used to denote an armed attendant one carrying arms as a sword and shield or sometimes a matchlock and employed as a door keeper a guard or an escort (iii) a synonym for *Budhya gati*

Brangplagi a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Bridhdha a section of Brahmans

Brihaspati a section of Brahmans

Brihatbat a section of Chásá dhobas in Bengal

Bryia a synonym for Binjhi

Brijá Agaria a sub tribe of Agarias in Chota Nagpur

Brikhan a section of the Kora caste in Western Bengal

Bud or Budwar Wednesday a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Budhaure a *mul* of the Kayapa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Budhbans a sept of the Chamlins division of Lepuhs in Bihar

Budhware Mahes a *mul* of the Batya section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Budhwáre Sakur a *mul* of the Batsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Budhwáre Dumrá a *mul* of the Batsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Budhware Balhá a *mul* of the Batsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Budhwark a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmins in Behar

Buim a worm a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bukharia a title of Babhins in Behar

Bukru a sept of Lohars and Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Bulun a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Bylung a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Bumakamchha a *thar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Buná *I am* *Puno* the vague popular designation of a number of castes and tribes in Central and Eastern Bengal who are believed to have immigrated into that part of the country from Western and Northern India from Chota Nagpur. The term does not lend itself to precise definition but I believe the following to be a fairly complete list of the tribes which it ordinarily included — (1) Khuy (2) Jhum (3) Jh (4) Buim (5) Ch (6) Khawar (7) K (8) Mui (9) Orion (10) Rajbansi (11) Rajwar (12) Santal. Of these all but the Lepuhs are natives of Western Bengal or Chota Nagpur where the undulating nature of the country and the system of terracing for rice render the cultivation of cereals with crops such as wheat, mullis and the like exceedingly small. The result is that from the end of November to about the middle of April the peas who live by field labour have practically nothing to do and wander eastwards in large numbers in search of work. Many if not most of them are employed in getting in the rice harvest of Central and Eastern Bengal some clear the *hars* of the Muni and Prahmaputra or sow indigo for the planters of Rajshahiye while others find employment near the meadows and the municipalities of Calcutta and its suburbs. Towards the middle of March this stream of labour again sets westward and long lines of men may be met returning to plough their own fields with the first showers of April. Some however stay behind and settle in a more or less nomadic fashion in the districts east of the Hughli. To these

scattered colonists who are freed from scruples in the matter of food cuts them off from their more orthodox neighbours who repel the Hindu by eating fowls and the Mahomedan by their partiality for pork the natives of Central and Eastern Bengal have given the name of Buna. The etymology of the word is obscure but I suspect it to be a corrupted form of *ban* or jungle having reference either to the fact that the castes and tribes in question had from the jungles of Western Bengal or to the aptitude that they show for clearing and bringing under cultivation waste lands covered with jungle. In either case it is closely analogous to the word *jungly* which is used by persons concerned with emigration to the tea districts as a general designation for all coolies who come from Chota Nagpur.

The aggregate denoted by the word Buna has some points of resemblance to a caste in the popular sense of the word. Its members bear a common descriptive name perform very similar functions and I believe eat certain kinds of food and smoke tobacco together. They do not however intermarry and the various castes and tribes grouped together in Eastern Bengal under the name of Buna regard themselves in their own country as perfectly distinct. It is of course difficult to define precisely the extent of the *saprophytism* that has taken place between them in their new homes but it is at least conceivable that the bonds which now unite them may hereafter be drawn closer and that the different members of the Buna group may in course of time intermarry without regard to the caste to which they originally belonged. Should this be the case it will serve to illustrate a process which I believe very rarely occurs—the formation of a caste by the reintegration of units already differentiated from a common stock. It is tolerably certain that most of the castes included among the Bunas are offshoots from the great aboriginal race whom the Aryans found in possession of the plains of India. They have however long ago parted into separate marriage groups and it will be curious to see whether their comparative isolation as settlers in Central and Eastern Bengal causes them to reunite. The only analogous instance that I know of is that of the Chhattarkhai caste in Orissa.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Buna group in 1872 and 1881. The statistics are not very valuable as many Bunas would probably have described themselves by the name of their own caste instead of by the less definite generic term Buna.

Caste	1872		D	1881	
	1872	1881		1872	1881
Bardwa	80		R	3	178
Barkara	217	47	B	2	
Bithum	44	5	P	5	210
Madhwa	6	2	I		
Bithum with Bhawal	945		I	0	1
Madhwa	1101	631	I	2	235
Nitya	108	1	B		
Madhwa	61		M		345
Khila	1	1	M	1	5
Madhwa	3		S		11
Dhara	3	1	I		22
Bithum	111	1	M		200

Banā Pān a sub caste of Pans in Orissa

Buna Rajwār a designation of Rajwars who have emigrated from their original home in Chota Nagpur and settled as *lunas* or clearers of jungle in Bengal or Behar

Bundelā a sept of Rajputs in Behar possibly connected with the spurious tribe of Rajputs who give the name to the province of Bundelkhand. The latter are descended from the Garhwars of Kantil and Khairagarh and first settled in Bundelkhand in the thirteenth or fourteenth century

Bundra a sub sept of the Besra sept of Santals

Bunduar a sept of Ghasis in Chota Nagpur

Bung or **Bungza** a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Bunichhor a section of Kanaujiā Lohars in Behar

Burāthokī a sub tribe of Mangars in Darjiling

Burdewā a *thar* or sept of Damis in Darjiling whose chief profession is swimming

Burialī Kalundia a sept of Hos in Singhbhum

Buri Samat a sept of Hos in Singhbhum

Buru a sept of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Buru birit of the hills a sub sept of the Marndi sept of Santals

Busgarait a section of the Kumar sub caste of Dosadhs in Behar

Butepāchha a *thar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Buthuja a *thar* or sept of the Birah Gurung sub tribe of Gurungs in Darjiling

Butka Sudhá a sub caste of Sudhas in Orissa

Butku a section of the Kora caste in Chota Nagpur the members of which will not touch or kill a pig

Byābahārī a sub caste of the Kochh tribe in Dinajpur

Byallh Sansk. *Vyidha* a synonym for *Lediya qv*

Byādhā a sub caste of Parsi in Behar whose original occupation was to gather and sell *bydhā* the water chestnut (*Triphena*). Most of them have now abandoned this undertaking extracting and selling the juice of the toddy palm

Byangnasī a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Byapri a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

C

Cháb or *Chábi* a sub caste of Gonorhis in Behar. Some of them disown all connexion with the Gonorhis and claim to be a separate caste. Their houses are often circular.

Chabdiá a section of Co lis in the North Western Provinces

Chábuksawár a rough rider a groom a jockey—in occupation usually followed by Mohammedans

Chachet a small bird a totemistic sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Chadchák a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Chadu a bird, a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chaencháir a bird a totemistic sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Chah-ba a *ru* or sept of Sherpa Bhotias of Nepal.

Cháhi or **Cháhirá** a sub-tribe of Rajputs properly natives of Hissar mostly converts to Mohammedanism. They nevertheless

retain charge of the tomb of Goga Chauhan a Hindu prince now esteemed a saint

Chahraita a section of the Pachanya sub caste of Doms in Behar

Chahubar a section of Ghásis in Chota Nagpur

Chái a title of Káibarttas in Bengal a synonym for Chain

Chaián a hypergamous group of Karans in Orissa

Chai-bisa a sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling and the Eastern Himalayas

Chail a title of Lambus in Bengal

Chailáhá a section of the Barchhi and Jaiswar Kalwars in Behar

Chaimarar a title of the Chain sub caste of Nuniyas in Behar

Chain a sub caste of Nuniyas in Behar also a title of Bangaja Káiyasths

Chain *Chai Barchain* a cultivating and fishing caste of Behar and Central India probably in offshoot from some non Aryan tribe. The Chains are found in Oudh where Mr. Carnegie connects them with the Jharu Raju Nat and other broken and gypsy like tribes inhabiting the base of the Himalayas and traces in their physiognomy features peculiar to Mongolian races. Mr. Sherring again in one place speaks of them as a sub caste of Mallahs in another as a class of jugglers thimble riggers and adventurers who attend fairs and other festivals like men of the same profession in England. A sub caste of the Nuniyas bears the name Chain but the Nuniyas do not admit any

affinity Mr C I Magrath in his *Memoirandum on the Tribes and Castes of Bihar* published in the *Bengal Census Report of 1872* says they closely resemble Binds in their occupation being chiefly boat men who also engage in fishing. Chins are thickest south of the Ganges while Binds are most numerous in North Bihar. Mr Magrath adds that their reputation as thieves impostors and swindlers is in his experience not altogether deserved as the men whom the common people and even the police have described as Chins usually turned out on inquiry to be Maghaya Doms Nuts or Rajwars. The term *Chupra* however is a common expression for stealing among Hindi speaking natives while throughout Bengal individuals belonging to the caste are watched with great suspicion.

The mulatto complexion of the Chins in Bihar throws no light on the origin of the caste as with it is not uncommon to find one complexion though it is to have been borrowed from the Brahminical Chins practise adult as well as infant marriage but the latter is considered more respectable. Polygamy is permitted if the first wife is barren or suffers from an incurable disease or any serious bodily defect. A widow may marry again. Though not compelled to marry her deceased husband's younger brother it is considered right and proper for her to do so if such a relative exists. The standard of female morality appears to be lax and immoral inclinations are leniently dealt with provided that they occur within the limit of the caste. If a woman gives rise to scandal by an intimacy with a member of the caste she may either obtain absolution by giving a gift to the brethren or her husband may apply to the caste council for a divorce. In the latter case he may marry her lover. For offences outside the circle of the caste no mode of atonement is appointed and a woman who goes wrong with a member of either a higher or a lower caste is turned out of the Chins community and generally becomes a public prostitute.

As among other impure castes a Dasnami Gosain acts as guru a degraded Mithil Brahmin as purohit. In Oudh the Chins worship Mahabira the monkey god Sat Narayana and Devi Litan while they drink spirits and feast on pork. Those whom we find in Bihar like other fisher tribe are followers of the Mahabirya creed while the Bengali member of the caste worship Kola Baba. Both freely indulge in spirits when a favourable opportunity presents itself.

In point of social standing Chins rank with Binds Nuntias and Iasis but nowhere do they rise to the distinction which Binds and Nuntias sometimes attain of giving water and certain kinds of sweetmeats to Brahmans. In Bihar and Central Bengal they are cultivators holding lands as occupancy or more frequently non occupancy raiyats. Others again are landless day labourers or boatmen and fishermen catching mullet with wires of *risma* as the Binds do. In Oudh and the North Western Provinces they are cultivators and prepare *khair* or catechu. In Eastern Bengal they appear as traders in grain and pulse.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Chains in 1872 and 1881 —

D T R C	187	1881	D	1872	1881
B dw	63		M m h	11	3
B l m		17	l l l		314
M l p	501		l k l		
H gh l w th H wral	2			670	47
S l rganas	8	11		9	13
Nad y	8		l l l l	3	
Kl l		171	T l t { M l l	182	0
Jesore	14				87
M rised bnd	28	20			
D dp	7	71	Cj	15	
Raj h hy	882	84	M l		33
Ra p			l l	21	
P h	1				
Du j l g		3	M l l	77	33
Fac	1	3	S l l l rganas		1
F dp	436				

Chaini Chain or Chain asub caste of Mallahs in I char

Chakar a servant

Chákarán properly the plural of *chakar* a servant ordinarily used to denote revenue free or rent-free land appurtenant to the support of persons performing public or quasi public services such as village watchmen messengers accountants and the like. The term has thus come to be used in the Census papers as a designation of the holders of such land

Chaki a title of Barendra Brahmans and Kayasths in Bengál

Chaki Dukri a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Chakkíwálá a flour grinder or miller usually a Kurmi who employs the women of his house or neighbourhood to grind singly

Chakledar the superintendent or proprietor or renter of a *chakla* a large division of a country comprehending a number of *prajanas*

Chakmá Tsakma Tsak Thel (Burm) a Lohitic tribe of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Major Lowin groups them with the Khyoungtha or tribes who live along the river courses as distinguished from the Tounghtha whose settlements are confined to the hills. Concerning this division into river and hill peoples which is believed to have originated with the Arakanese Herr A. Grunwodo¹ remarks that it not only supplies a good outward distinction but is moreover fully justified inasmuch as it at the same time preserves intact the division according to descent. Herr

Tradition. Virchow however observes that these divisions based as they are on the localities of the tribes along the rivers or on the hills must by no means be supposed to represent either genetic or *de facto* homogeneous groups. The traditions regarding the origin of the Chakmas are conflicting and allonge (I)

From *Alt d nam f the Brahmaputr b l d by La s n t* have reference to the *tard th r g* (I d *Alt* 667 *nt*) F Muller (*Alt g m Kthn q ph p* 406) included the Burmese and the tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Arakan under the term *L h ta Volk r*

Summary Notice of the Hill Tribes in Riebeck's *Chittagong Hill Tribes* translated by Keane

that they originally came from the Malay Peninsula (2) that their ancestors were Chaus bursi Kshatriyas of Ch mpanagar in Hindu stan who invaded the Hill Tracts about the end of the 14th century settled there and intermarried with the people of the country (3) that they are the descendants of the survivors of a Mogul army sent by the Vazir of Chittagong to attack the King of Arakan. Owing to it is said to the Vazir declining the food offered to him by a Buddhist Phoongyee whom he met on the way his army was defeated by art magio and his soldiers became slaves to the King of Arakan who gave them land and wives in the Hill Tracts. In support of this tradition Major Lewin refers to the fact that the Chakma Rajas from 1710 to 1830 bore the title Khan. This however clearly proves little as the title is borne by many Hindus and nothing is more probable than that the Rajas of a wild tribe should have borrowed it from the Mohammedan rulers of Chittagong.

The evidence at present available does not appear to warrant any more definite conclusion than that the Chakmas are probably a people of Arakanese origin whose physical type has been to some extent modified by intermarriage with Bengali settlers. This view though deriving some support from the fact that the tribe have only lately abandoned the use of an Arakanese dialect possesses no scientific value as for all we know the settlement in Arakan may be of very recent date and the true affinities of the tribe can only be determined by a thorough examination of their physical characteristics. Dr Riebeck's measurements comprised only three subjects—a number insufficient as Herr Virchow points out to admit of the calculation of an average which shall represent an approximation to the true physical type of the tribe.¹

The Chakmas are divided into three sub tribes—Chakma Doingnak and Tungjainya or Tangjangya.

I ternal t t

The Doingnaks are believed to have broken off from the parent tribe about a century ago when Jaun Baksh Khan was Chief in consequence of his having ordered them to intermarry with the other branches of the tribe. This innovation was violently disapproved of and many Doingnaks abandoned their homes on the Karnaphuli river and fled to Arakan. Of late years some of them have returned and settled in the hills of the Cox's Bazar subdivision. When Captain Lewin wrote the Doingnaks spoke an Arakanese dialect and had not yet acquired the corrupt form of Bengali which is spoken by the rest of the Chakmas. The Tungjainya sub tribe are said to have come into the Chittagong Hills from Arakan as late as 1819 when Dharm Baksh Khan was Chief. A number of them however soon returned to Arakan in consequence of the Chief's refusal to recognise the claims of their leader Phapru to the headship of the sub tribe. About twenty years ago the elders of the Tungjainya sub tribe still spoke Arakanese while the younger generation were following the example

¹ See this was written one hundred specimens of the Chakma tribe have been made available under my supervision. The average cephalic index found in this large number of subjects is 84.5 and the average nasal index is 106.4. A tribe so markedly brachycephalic and platycephalic must clearly be classified as Mongoloid.

of the Chakmas and taking to Bengali. Outsiders are admitted into the tribe. They must spend seven days in the priest's house and then give a feast to the tribe at which certain *mantras* are repeated to sanctify the occasion and fowls and pigs are killed. Persons so admitted are almost invariably natives of the plains who have become attached to Chakma women. Although fully recognised as members of the tribe for social purposes they would be distinguished by the designation Bengali but their offspring will rank in every respect as Chakmas.

A list of the exogamous septs (*goi*) of the Chakmas and Tungjamiyas will be found in Appendix I. I have been unable to obtain a list of the septs of the Döingnaks. It will be observed that many of the septs are of the same type as those found among the Lumbas and Tibetans, that is the name record some curious adventure or personal peculiarity of the supposed ancestor of the sept. Others again are territorial only, instead of taking their names from a village or a tract of country, they follow the names of rivers. The sept name descends in the male line and the rule of exogamy based upon it is unilateral, that is while a man is forbidden to marry a woman belonging to his own sept, there is nothing so far as the rule of exogamy goes to prevent him from marrying a woman belonging to his mother's sept. The prohibition arising from the sept name is therefore supplemented by forbidding men to marry the following relatives and their descendants—Step mother, mother's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, wife's elder sister. After his wife's death a man may marry her younger sister.

Among the Chakmas, as perhaps among the Greeks and Romans in the beginning of their history, the sept is the unit of the tribal organization for certain public purposes. Each sept is presided over by an hereditary *dewan* (among the Tungjamiyas called *ahún*) who represents the family of the founder. This officer collects the poll tax, keeps a certain proportion himself and pays the remainder with a yearly offering of first fruits to the Chief of the tribe. When a wild animal fit for food is killed, he has a right to a share in the carcass. He also decides the disputes mostly matrimonial or more or less connected with women which make up most of the litigation within the tribe and divides the fines with the Chief. Where the sept is large and scattered the *dewan* has subordinate headmen (*kheja*) to assist him. These are exempt from poll tax and *begüm* or compulsory labour but must make to the *dewan* a yearly offering of one measure of rice, one bamboo vessel (*chungá*) of spirits and a fowl.

I quote at length Major Lewin's graphic and sympathetic description of the marriage customs of the Chakmas—

Child marriages among the Chakmas, or indeed among the hill people in general are unknown. There is no fixed time for getting married. Some of the young men indeed do not marry until they reach the age of 24 or 25 after that age however it is rare to see a man unmarried.

Marriage is after this fashion. Father, mother and son first look about them and fix upon a bride. This indispensable preliminary accomplished, the parents go to the house where their intended daughter-in-law resides. They take with them a bottle of spirits (this is an absolute necessity in every hill palaver). The matter will at first be opened cautiously. The lad's father will say, 'That is a fine tree growing near your house. I would fain plant in its shadow. Should all go well, they retire after mutual civilities. Both in going and coming omens are carefully observed and many a promising match has been put a stop to by unfavourable auguries. A man or woman carrying fowls, water, fruit or milk, if passed on the right hand, is a good omen and pleasant to meet with; but it is unfavourable to see a kite or a vulture or to see one crow all by himself cawing on the left hand. If they are unfortunate enough to come upon the dead body of any animal on their road, they will go no further but at once return home and stop all proceedings. Old people quote numerous stories to show that the disregard of unfavourable omens has in former times been productive of the most ruinous consequences.'

By the time a second visit is due the relatives on both sides have been consulted and if all has progressed satisfactorily and there are no dissentient voices, they go accompanied by some of the girls of the village, taking with them presents of curds and *baris* grain and *jourd*, a sweet fermented liquor made from rice. Then a day is settled (after the harvest is a favourite time) and a ring of betrothal is given to the bride. Now also is arranged what price the young man is to pay for his wife for the Chakmas in contradistinction to all our other tribes buy their wives. The ordinary price is Rs 100 to Rs 150. On the marriage day a large stock of provisions is laid in by both houses. A procession of men and women start from the bridegroom's village with drums and music to fetch home the bride. The parents of the bridegroom present their intended daughter with her marriage dress. No ceremony however is performed and the bride after a short interval is taken away accompanied by all her relatives to her new home.

On arriving all enter the house and the bride and the bridegroom sit down together at a small table—the bride on the left hand of her husband. On the table are eggs, sweetmeats, rice and plantains all laid out on leaf platters. The best man (*sowalla*) sits behind the bridegroom and the bride has a representative bridesmaid (*sowalla*) behind her. These two then bind around the couple a muslin scarf asking, 'Are all willing and shall this be accomplished?' Then all cry out, 'Bind them! Bind them!' so they are bound. The married pair have now to eat together, the wife feeding the husband and the husband the wife and as at this stage of the ceremony a great deal of bashfulness is evinced, the bridesmaid and best man raise the hands of their respective charges to and from each other's mouths to the intense enjoyment and hilarity of every one present. After they have thus eaten and drunken, an elder of the village sprinkles them with river water, pronounces them man and

wife and says a charm used for fruitfulness. The couple then retire and the guests keep it up until an early hour on the following morning. The next day at the morning meal the newly married come hand in hand and salute the elders of the families. The father of the bride generally improves this occasion by addressing a short lecture to his son in law on the subject of marital duties. Taleherh says

I have given her to you but she is young and not acquainted with her household duties. If therefore at any time you come back from the *ghum* and find the rice burnt or anything else wrong, teach her do not beat her. But at the end of three years if she still continues ignorant then beat her but do not take her life for if you do I shall demand the price of blood at your hands but for beating her I shall not hold you responsible or interfere.

All marriages however do not go on in this happy fashion. It often happens that the lad and the lass have made up their minds to couple but the parents will not hear of the match. In such a case the lovers generally elope together but should the girl's parents be very much set against the match they have the right to demand back and take their daughter from the hands of her lover. If notwithstanding this opposition the lovers' intentions still remain unaltered and they elope a second time no one has then the right to interfere with them. The young husband makes a present to his father in law according to his means gives a feast to his new relatives and is formally admitted into kinship.

Sexual indiscretions before marriage are not severely dealt with and usually end in marriage. But a man who carries off a young girl against her will is fined Rs 60 and also receives a good beating from the lads of the village to which a girl belongs. Incest is punished by a fine of Rs 50 and corporal punishment. Once married the Chakma women are said to be good and faithful wives and it is unusual for the village council to be called upon to exercise its power of granting a divorce. Such cases however do occur occasionally. The offender has to repay to the husband the bride price and the expenses incurred in the marriage and in addition a fine of Rs 50 or Rs 60 which is divided between the *dewan* or *ahun* of the sept and the Chief of the *ribe*. Divorced women can marry again.

A widow is allowed to marry a second time. She may marry her husband's younger brother but is not obliged to do so. The ceremony is simple consisting mainly of a feast.

The Chakmas profess to be Buddhists but during the last generation or so their practice in matters of religion has been noticeably coloured by contact with the gross Hinduism of Eastern Bengal. This tendency was encouraged by the example of Raja Dharm Baksh Khan and his wife Kalindi Pani who observed the Hindu festivals consulted Hindu astrologers kept a Chittagong Brahman to supervise the daily worship of the goddess Kali and persuaded themselves that they were lineal representatives of the Kshatriya caste. Some years ago however a celebrated Ihoongyee came over from Arakan after the Raja's death to endeavour to strengthen the cause of Buddhism and to take the

Rani to task for her leanings towards idolatry. His efforts are said to have met with some success and the Rani is believed to have formally proclaimed her adhesion to Buddhism.

Lakshmi is worshipped by the Lungjanya sub tribe as the goddess of harvest in a small bamboo hut set apart for this purpose. She is represented by a rude block of stone with seven skins of cotton bound seven times round it. The offerings are pigs and fowls which are afterwards eaten by the votaries. Chakmas observe the same worship with a few differences of detail which need not be noticed here.

Vestiges of the primitive animism which we may believe to have been the religion of the Chakmas before their conversion to Buddhism still survive in the festival called Shongbasá when *ats* or the spirits of wood and stream are worshipped either by the votary himself or by an exorcist (*qha* or *na hli*) who is called in to perform the necessary ceremonies. The demons of cholera fever and other diseases are propitiated in a river bed or in the thick jungle where spirits delight to dwell with offerings of grain fowls ducks pigeons and flowers. The regular priest has nothing to do with this ritual which has been condemned as unorthodox.

At a Chakma village says Major Iwin I was present when sacrifice was performed by the headman. The occasion was a thank offering for the recovery of his wife from child birth. The offering consisted of a suckling pig and a fowl. The altar was of bamboo decorated with young plantain shoots and leaves. On this raised platform were placed small cups containing rice vegetables and a spirit distilled from rice. Round the whole from the house mother's distaff had been spun a long white thread which encircled the altar and then carried into the house was held at its two ends by the good man's wife. The sacrifice commenced by a long invocation uttered by the husband who stood opposite to his altar and between each snatch of his charm he tapped the small platform with his hill knife and uttered a long wailing cry. This was for the purpose of attracting the numerous wandering spirits who go up and down upon the earth and calling them to the feast. When a sufficient number of these invisible guests were believed to be assembled he cut the throats of the victims with his *dio* and poured a libation of blood upon the altar and over the thread. The flesh of the things sacrificed was afterwards cooked and eaten at the household meal of which I was invited to partake.

Of late years Bairagi Vaishnavas have taken to visiting the Hill Tracts and have made a few disciples among the Chakmas. The outward signs of conversion to Vaishnavism are wearing a necklace of tulsi beads (*Ocimum sanctum*) which is used to repeat the *ma ita* or mystic formula of the sect. Abstinence from animal food and strong drink is also enjoined. I understand however that very few Chakmas have been found to submit to this degree of austerity.

Chakmas burn their dead. The body of a man is carried with the head to the west on a pyre composed of five layers of wood that of a woman on a

pyre of seven layers the head being turned to the east. The ashes are thrown into the river. A bamboo post or some other portion of a dead man's house is usually burned with him—probably in order to provide him with shelter in the next world. At the burning place the relatives set up a pole with a streamer of coarse cloth. Infants and persons who die of small pox or cholera or by a violent death are buried. If a man is supposed to have died from witchcraft his body when half burned is split in two down the chest—a practice curiously analogous to the ancient treatment of suicides in Europe. Seven days after death priests are sent for to read prayers for the dead and the relatives give alms. It is optional to repeat this ceremony at the end of a month. At the end of the year or at the festival of *navanha* (eating of new rice) rice cooked with various kinds of curry meat honey wine are offered to departed ancestors in a separate room and afterwards thrown into a river. Should a flea or better still a number of fleas be attracted by the repast this is looked upon as a sign that the dead are pleased with the offerings laid before them.

Like the rest of the Hill Tribes the Chakmas live by *jhum* cultivation which they carry on in the method described below in the article Magh. In spite of the necessarily shifting character of their husbandry they show remarkable attachment to the sites of their villages and do not change these like most of the other tribes. Their bamboo houses built upon high piles are constructed with great care. An excellent sketch of one of these is given by Dr Ruebeck in the book already referred to.

The Census statistics of the Chakma tribe show an extraordinary fluctuation in their numbers which I am wholly unable to account for. In 1872 there were 28 097 Chakmas in the Chittagong Hill Tracts while the Census of 1881 shows only eleven! No attempt is made to clear up this singular *Vollenwanderung* in the text of the Census Report of 1881.

Chakravarti a title borne by some families of Brahmans in Bengal.

Chel a synonym for Tel in Bengal.

Chaksiár a section of Bahans in Behar.

Chakwán a sept of Rajputs in Behar.

Chakwár a *mul* or section of the Ayodhya sub caste of Sonars and Bahans in Behar.

Chalagge a section of the Bahánnajati sub caste of Khatris in Bengal.

Chalak a title of Kaurbtas in Bengal.

Chalaníá a *mul* or section of Kesriwani Bamas in Bihar.

Chalanta a synonym for Doan.

Chalenga a kind of vegetable a totemistic sept of Korwas in Chota Nagpur.

Chalhaka a section of Sonars in Behar.

Chalhásan a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Goria sub caste of Goalas in Behar.

Chalhásinhi a *mul* or section of the Goria and Kishnaut sub-castes of Goalas in Behar whose title is Mandar.

Chalhuk a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Chali rice soup a totemist sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chálisa Chelisyá a *thar* of the Basishtha *gotra* of Nepáli Brahmans

Chakla Sau a synonym for Sunri in Bèngal

Challisghariá a sub caste of Sutradhars in Noakhali

Chaluti a sub caste of Sunris in Western Bengal

Chamagrami a *gotra* of the Kalyapa *tribe* of Barendri Brahmans in Bengal

Chamagu a *thar* or sept of Newars in Darjiling

Chamár, the tanner caste of Behar and Upper India found also in all parts of Bengal as tanner and workers in leather under the name **Chamar** or **Chai nakár**. According to the Puranas the Chamars are descended from a boatman and a Chandal woman but if we are to identify them with the Karavara or leather worker mentioned in the tenth chapter of Manu the father of the caste was a Nishada and the mother a Vaideha. The Nishada again is said to be the offspring of a Bráhmaṇ and a Sudra mother and the Vuleha of a Vaisya father and Bráhmaṇ mother. In one place indeed Mr Sherring seems to take this mythical genealogy seriously and argues that the rigidity and exclusiveness of caste prejudices among the Chamárs are highly favourable to the supposition that Manu's account of them is the true one and consequently that the Chamars being one half of Bráhmaṇical one fourth of Vaisya and one fourth of Sudra descent may hold up their heads boldly in the presence of the superior castes. Stated in this form the argument verges on the grotesque but it appears from other passages that Mr Sherring was strongly impressed with the high caste appearance of the Chamar caste and thought it possible that in this particular instance the traditional pedigree might contain an element of historical truth. Similar testimony to the good looks of the Chamars in certain parts of India comes to us from the Central Provinces where they are said to be lighter in colour than the members of other cultivating castes while some of the men and many of the women are remarkably handsome. In Eastern Bengal again Dr Wise describes the caste as less swarthy than the average Chandál and infinitely fairer with a more delicate and intellectual cast of features than many Bhotiya Brahmans. On the other hand Sir Henry Elliot writing of the North West Provinces says — Chamárs are reputed to be a dark race and a fair Chamár is said to be as rare an object as a black Bráhmaṇ.

Kara Brahman gor Chamár

Inke sath na utariye par

—that is do not cross a river in the same boat with a black Bráhmaṇ or a fair Chamar both objects being considered of evil omen. Mr Ne field thinks the Chamar may have sprung out of several different tribes like the Dom Kanjar Habura Cheri etc the last remains of whom are still outside the pale of Hindu society.

Originally he appears to have been an impressed labourer or *beggar* who was made to hold the plough for his master and received in return space for building his mud hovel near the village a fixed allowance of grain for every working day the free use of wood and grass on the village lands and the skins and bodies of all the animals that died This is very much the status of the Chamár at the present day He is still the field slave the grass cutter the remover of dead animals the hide skinner and the carrion eater of the Indian village Lastly it should be observed that Mr Hewitt whose report on the settlement of the Raipur district is the *locus classicus* for the Chamárs of the Central Provinces clearly regards them as to some extent an exceptional type and lays stress on the fact that they do not present the same degraded appearance as their brethren in other parts of India

Chamárs trace their own pedigree to Ravi or Rui Das the famous disciple of Ram ananda at the end of the fourteenth century and whenever a Chamár is asked what he is he replies a Ravi Das. Another tradition current among them alleges that their original ancestor was the youngest of four Brahman brethren who went to bathe in a river and found a cow struggling in a quicksand. They sent the youngest brother in to rescue the animal but before he could get to the spot it had been drowned. He was compelled therefore by his brothers to remove the carcass and after he had done this they turned him out of their caste and gave him the name of Chamár.

Looking at the evidence as a whole and allowing that there are points in it which seem to favour the conjecture that the Chamáras may be in part a degraded section of a higher race I do not consider these indications clear enough to override the presumption that a caste engaged in a filthy and menial occupation must on the whole have been recruited from among the non Aryan races. It may be urged indeed that the early Aryans were well acquainted with the use of leather and were free from the prejudices which lead the modern Hindu to condemn the art of the tanner as unclean. The degradation of the *Charvannu* of Vedic times into the outcaste Chamár of to day may thus have been a slow process carried out gradually as Brahminical ideas gained strength and the fur Chamár whom the proverb warns men to beware of may be simply an instance of reversion to an earlier Aryan type which at one time formed an appreciable proportion of the caste. All this however is pure conjecture and counts for little in face of the fact that the average Chamár is hardly distinguishable in point of features stature and complexion from the members of these non Aryan races from whose ranks we should *prima facie* expect the profession of leather dressing to be filled. Occasional deviations from this standard type may be due either to *mixtures* with members of the higher castes or to some cause which cannot now be traced.

Like all large castes the Cham rs are broken up into a number of endogamous groups. These are shown in Appendix I but I am doubtful whether the enumeration is complete. The Dhusia sub-cast alone appears to

have exogamous divisions of the territorial or local type while in the other sub-castes marriages are regulated by the usual formula for reckoning prohibited degrees calculated to seven generations in the descending line. Chamars profess to marry their daughters as infants but in practice the age at which a girl is married depends mainly upon the ability of her parents to defray the expense of the wedding and no social penalty is inflicted upon a man who allows his daughter to grow up unmarried. Ideally, my is permitted and no limit appears to be set to the number of wives a man may have.

Like the Doms and unlike most other caste Chamars forbid the marriage of two sisters to the same husband. In the marriage ceremony an elder of the caste presides but a Brahman is usually consulted to fix an auspicious day for the event. The father of the bride receives a sum of money for his daughter but this is usually insufficient to meet the expenses of the wedding. During the marriage service the bridegroom sits on the knee of the bride's father and the bridegroom's father receives a few ornaments and a cup of spirit after which each of the guests is offered a cup. No *nacra* or wedding *wari* is made but a barber prepares and whitewashes a *spas* (*huk*) within which the couple sit. He also stains the feet of the bride and bridegroom with cotton soaked in *la dya* (*altia*) and is responsible that all the relatives and friends are invited to the marriage. The caste elder who officiates as priest binds *mangals* on the wrists of the wedded pair and chants *mantra* or *myti* *vara* while the bridegroom performs *sat* by moving *varila* in the bride's *firah* and the *parting* *firah* for the bride and the *vil* and binding portion of the ceremony. Widows are permitted to marry again. Usually when an elder of this caste holds the younger brother must marry the widow within four or eighteen months unless they mutually consent to a divorce. She returns to her father's house where she is free to marry with any one. If there are children by the first marriage it is the mother's more incumbent on the widow to marry than in other castes but even in this case she is not compelled to do so. The estate of the childless widow remains with the paternal line and the widow forfeits all claim to share in her late husband's estate. On her remarriage the family of her first husband must furnish any compensation for the bride price which they paid for her on her marriage. Before a widow marries in her lifetime through the firm of consulting the *panchayat* via the *bj* it is said of deciding whether the marriage is *will* *tim* *d* or not. Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the *putlayat* of the *st*. Divorced wives may marry again.

By far the most interesting features of the Chamar caste says Dr. Wise are their religious and social customs. They have no prohibited then religious ceremonies like those of the Doms being directed by one of the elders of the caste. But gurus who give *mantra* to children are found and a Hindustani Brahman is often consulted regarding a lucky day for a wedding. Chamars have always exhibited a remarkable

dislike to Brahmans and to the Hindu ritual. They nevertheless observe many rites popularly supposed to be of Hindu origin but which are more probably survivals of the worship paid to the village gods for ages before the Aryan invasion. The large majority of Bengali Chamars profess the deistic Sri Narayani creed. Sants or professed devotees are common among them and the Mahant of that sect is always regarded as the religious head of the whole tribe. A few Dacca Chamars belong to the Kabir faith but none have joined any of the Vaishnava sects.

The principal annual festival of the Chamars is the *Siipanchami* celebrated on the fifth day of the lunar month of *Magh* (January-February) when they abstain from work for two days, spending them in alternate devotion at the *Dhamghar* or conventicle of the Sri Narayani sect and in intoxication at home. The *Dhamghar* is usually a thatched house consisting of one large room with verandahs on all sides. At one end is a raised earthen platform on which the open *Grantha* garlanded with flowers is laid and before this each disciple makes obeisance as he enters. The congregation squats all round the room, the women in one corner listening to a few musicians chanting religious hymns and smoking tobacco and ganja indifferent to the heat, smoke and stench of the crowded room. The Mahant escorted by the Sants carrying their *parwana*s or certificates of membership enters about 1 A.M. when the service begins. It is of the simplest form. The Mahant after reading a few sentences in Nagari unintelligible to most of his hearers receives offerings of money and fruit. The congregation then disperses but the majority seat themselves in the verandahs and drink spirits. If the physical endurance of the worshippers be not exhausted similar services are held for several successive nights but the ordinary one only lasts two nights.

On the *Nauami* or ninth lunar day of *Aswin* (September-October) the day preceding the *Dashara* the worship of *Devi* is observed and offerings of swine, goats and spirits made to the dread goddess. On this day the old Dravidian system of demonolatry or Shamanism is exhibited when one of their number working himself up into a frenzy becomes possessed by the demon and reveals futurity. The Chamars place great value on the answers given and very few are so contented with their lot in life as not to desire an insight into the future. A few days before the *Dashara* the Chamains perambulate the streets playing and singing with

The *Grantha* or scripture of the *Sri Narayani* Sants are believed by them to have been dictated from heaven in compliance with a divine command. They are written in the Devanagari character and are the undoubted composition of the Rishi *Sivanarayana* of *Ghazipur* who wrote them about A.D. 1735.

The most important of these works are the *Guruniya* and the *Satvata*. The former compiled from the *Puranas* and the latter from the *Vishnu* and *Narayan* and the first six treat of the attributes of a future state and the last six of the virtues of a future state and the last six of the virtues of a future state and the last six of the virtues of a future state. The only true understanding is the only true understanding.

a pot of water in the left hand a sprig of *nim* in the right soliciting alms for the approaching Deví festival. Money or grain must be got by begging for they believe the worship would be ineffectual if the offerings had to be paid for. Another of their festivals is the Rámanauamí or birth day of Ráma held on the ninth lunar day of Chaitra (March-April) when they offer flowers betel nut and sweetmeats to their ancestor Ravi Dás.

When sickness or epidemic diseases invade their homes the women fasten a piece of plantain leaf round their necks and go about begging. Should their wishes be fulfilled a vow is taken to celebrate the worship of Deví Sitalá or Jalka Deví whichever goddess is supposed to cause the outbreak. The worship is held on a piece of ground marked off and smeared with cowdung. A fire being lighted and *gha* and spirits thrown on it the worshipper makes obeisance bowing his forehead to the ground and muttering certain incantations. A swine is then sacrificed and the bones and offal being buried the flesh is roasted and eaten but no one must take home with him any scrap of the victim. Jalka Deví is made identical with the Rakshas *Kali* of Bengali villagers and is said to have seven sisters who are worshipped on special occasions.

• The Chamárs of Behar are more orthodox in matters of religion than their brethren of Eastern Bengal and are prepared to conform in the main to the popular Hinduism practised by their neighbours. Some of them indeed have advanced so far in this direction as to employ Maithil Brahmins for the worship of the regular Hindu god while others content themselves with priests of their own caste. In the Santal Parganas such priests go by the name of *puri* and the story is that they are Kanauja Brahmins who were somehow degraded to be Chamárs. Lokesari Rakat Malá Mansarám Lala Kuru Dini Masna Mamri and Jalpait are the special ministers of the caste but Bidi Goraiyá and Kali are also held in reverence. Some hold that Ravi Dás ranks highest of all but he seems to be looked upon as a sort of deity and not as the preacher of a definite religion. The offerings to all of these gods consist of sheep goats milk fruit and sweets of which the members of the household afterwards partake. According to Mr Nesfield the caste also worship the *rupi* or tanner's knife at the Diwali festival. It is a curious circumstance illustrating the queer reputation borne by the Chamárs that throughout Hindustan parents frighten naughty children by telling them that Nona Chamáin will carry them off. This redoubtable old witch is said by the Chamárs to have been the mother or grandmother of Ravi Dás but why she acquired such unenviable notoriety is unknown. In Bengal her name is never heard of but a domestic bogey haunts each household. In one it is the Burhi or old woman in another Bhuta a ghost in a third Iretia a witch and in a fourth Gala Katá Káir literally the infidel with his throat gashed.

In Behar the dead are burned in the ordinary fashion and the *shraddha* performed on the tenth day according to the custom of the thirteen days after death. libations of water (*tarpan*) and balls of rice (*guda*) are offered to the pit

of ancestors in general in the month of *Aswin*. In Eastern Bengal Chamars usually bury their dead and if the husband is buried his widow will be laid beside him if she had been taught the same *mantra* otherwise her body is burned. Saints of the *Sri Nityayani* sect are objects of special reverence and whenever one dies in a strange place the Saint on the spot subscribes and buries him. The funeral procession is impressive but very noisy. The corpse wrapped in a sheet with a roll of cloth wound round the head is deposited on a covered litter. Red flags flutter from the four corners and a white cloth acts as a pall. With discordant music the body is carried to the grave dug in some waste place where it is laid flat not sitting as with the Jugs.

By virtue of his occupation his habits and his traditional descent the Chamar stands condemned to rank at the very bottom of the Hindu social system and even the non Aryan tribes who have of recent years sought admission into the Hindu communion are speedily promoted over his head. His ideas on the subject of diet are in keeping with his degraded position. He eats beef pork and fowls all unclean to the average Hindu and like the gipsies of Europe has no repugnance to cooking the flesh of animals which have died a natural death. Some say that they only eat cattle which have died a natural death but this may be merely a device to avert the suspicion of killing cattle by poison which naturally attaches to people who deal in hides and horns. Despised however as he is by all classes of orthodox Hindus the Chamar is proud and punctilious on certain special points never touching the leavings of a Brahman's meal nor eating anything cooked by a Bengali Brahman though he has no objection to take food from a Brahman of Hindustan. Chamars are says Dr. Wise inconceivably dirty in their habits and offend others besides the Hindu by their neglect of all sanitary laws. Large droves of pigs are bred by them and it is no uncommon sight to witness children and pigs wallowing together in the mire. Hides in various stages of preparation hang about their huts yet strange to say the women are very prolific and except in a fisher settlement nowhere are so many healthy looking children to be seen as in a filthy Chamar village. Mr. Beimes however mentions in a note to his edition of Sir Henry Lillie's *Glossary* that Chamars from their dirty habits are peculiarly liable to leprosy and that the name of the *Kori* or *Korhi* sub caste probably refers to this fact.

Chamars are employed in tanning leather making shoes and saddlery and grooming horses. In Eastern Bengal the Chamar farosh hire them to preserve hides but there is such bitter enmity between them and the allied caste of Muchi or Rishi that they are rarely engaged to skin animals lest the perquisites of the latter group should seem to have been interfered with. To some extent the distinctions between the various sub castes seem to be based upon differences of occupation. Thus the Dhusia sub caste adhere to the original occupation of leather dressing and also make shoes and serve as musicians at wedding and other domestic festivities their favourite instruments being

the *dhul* or drum the cymbals (*ghángh*) the harp (*ektara*) and the tambourine (*khanjari*) Most of these occupations are also followed by the Dharh who besides carry palanquins and eat the flesh of animals that have died a natural death except only the horse The Guria are cultivators some few hold no occupancy rights and others being landless day labourers who wander about and work for hire at harvest time The Jaiswara work as syces the Dohar are cobblers using only leather string and not cotton thread to mend shoes the Sikkharí are cultivators and shoemakers the Chumár Tanti work as weavers and will not touch carrion and the Sarki many of whom have emigrated from Nepal into Chumparan are both butchers and hide dressers Some Chamars burn lime but this occupation has not become the badge of a sub caste though those who follow it call themselves Chumhára In Behar the Chamar is a village functionary like the Chaukidar or Grist He holds a small portion of village land and is invariably called to post up official notices and to go round with his drum proclaiming public announcements

The Chamains or female Chamars wear Dr Wisoo a distinctive garland throughout Bengal by their huge inelegant anklets (*pauri*) and bracelets (*bangri*) made of bell metal The former often weigh from eight to ten pounds the latter from two to four and both closely resemble the corresponding ornaments worn by Santál women They also wear the *tikh* or sinnet on the forehead although in Bengal this regarded as a tawdry ornament of the lowest and most immoral women Chamains consider it a great attraction to have their bodies tattooed consequently their chests and arms and legs are disfigured with patterns of intricate lines In Hindustan the Natis is the great tattooer but as members of this caste are seldom met with in Eastern Bengal the Chamains are often put to great straits being frequently obliged to pay a visit to their original homes for the purpose of having the fashionable decoration indelibly stained on their bodies

Chamar women are ceremonially unclean for ten days subsequent to childbirth when after birth casting away all old cooking utensils and buying new ones a festival called *Bhat* is celebrated upon which she resumes her usual household duties They still observe the pleasing custom of *Bhujholi* on the last day of the Hindu year when sisters present their brothers with a new suit of clothes and sweetmeats and make up with a paste of red sandal wood a dot on their foreheads a similar usage known as *Bhrat* or *dutiya* is practised by Bengalis on the second day after the new moon of Kartik

Chamains are the midwives of India and are generally believed though erroneously to be skilled in all the mysteries of parturition They have no scruples about cutting the navel string as other Hindus have but in the village of the interior where no Chamains reside the females of the Bhummal Chandal and Ghulam Kayath castes act as midwives and are equally unscrupulous It is a proverbial saying among Hindus that a household becomes unclean if a Chamar woman has not attended at the birth of any child belonging to it

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Chamars in 1872 and 1881. The figures of the former year include and those of the latter exclude the Muchis in Bengal Proper

D R	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
R lw	53 4 7	651	T p l	4 2 6	1 740
B k ra	117	308	N kh l	397	944
H l m	3 3	7 7	H l t		4
M l	3	1 33	P t	47 7	7 807
H hl			y	7	7 2
H w h		2 438	h h bad	77	
l un	7 3	11 0	T h t { M ff		
N l y	7 7	1 11	{ D l k	17 7 3	2 7
hl		3 807	S ra	8	1 14
J	992	1	(h p ra	31	1 9
M r d h l		20 74	M hy	4	1
D l	7	1 7	R lp	3 5	7 1
R l l		3 1	I h	3 1	2 1
R p		842	M l h	4 29	4 25
I	7	1 8	S ant l P rpa as	2 46	27 74
P b	5 477	8 3	ta k	1 2 7	1 40
l l g		381		2	1 2
J l	4	8	R l		1 7
K l B l		1 3	r ry R l t	2	
D ca	24 083	8 6	H l gh	1	4
t ly	7	1 9	I l d	1	27
H k rk j	3 19	1 33	M l	1	
M		4 1	M l l	7 4	2 7
C l t ag k	781	527	T l t y b t	3	3

Chámar a sub caste of Tantis in Behar

Chumar a synonym for Chamar

Chamár gaur a division of the Gaur Rajputs—the highest class although from their name liable to the suspicion of intercourse with Chamars. They affect to call themselves Chaunhar gaur from a Rajá named Chaunhar or sometimes Chiman gaur from a Muni called Chunan

Chamar Gaura a sub caste of Gaura Brahmins

Chamartali a section of Chamars in Behar

Chamar Tánti a sub caste of Chamars

Chamkasani a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmins

Chamlingeh a *thar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Champa a *gotra* of the Sándilya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmins in Bengal

Champágain a *thar* of the Ati *gotra* of Nepali Brahman

Champati a *gain* of the Sándilya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmins in Bengal

Champia a bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Champiá Tubir a sept of Hindus in Singbhum

Chamra farosh a dealer usually a Kutí Mahomedan

Chamraulá a section of the Banodhia and Jaiswar Kalwars in B har

Chámuár a *mul* or section of the Naomula or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Chámuk Sápurdih a *mul* or section of the Naomula or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Chan a title of Telis in Bengal

Chána a section of Kumha s in Singbhum

Chanamía a sub tribe of Chandrabansi Rajputs in Jaunpur Azimganj Gorakhpur and North Western Behar

Chanauli a section of the Tirhutya sub caste of Doms in Behar

Chanaur a sub caste of Kurmis in Behar

Chanchai Chhaurá a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Mijraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Chanchmatrariar a totemistic section of the Kurmi caste in Chota Nagpur the members of which will not touch or kill a kind of spider

Chand a title of Gandhabaniks and Tantis in Bengal

Chand moon a totemistic sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur a title of Baruis in Bengal and of the Oswal Banyyas in Behar

Chándá a *mel* or hypergamous sub group of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Chandail a sept of the Surabansi division of Rajputs in Behar

Chandal a synonym for Dom

Chandál ¹ *Chamal Chang* ² *Nama Sudra* ³ *Nama Nishad*

T d t t

a non Aryan caste of Eastern Bengal engaged for the most part in boating and cultivation. The derivation of the name Chandal is uncertain and it is a plausible conjecture that it may have been like Sudra the tribal name of one of the aboriginal races whom the Aryans found in possession of the soil. Unlike the Sudras however the Chandals were debarred from entering even the outer circles of the Aryan system and from the earliest times they are depicted by Sanskrit writers as an outcast and helot people performing menial duties for the Brahmans and living on the outskirts of cities (ante 1) apart from the dwellings of the dominant race. Iron ornaments

The following ym o g v n ly Am S l —Pl va (the w n l e) M ta g (l pl nt) I m h n (l f t k) S p l (dog e t) A t (tl dw ll n th fin f tl ll g) D kirtt and Iukkasa Don t th mm e t the p sent day Chan, Cha ga ay Dr W c h h dsome in Sanskrit a dw m tll ly u d y by th ly H Ju The d t n f th n m s u e t a Dr W thinks it may be f m th S k t N m ad t whf h alway u ed a vocat ve when pray ng or the B ng l Y m t l l w u d r n ath The l tter ugge t n m th m pl bl Th Pund's interpr tation of th t m r und r t od to be that the (h nd l is bound to do obeisan e even to a Sudra It would be p m t on f th Chendals of Manu t get thems l s r g sed as a low d of S d Th n m y al o b ref ed Namasa o L mas M whom s me Cha d l eg rd as th ir mythical a cestor On the oth r hand Namasa Muni himself may have been evol d from the attempt to explain away t e suggestion of inferiority implied in the name Nama Sudra

dogs and monkeys are their chief wealth and they clothe themselves in the raiment of the dead. Manu brands them as the lowest of mankind sprung from the illicit intercourse of a Sudra man with a Brahman woman who not only defiles the pure and who have no ancestral rites. In the Mahabharata they are introduced as hired assassins whose humanity however revolts against putting an innocent boy to death. In the Ramáyana they are described as ill formed and terrible in aspect dressing in blue or yellow garments with a red cloth over the shoulder a bear's skin around the loins and iron ornaments on the wrists. Even the liberal minded Abul Fazl speaks of the Chandals of the sixteenth century as vile wretches who eat carrion. At the present day the term Chandál is throughout India used only in abuse and is not acknowledged by any race or caste as its peculiar designation. The Chandals of Bengal invariably call themselves Nama Sudra and with characteristic jealousy the higher divisions of the caste apply the name Chandál to the lower who in their turn put it on the Dom.

The legends of the Chandals give no clue to their early history and appear to have been invented in recent times with the object of glorifying the caste and establishing its claim to a recognised position in the Hindu system. Thus according to a tradition of the Dacca Chandals they were formerly Brahmins who became degraded by eating with Śūdras while others assert that in days of yore they were the domestic servants of Brahmins for which reason they have perpetuated many of the religious observances of their masters. For instance the Chandál celebrates the *śraddha* on the eleventh day as Brahmins do and the Gayawal priests conduct the obsequial ceremonies of the Bengali Chandals without any compunction. Another story gives them for ancestor Bāmba son of the Brahman Vasishtha who was degraded by his father and turned into a Chandál as punishment for a ceremonial mistake committed by him when granting absolution to Dasarath King of Oudh for killing a Brahman by misadventure while hunting. The Dacca Chandals retain an obscure tradition of having originally migrated from Gya and make mention of a certain Govardhan Chandál as an ancestor of theirs.

Mr Wells' quote a tradition of Hindu invention current among the Chandals of Lardpur to the effect that they were originally a complete Hindu community consisting of persons of all castes from the Brahman downwards who on having the misfortune to be cursed in a body by a vengeful Brahman of unimpeachable sanctity in Dacca quitted their ancestral homes and emigrated bodily to the stultic wastes of Faridpur Jessore and Bagirganj.

Dr Buchanan considered the Chandál of Bengal to be identical with the Dosádh of Behar. Although both are equally low in the scale of caste and characterised by an unusual amount of independence and self reliance very great differences actually exist. The Dosádh worships deified heroes belonging to his tribe the Chandál

never does. The Dosādhi invokes Rāhu and Ketu the former being his tutelary deity while we find no such divinity revered by the Chandāl. Finally the *śādhā* of the Dosādhi is celebrated on the thirtieth day as with the Sūlas that of the Chandāl on the eleventh as with Brāhmaṇas.

Mr Beverley again is of opinion that Chandāl is merely a generic title and the tribe identical with the Māls of the Jyāmāl Hills an un doubted Dravidiān and demonstrate from the Census figures that in many districts the number of Chandāls is in the inverse ratio to the Māls. There appear to be some grounds for this supposition but an obvious error occurs in the return of 463 Māls in Dacca which non-existent with the omission of any Māls who are numerous. The latter though undoubtedly a remnant of some aboriginal race have not yet been identified with the Māls.

It may perhaps be inferred from the present geographical position of the Chandāls that they came into contact with the Aryans at a comparatively late period when the latter system had already been fully developed and alien races were regarded with peculiar detestation. This would account in some measure for the curious violence of the condemnation passed on a tribe in no way conspicuous for qualities calculated to arouse the feeling of physical repulsion with which Hindu writers appear to regard the Chandāls. It is possible also that they may have offered a specially stubborn resistance to the Aryan advance. Dr Wise refers to the facts that they alone among the population of Lower Bengal use the *Khyathi* Nagari the common written language of Dinajpur and that a Chandāl Raja ruled from the fort whose ruins are still shown in the Bhowal jungle to prove that they were in early times a strongly organized commonwealth driven forth from their homes in the north in search of freedom and security for religious worship.

The internal structure of the caste is shown at length in Appendix I. It will be observed that only four exogamous groups are known and that the main body of Chandāls in Eastern Bengal have only one sect *Kasyapa* which is necessarily inoperative for the purpose of regulating marriage. In Bardwan the mythical ancestor Lomasa or Namasa referred to in the note on page 183 appears as a section but here again the system is incomplete. In two sections they are said to be recognised but which have clearly been borrowed from the Brahmanical system with the object of exalting the social standing of the caste. Titles on the other hand are very numerous and in different parts of the country a host of sub castes have been formed having reference for the most part to real or supposed differences of occupation. Thus according to Dr Wise the Chandāls of Eastern Bengal have separated into the following eight classes the members of which never eat and seldom intermarry with each other —

(1) Halwah from *hal* a plough are cultivators (2) Ghāsi are grass cutters (3) Kandho from *śandha* the shoulder are palanquin bearers (4) Karrāl are fishmongers (5) Bārī probably a corruption of *barhai* are carpenters (6) Berua from *byāra ber* an inclosure fishermen (7) Pod (8) Baqqāl traders and hucksters

The Hálwah claim precedence over all the others not only as being of purer descent but as preserving the old tribal customs unchanged. They associate with and marry into Karrál families but repel the other classes. The Pód numerous in Hughli and Jessore but unknown in Dacca are cultivators potters and fishermen and are also employed as club-men (*adhiyals*) in squabbles about landed property.

The question naturally arises whether some at any rate of these groups are not really independent castes whose members would now disown all connexion with the Chandáls. The Pods, for example at any rate in the 24 Parganas affect to be a separate caste and would probably resent the suggestion that they were merely a variety of Chandáls. This fact however does not necessarily affect the accuracy of Dr Wise's observations which were made nearly twenty years ago in the district of Dacca. The subdivisions of the lower castes are always on the look out for chances of promoting themselves and the claims set up by the Póds in the 24 Parganas are quite compatible with the theory that they were originally an offshoot from the Chandáls further east. The tendency towards separation is usually strongest among groups which have settled at a distance from the parent caste.

In Central and Western Bengal the sub castes appear to have reference solely to occupation. Thus in Murshedabad we find the Helo or Hálíyá Chandáls confining themselves to agriculture and the Jelo or Jálíyá making their livelihood as fishermen. The Nolo group make mats and work in reeds (*nal*) and the Kesar Kalo manufacture reed pens. Of the Hughli sub-castes the Saro are agriculturists the Siuli extract the juice of date and palm trees the Kotál serve as *chaukidárs* and *darwáns* while the Nuníá deal in vegetables and fish. The name of the Saralyá sub caste of Npakháli suggests a possible connexion with the Saro of Hughli but the former are fishermen sellers of betel nut and palanquin bearers while the latter deem any occupation but agriculture degrading. The Amarabádi are also fishermen but do not carry palanquins. The Bachhári are cultivators, who deal also in *hogla* leaves and mats. The Sandwipá appear to be a local group who live in the island of Sandip and grow betel for sale. A man or woman of a higher caste living with and marrying a Chandál may be taken into the caste by going through certain ceremonies and feeding the caste men.

Chandáls marry their daughters as infants and observe the

same ceremony as most of the higher castes.

Marriage

in this as in other matters the tendency to arrogate social importance may be observed. Dr Wise remarks that the Chandáls bride who in old days walked is now carried in state in a palanquin; from which it may perhaps be inferred that infant-marriage has been introduced in comparatively recent times in imitation of the usages of the upper classes of Hindus. In the case of the Chandáls it is not due to hypergamy for no hypergamous groups have been formed, and the ancient custom of demanding a bride-price has not yet given place to the bridegroom price insisted on by the higher castes. In Western Bengal, indeed, there would

seem to be some scarcity of women for the usual bride price is from Rs 100 to Rs 150 and as much as Rs 250 is sometimes paid. A similar inference may perhaps be drawn from a statement made to me by a good observer in Eastern Bengal that marriages are usually celebrated in great haste as soon as possible after the contract has been entered into by the parents. The rice harvest when people meet daily in the fields is the great time for discussing such matters and the month of Phalgun when agricultural work is slack is set apart for the celebration of marriages. Polygamy is permitted in theory but the extent to which it is practised depends on the means of the individuals concerned. Widow marriage once universally practised has within the last generation been prohibited. Divorce is under no circumstances allowed.

After the birth of a male child the Chandál mother is ceremonially unclean for ten days but for a female child the period varies from seven to nine days. Should the child die within eighteen months a *chulla* is observed after three nights but should it live longer the obsequial ceremony is held at the expiration of ten days. On the sixth day after the birth of a boy the *Sashthi Puja* is performed but omitted if the child be a girl. Whenever a Chamain or Chulm Kiyasth female is not at hand the Chandálm acts as midwife but she never takes to this occupation as a means of livelihood.

Although the majority of the caste profess the tenets of the Vaishnava sect of Hindus they still retain many peculiar religious customs survivals of an earlier animistic cult. At the *Bastu Puja* on the *Laus Sankrant* when the earth goddess is worshipped the Chandáls celebrate an immemorial rite at which the caste Brahman does not officiate. They pound rice work it up into a thin paste and colouring it red or yellow dip a reversed cup into the mess and stamp circular marks with it on the ground in front of their houses and on the flanks of the village cattle. This observance which according to Dr Wise is not practised by any other caste has for its object the preservation of the village and its property from the enmity of malignant spirits.

In Central Bengal a river god called *Lansura* is peculiar to the fishing sub-castes of Chandáls. His function is supposed to be to protect fish from evil spirits who are on the watch to destroy them and if he is not propitiated by the blood of goats and offerings of rice sweetmeats fruit and flowers the popular belief is that the fishing season will be a bad one.

Throughout Bengal says Dr Wise the month of *Sravan* (July August) is sacred to the goddess of serpents *Manasa Devi* and on the thirtieth day the Chandáls in Eastern Bengal celebrate the *Nao Ka Puja* literally boat worship or as it is more generally called *Chandal Kudem* the Chandáls rejoicing. As its name imports the occasion is a very festive one in *Silhet*, being observed as the great holiday of the year. The gods and goddesses of the Hindu mythology are paraded but the queen of the day is the great snake goddess *Manasa Devi*. A kid milk plantains and sweetmeats are offered to her and the day is wound up with processions of boats boat races

feasting and drinking On the Dacca river the sight is singularly interesting Boats manned by twenty or more men and decked out with triangular flags are paddled by short rapid strokes to the sound of a monotonous chant and as the goal is neared loud cries and yells excite the contending crews to fresh exertions The Kutí Mahomedans compete with the Chandals for prizes contributed by wealthy Hindu gentlemen

Although subdivided according to trades Chandá's actually work at anything They are the only Hindus employed in the boats (bajra) hired by Europeans they form a large proportion of the peasantry and they are shopkeepers goldsmiths blacksmiths carpenters qilmen as well as successful traders They are however debarred from becoming fishermen although fishing for domestic use is sanctioned In Northern Bengal they catch fish for sale

Chandáls have Brahmins of their own who preside at religious and social ceremonies but they are popularly called Barna Brahman or Chandáler Brahman and in Eastern Bengal are not received on equal terms by other members of the priestly caste Their washermen and barbers are of necessity Chandáls as the ordinary Dhobá and Naṭ t decline to serve them In Western Bengal on the other hand Chandáls have their clothes washed by the Dhobá who works for other castes The Bhuinmáli also is reluctant to work for them and there is much secret jealousy between the castes which in some places has broken out into open feuds At village festivals the Chandál is treated as no higher in rank than the Bhuinmáli and Chamár and is obliged to put off his shoes before he sits down in the assembly Although he has adopted many Hindu ideas the Chandál still retains his partiality for spirits and swine's flesh In the Pirozpur tháná of Bakarganj the Chandals have recently started a combined movement to call themselves Namas to wear shoes and not to take rice from Káyasths or Sudras This departure from the customs of their ancestors was vehemently disapproved of by the Mahomedan zamindars of the neighbourhood and a breach of the peace was considered imminent The clean Súdra castes occasionally and the unclean tribes always sit with the Chandál and at times will accept his dry pipe Nevertheless vile as he is according to Hindu notions the Chandál holds himself polluted if he touches the stool on which a Sunní is sitting

Chandáls are very particular as regards caste prejudices They never allow a European to stand or walk over their cooking place on board a boat and if any one inadvertently does so while the food is being prepared it is at once thrown away They are also very scrupulous about bathing before meals and about the cleanliness of their pots and pans Still more they take a pride in their boat and the tidy state in which they keep it contrasts forcibly with the appearance of one manned by Mahomedan boatmen

On the whole Dr Wise regards the Chandál as one of the most lovable of Bengalis He is a merry careless fellow very patient and hard working but always ready, when his work is done

to enjoy himself Chandals are generally of very dark complexion nearer black than brown of short muscular figures and deep expanded chests Few are hands me but their dark sparkling eyes and merry laugh make ample amends for their generally plain features In the 24 Parganas many members of the caste are said to be of a noticeably fair complexion Singing is a favourite amusement and a Chand crew is rarely without some musical instrument with which to enliven the evening after the toils of the day When young, the Chand is very vain of his personal appearance always wearing his hair long and when in holiday attire combing oiling and arranging it in the most winsome fashion known Many individuals among them are tall and muscular famed as clubmen and watchmen During the anarchy that accompanied the downfall of Mogul power the rivers of Bengal swarmed with river thugs or robbers who made travelling unsafe and inland trade impossible The Chandals furnished the majority of these miscreants but since their dispersion the Chand is has become a peaceful and exemplary subject of the British Government

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Chandals in 1872 and 1881 The figures for Kotil are included in the column of 1872 and excluded from that of 1881

I	1872	1881	D	187	1881
B iw	33 23	79	J li	1 080	1
I li	8 7	3 3	K l B h		
M l i	74 86	2 12	Duc	1 1 2	2
H l i	1 68	1 2 3	E lp	1	67
l h	46	21 77	M k i h	1	7
N l y as	6	38 7	(h k i g	12	1 7
Al i	271 2	1 7	T i p h		13
J	2 7 4	7 17	H l Tracts	4 27	3 159
M i l l d	7 371	3 1 8	i h	1 1	1 224
R i i	2 762	3	M id tál P gn as	7	846
El p	3	9 7	(t a c k		
i	50	63 313	I h i ga		1
I ling	29	308	M i l		1 231
			T b ary hat		2

Chandana a sub caste of Maulk in Chota Nagpur

Chandan sara a sub caste of Kumhars in Lalna

Chandaulyar a section of the Ichharyá sub caste of Doms in Behar

Chandel a section of the Dhondar sub caste of Garoris in Behar

Chandel or Chandan a sub caste of Kurmis in Behar

Chandghos a mul or section of the Ay lina sub caste of Haj jms in Behar

Chándi place of worship of a headman a local sept of I humij and Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chandinadar a person paying ground rent and holding his house and garden by that payment in Orissa

Chánd Kamár a sub caste of Kamars in Midnapur

Chándkatorá a *mul* or section of the Naomulá or Majraut sub caste of Gwalas in Behar

Chandra a family title of Kashta Baidyas Mayarás and Sánkharis of Dakshin Barhi and Bangaja Káyasths and of Subar nabaniks in Bengal Inter marriage is prohibited within the title which though not one of the recognised *gotri* is or eponymous sections by which marriage is regulated has thus come to be virtually exogamous

Chandra baidya a title of Nápit in Tipperah who practise medicine

Chandrabansi a sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Chandrábat or **Chandrawát** a *mul* or section of Bábhans in Behar

Chandradwip a sub caste of Telis in Eastern Bengal a *samaj* or local group of the Bharadwaja *gotra* of Iáschátya Laidik Brahmans in Bengal a hypergamous group of Kaubarttas in Bahar ganj

Chandramani a section of Rautiás in Chota Nagpur

Chandramás a section of Baruas in Bengal

Chandrapati a *mel* or hypergamous sub group of Barhi Brahmans in Bengal

Chandrarishi a section of Mayarás and Telis in Bengal

Chandratár a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Chandrorh a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Chandu a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Chanduwalá a vendor of *chandu* a preparation of opium on whose premises it is usually smoked To make *chandu* the opium is steeped in water till it becomes soft and it is then placed on a fire and boiled When it is at boiling point it is strained and boiled again till it is reduced to a syrup

Chang a synonym for Lambu in Darjiling supposed to have reference to the tribe having immigrated from the Tibetan province of Tsang

Changa a synonym for Chandál intended according to some authorities to conceal the fact that persons so describing themselves are really Chandals

Changáin a *mul* or section of the Biyahut sub caste of Kalwárs in Behar

Chángnáya or **Chánga** a sub caste of Aguris in Western Bengal

Channankath Kathaulia a *mul* or section of Kesarwani Baniás in Behar

Chanoár or **Cháowar** a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesiá sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Chanpadda a sub caste of Jolahas in Behar

Channo ke ráut a section of the Biyahut and Kharidahá Kalwars in Behar

Chansawár a *mul* or section of Kesarwani Baniás in Behar

Chánti a sub-tribe of Kaurs in Chota Nagpur

Chápá a section originally totemistic of the Rajwar caste in Western Bengal

Chapariyá a sub-caste of Doms in Behar who make baskets and build the bamboo framework which supports the thatched roof of a house

Chapen Khor a section of Murmis in Behar

Chapotá a sub caste of Hindus in Behar who have given up weaving and now work as labourers

Chaprás a messenger or courier wearing a *chapras* most usually a public servant

Chápuá a sub caste of Kumhars in Behar

Chapwár a sub caste of Rajwars

Charak a sept of Patels in Chota Nagpur

Charanbans a section of Chans in Behar

Charchágiya, a section of Turis in Chota Nagpur

Chardhagia a section of Mahuls in Chota Nagpur

Chardhiár a section of Mahuls in Chota Nagpur

Chardiar pineapple a totemistic sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Charhad tiger a totemistic section of Turis in Chota Nagpur

Charhar a section of Mahuls in Chota Nagpur probably a variant of Charhad and therefore originally totemistic. It is doubtful however whether the Mahuls belonging to this section believe themselves to be under any special obligation to worship or reverence the tiger

Charighar a hypergamous group of the Cháráti sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Cháráti a sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Charkhiá a section of Goáls in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Charkholá a sub tribe of Lambus in Darjiling

Charmakar a synonym for Chamár in Bengal

Chárau, the name of a caste analogous to or identical with the Bhat following the profession of bards heralds and genealogists and held in like estimation so that their personal security is considered sufficient for engagements of the most important description the breach of which involves the death of the surety or of some of his family. They also subsist by carrying grain salt groceries and the like

Charas farosh a synonym for *Sagin*

Charban farosh a grain parcher who buys grain stores it and sells it again

Charbeár a *mul* or section of the Maghaya sub caste of Barhis in Behar

Charchain a section of the Chain sub caste of Nuniás in Behar

Char^o Gotra or **Das Gurung** a sub tribe of Gurungs in Darjiling

Charkházán a cotton spinner, usually a female

Chárki a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Charmanai Ray a hypergamous group of Kaibartas in Bakarganj

Charmi Chermi a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Charnetah a section of Maghaya Dhobis in Behar

Charwa a section of the Maghaya sub caste of Barlis in Behar

Charwaha a herdsman a grazier

Chár yár (from *chár* four and *yár* a friend) a Mahomedan of the Sunni sect one who maintains the rightful succession of the first four Khalifs Abubakr Omar Osman and Ali

Chásá a common title of cultivating Sadgops also an epithet of contempt applied to a rough and illiterate man a synonym for Sadgop

Chásá the chief cultivating caste of Orissa⁴ probably for the most part of non Aryan descent Chásas are divided into the following sub castes —Orhchasa or Mundi Chásá Benatiya¹ Chukuliya and Sukuliya The last named group is a small one found along the sea coast and mainly engaged in the manufacture of salt The sections are shown in Appendix I A man may not marry a woman belonging to his own section or one who falls within the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees calculated to three generations in the descending line He may marry two sisters but may not take to wife an elder sister after being already married to her younger sister

The Chásá caste is an exceedingly numerous one and is probably made up in great measure of non Aryan elements In Orissa the caste system is said to be more locally organised than in Bengal and this makes it possible on the one hand for outsiders to be admitted into the Chásá caste and on the other hand for wealthy Chásas who give up ploughing with their own hands and assume the respectable title of Mahanti to raise themselves to membership in the lower classes of Kayasths

Both adult and infant marriage are recognised by the caste but the latter is deemed the more respectable and no one who could get his daughter married at the age of eight or nine years would allow her to remain without a husband until she reached years of puberty The marriage ceremony is based upon the standard Hindu ritual the binding portion being *hatganthi* or the tying together of the right hands of the couple with a wisp of *kusi* grass There appears to be no positive rule either forbidding polygamy or setting any limit to the number of wives a man may have Most Chásas however are too poor to keep more than one wife and a man only takes a second wife when the first is barren A widow may marry again and it is usual for her to marry one of the younger brothers of her late husband failing these she may marry any one not within the prohibited degrees The ceremony differs from that used at the marriage of a virgin in that the purely religious portion is omitted and the left hands of the couple (not the right) bound together with *kusa* grass A woman may be divorced for unchastity barrenness or ill temper In all such cases she must be brought before a panchayat at which her

own relatives are called upon to be present and the charge against her must be publicly discussed. If a divorce is granted the husband is required to pay the woman a year's alimony in advance. Divorced wives may marry again by the 1st time in use a the remarriage of widows.

Chasas are orthodox Hindus and most of them belong to the Vaishnava sect. They employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes but these priests are not received on equal terms by the Sadani Brahmans who serv the Khandait and Karan castes. The dead are usually burned, but recourse is sometimes had to what seems to be the older rite of burial. In such cases the corpse is laid on its back and offerings of boiled rice and fruit are placed with it in the grave. When a body is burned the ashes are sometimes buried on the spot and sometimes kept in an earthen vessel in order that they may be thrown into the Ganges when occasion serves. The *sritdh* ceremony is performed in the orthodox fashion.

The great majority of the Chásas are engaged in agriculture which they regard as the characteristic occupation of their caste and only a few have taken to trade or service. Some of them hold service tenures the rest being *thani* or *pahi* raiyats and landless day labourers. Socially they rank next to the Mah caste and Brahmans will take water from their hands. In the Chasas the lowest castes from whom Chasas will take wetmeats. Cooked food they may eat only in Brahmins houses and they will also eat the offerings of members of that caste. There is nothing peculiar about their own diet except that like many other castes of aboriginal extraction they eat the flesh of the wild boar. All fish whether scaly or scaleless are lawful food except the *al fish* which is one of the items of the caste.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Chasa caste in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881
Cuttack	156 908	204 336
Bal	130 436	2 4 103
Bal	24 278	12 6/3
Baridya Stat	1 2 471	154 99

Chása or Halwaha Kaibartta caste of Khandaites in Balasore
a sub caste of Kaibarttas in and Cuttack
(Central Bengal)

Chása or Chit Kaita a sub caste of Bardya plough docto
a title of Bardyas used by outsiders

Chasadhobá Chit a cultivating and trading caste of Balasore
Balasore some of whose members are
mujdarsa artisans and builders. According
to their own account they are the modern representatives of the
Vaidehas spoken of in Manusmriti as the offspring of a Vaisya
rather than a Vudcha in the second half of their name being
a corruption of the Sanskrit husband so that Chasadhobá means
the husband or owner of cultivated field (*dhobá*) and not as is

ordinarily supposed a washerman who has taken to cultivation. Another story is that once upon a time Brahma's washerwoman came with her son to fetch the dirty clothes. The god was busy and asked the woman to let her son wait till he was ready. After a bit the boy got tired of waiting and went home; meanwhile Brahma brought out his dirty linen and finding the boy not there concluded that a demon (*Asura*) had eaten him. To console the mother he created a new boy exactly like the first, but no sooner had he done so than the mother herself turned bringing the original boy with her. Embarrassed by the confusion he had caused Brahma called upon the washerwoman to adopt the second boy but stipulated that as he was of divine origin he should not follow the profession of his adoptive mother, but should set up as an agriculturist and dealer in food grains. In spite of these exalted traditions it may be inferred from the social status of the Chasadhobas and the apparently totemistic character of some of their *jots* or exomous groups that they are really of Dravidian descent and probably a branch of Dhobas who have taken to cultivation and thus raised themselves so far above the parent caste that they now disown all connexion with it.

The Chasadhobas are divided into three sub-castes—Uttar Rarhi

It is the chief settlements of the caste and are common

to them and to some of the higher castes. Members of these groups cannot intermarry but may eat together and may smoke from the same *kah*. Their sections are shown in Appendix I. Two of them, Baghrisi and Brihatbat seem to be totemistic and to refer to the tiger and the banyan tree but neither the tree nor the animal is worshipped by the caste which has now become thoroughly Hinduised. A man may not marry a woman of his own *gotra* but marriage with a woman belonging to his mother's *gotra* is not forbidden provided such an alliance is not barred by the table of prohibited degrees which is the same as is generally recognised by orthodox Hindu. Chasadhobas have two hypergamous divisions, Kulin and Maulik which affect marriage in the ordinary way that is to say a Kulin man may marry a Maulik woman while a Maulik man can only get a wife from his own group.

Chasadhobas marry their daughters as infants at ages ranging

from two to twelve years. Eight or nine years may be taken as the usual age for the marriage.

Boys however are not married under five and the husband is usually a few years older than the wife. In the Maulik group where there may often be a surplus of males owing to the constant endeavour to get the females married to Kulins it sometimes happens that a youth is not married before twenty-five owing to the difficulty of procuring a wife within the circle of selection open to a particular family. In all cases the standard Brahmanical ritual is used. Special importance seems to be attached to *asvabudha* or the ceremony of blessing the bride and bridegroom and to the exchange of presents. These are represented as the essential and binding portions of the rite.

Polygamy is supposed to be forbidden but the rule is subject to the usual exception that a man may marry a second wife when the

first is barren or suffers from an incurable disease. The remarriage of widows is strictly prohibited. In respect of divorce Chasadhobas follow the higher castes in holding the practice to be incompatible with the orthodox theory of marriage among the Hindus. In cases of proved unchastity the offending wife is turned out to shift for herself and ceases to be a member of respectable society. In order to clear himself and his household from the stain of impurity the husband makes a straw effigy of the wife which is solemnly burned while rice cakes (*pasadas*) are offered to her and a sort of *vraddh* is performed, as if she were literally dead. Brahmans and relations are feasted and *pasas* is done to Siva Nair in

The religion of the Chasadhobas is little from that of the orthodox middle class Hindus of Bengal. Most of them belong to the Vaishnava sect only a few are Saktas and there are said to be no Saivas among them. The Vaishnavas abstain from flesh and wine but may eat fish. Cultivators show special reverence to Lakshmi as the goddess of harvest while artisans worship Viswakarma. Brahmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes but they rank with the Barua Brahmans who serve the lower castes and are looked down on by the higher classes of the priestly order.

It will be seen from the Tables of Precedence for Bengal that the pretensions of the Chasadhobas to rank above the Dhobas are not generally recognised and that both stand on about the same level in popular estimation. This fact coupled with the numerical smallness of the caste seems to suggest that it may be of comparatively recent formation. If the caste were an old one we might expect that by abandoning the specially impure practices of the Dhobas and adopting the respectable occupation of agriculture they would have attained a higher social position than is actually accorded to them. Chasadhobas are generally classed along with the Chandal, the fishing Karbattas and the Sunars and Brahmans will not take water from their hands. The cultivating members of the caste are mostly occupancy or non-occupancy raiyats and some have risen to the position of zamindars. So far as I have been able to ascertain none of them are zamindars. Prosperous grain merchants and money lenders are found among them and many follow the business of carpenters, builders and artisans working in wood or metal.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Chasadhoba caste in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	I	II	III	IV
B d	114	27	Raj	11	3	
B k		3	Raj	1		
B th		1	B			2
M t p	7		I		1	7
H l		1	I			9
H w l	64	3	D		2	
24 P	7		K			
N ty		76	B k	1	7	
J	111	3	M	1	1	
K l		4	T p		143	
M h d bnd		12	N	P		873
D p	28		M d h			1

Chásáduli a sub caste of Bágdis in Bengal who were originally palanquin bearers but have recently taken to cultivation and claim a certain measure of social superiority for that reason

Cháságailá a synonym for Sadgop in Bengal

Chásá karur or *Chasá kola* a sub caste of Muchis in Bengal

Chásati a small caste nearly allied to the Chasadhoba They till land and rear silk worm

Chási a synonym for Pod

Chási a section of Koránch Kándus in Behar

Chasiár a section of Babhans in Behar

Chasi Das a synonym for Halia Dás or Kaibartta in Bengal

Chási Pod a sub caste of Pods in the Presidency districts who have given up their profession of fishing and taken to cultivation They do not intermarry with the ordinary Pod

Chásiwár a section of Babhans in Behar

Chata umbrella a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chátgáinyá a sub caste of Kumhars in Noakhali

Chatra Tuin a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Chatta a *gám* of the Kásyapa *gotra* of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Chattarághab a *mel* or hypergamous sub group of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Chattarkhar a social group in Orissa made up of people who lost their caste in 1866 for eating in relief kitchens (*chattras*) The Chattarkhar caste as it may properly be called is divided into an upper and a lower sub caste—the former comprising Brahmans Karans Khandaits and Gop Goalas the latter of the castes ranking below these in the social scale Members of each sub caste marry within that group irrespective of the caste to which they originally belonged but no intermarriage is possible between members of the two sub castes All Chattarkhars are entirely cut off from their original castes

Chaturábandi a *gam* of the Batsya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Chaturan Khán a sub caste of Sutradhars in Murshedabad

Chaturásram or Chaturthán a sub-caste of Sunris in Western Bengal

Chattopádhya the name of a family of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal commonly pronounced Chaturja or Chaturji

Chaturthán a sub caste of Sunris in Bengal

Chaturvedi a Brahman professing to have studied the four Vedas In the abbreviated form of Chaube it is a common title of Brahmans in Behar

Chauán a sub caste of Rájus in Midnapur

Chau ania a sub caste of Goálás in Behar and Chota Nagpur

Chauarsá a section of Kaserás in Behar

Chaubahán a *mul* or section of the Banodhiá sub caste of Kalwars in Behar

Chaubáriá a sept of Suraj bansi Rajputs in Behar

Chauberiá a *mul* or section of the Timulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Chaubhaja a section of the Banodhiá and Jaiswar Kalwars and of Babhans in Behar

Chaubhán a sub caste of Nuniyas in Behar

Chaubhán Chohán a sept of the Suryabans Rajputs in Behar They must intermarry with persons of the Besun and Mahraur septs who are supposed to be descended from a common ancestor

Chaubi Chaube or Chobe (abbreviated from Chaturvedi) a Brahman learned in the four Vedas a title now applied to a class of Brahmans who are not always men of literary habits In the North Western Provinces they are often boxers wrestlers and the like

Chauddagrámí a sub caste of Tambulis in Bengal

Chauddapará Rárhíbindu a sub-caste of Kaibarttas in Central Bengal

Chaudhari a title of Marathi Brahmans in Behar

Chaudhrana a section of the Maghaya sub caste of Barhis in Behar

Chaudhrí (a holder of four perhaps shares or profits) the headman of a profession trade or occupation in towns the headman of a village of a bazar or of a caste panchayat a lessor of a *ganj* or grain emporium a holder of landed property classed with the zamindar or talukdar In Cuttack the Chaulhari was the revenue officer of a district corresponding with the De mukh The Chaulhari talukdar or head revenue officer was there treated by the British Government as a proprietor or zamindar The term Chaudhari is a nonorific title of the Ariar sub caste of Bais Banyas of the Banjar sub caste of Gonrhis of Halwais of the Ját and Majraut sub castes of Ahirs or Goalis of Ganjwar Sunars of the Jeswar and Banodhi sub castes of Kalwars of Kurmis in Western Bengal used both by members of the caste and by outsiders of Nagars of the Lucháya sub caste of Nuniyas of Sonars and Tiors in Behar of Kochhis in Northern Bengal and of Brahmans Kaibarttas Kayasths Kewats Tambulis and Telis in Bengal It also denotes a section of the Kinauri sub caste of Goal and of Maghaya Doms in Behar and a sept of Thárus

Chaudhríá a sept of the Malwe Rajputs in Chota Nagpur

Chaudhrían a section of Maghaya Kumbhars in Behar

Chaudhrí a synonym for and title of Babhans

Chaudiha a section of Banarí Kándus in Behar

Chaudorti a *mul* or section of the Kanaujia sub caste of Sonárs in Behar

Chaugáin a section of Kal wárs in Behar

Chaugáin ke pánre a section of the Biyáhut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Chauhán a sub caste of Bel dars in Behar

Chauhán a section of the Chandrabansi Rajputs and of the Maghaiya sub caste of Doms in Behar

Chaukidár or *chok dar* a village watchman a police or customs peon

Cháulwálá a dealer in rice

Chaumasíá a ploughman hired for the four months of the rainy season

Chaumukhdih a section of Majraut Goalás in Behar

Chaunriwálá a maker of fly flaps and besoms from strips of date palm leaves usually a Mahomedan

Chaupre a section of the Bárrjáti sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Chaurahá a section of the Banodhiá and Jaiswar Kalwars in Behar

Chaurási a sub caste of Kumhars in Central Bengal a *thar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Chaurásiá a sub caste of Baras in Behar

Chaur a rat a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chauriar a section of Babhans in Behar

Chaurthán a sub caste of Sunris in Behar who deal in liquor

Chausá a section of the Biyáhut and Kharidáh Kalwars a *kul* or section of Babhans a *mul* or section of the Chhamuliá Madhesia sub caste of Halwás in Behar

Chausáhá a section of Kanaujia Lohars in Behar

Chausar a section of Awadhiá Hajams in Behar

Chauswar a section of Sonárs in Behar

Chautariá a sept of the Rautár sub-tribe of Iharus in Behar

Chauthá a sub caste of Goalás in Behar

Chauthi Haldia a sub caste of Telis in Orissa

Chautkhandi a *gotri* of the Batsya *gotri* of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Chavala Gáin a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Chedi a class of inferior Rajputs in Western Bengal

Chehmjom a native of Chohm a sept of the Lanthar sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling

Chelel chela a small bird a totemic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chempajong a sept of Limbus in Darjiling

Cher a section of Goalas in Behar

Cherabesari a section of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Cherchete a kind of jungle wood a totemic sept of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Cherengtsa a sept of Maghs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Chero *Cheru* a landholding and cultivating caste of Behar and Chota Nagpur Found also in Benares and Mirzapur Sir Henry Elliot while mentioning the opinions that the Chers are a branch of the Bhars or are connected with the Kols appears himself to have considered them to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the provinces on the skirts of which they are now found driven from their proper seats by Rajput races It was Colonel Dalton's opinion that the Grangetic provinces were once occupied by peoples speaking a Kolian language closely allied to the present Munda dialect among whom the Chers were the latest dominant race If however the Chers and Kols originally formed one nation the Kols must have part of their parent stock and settled in Chota Nagpur before the formation of the Hinduisms and reared the various temples of which the ruins are still referred by local tradition to their rule in Behar for all of these are dedicated to the worship of idols and it is a distinctive feature in the religion of the Kols of the present day as of most races in the ethnographic stage of belief that they never attempt to reject their idols or to build any sort of habitations for them Comparing the stock of the non Aryan affinities of the Cheros is derived from the fact that the Chota Nagpur members of the caste who have been in contact with Hindu influences still retain totemistic notions similar to those in vogue among the Kharias who are by no means fully akin to the Mundas The landholding Chers of Lalmai have borrowed the Brahmanical *gotra* in support of their claim to be Rajputs and have thus successfully obliterated all trace of their true antecedents These Cheros are divided into two sub castes Bara hazar and Tera hazar or Birbandhi The former is the higher in rank and includes most of the descendants of former ruling families who assume the title *Babuán* The Tera hazar are supposed to be the illegitimate offspring of the Bara hazar Some of the wealthier members of the latter group who have married into local Rajput houses call themselves Chohan but Rajput and decline alliances with the Bara hazar Cheros For the most part however the Cheros of Palamau are looked down upon by the Cheros of Bhojpur by reason of their engaging in the degrading occupations of rearing *taar* cocoons and collecting at *huailac*

Colonel Dalton has the following remarks on the physical characteristics of the Cheros and their traditions of origin —

The distinctive physical traits of the Chers have been considerably softened by the alliances with pure Hindu families which their ancient power and large possessions enabled them to secure but they appear to me still to exhibit an unmistakable Mongolian physiognomy They vary in colour but are usually of a light brown They have as a rule high cheek bones small eyes obliquely set and

It has been shown in the Introductory essay that the theory of the Mongolian origin of the Kols is altogether untenable and that the distinction between Kols and Dalits is purely linguistic and I describe the Chero features as Mongolian Colonel Dalton meant that they resembled the ordinary Kol type

eyebrows to correspond low broad noses and large mouths with protuberant lips. It appears from Buchanan that the old Cheros like the dominant Kolarian family of Chota Nagpur claimed to be Nágbanis and had the same tradition regarding their origin from the great Nag or dragon that has been adopted by the Chota Nagpur family. The latter were it seems even in Gorakhpur and Behar allowed to be the heads of the Nágbanis family and Buchanan considered them to be Cheros but they are no doubt originally of the same race as their Kál subjects though frequent alliances with Rajput families have obliterated the aboriginal lineaments. The western part of Kosala that is Gorakhpur continued some time under the Cheros after other portions of that territory had fallen into the hands of the people called Gurkha who were in their turn expelled by the Thárus also from the north. In Shahábád also the most numerous of the ancient monuments are ascribed to the Cheros and it is traditionally asserted that the whole country belonged to them in sovereignty. Buchanan suggests they were princes of the Sunaka family who flourished in the time of Gautama about the sixth or seventh century before the Christian era. An inscription at Buddh Gyá mentions one Phudi Chandra who is traditionally said to have been a Chero. The Cheros were expelled from Shahábád some say by the Savars or Suars some say by a tribe called Hariha. The date of their expulsion is conjectured to have been between the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. Both Cheros and Savars were considered by the Brahmans of Shahábád as impure or Mlechhas but the Harihas are reputed good Kshatriyas.

The overthrow of the Cheros in Mithila and Magadha seems to have been complete. Once lords of the Gangetic provinces they are now found in Shahábád and other Behar districts only holding the meanest offices or concealing themselves in the woods skirting the hills occupied by their cousins the Kharwárs but in Palamau they retained till a recent period the position they had lost elsewhere. A Chero family maintained almost an independent rule in that *pargana* till the accession of the British Government they even attempted to hold their castles and strong places against that power but were speedily subjugated and forced to pay revenue and submit to the laws. They were however allowed to retain their estates and though the rights of the last Rájá of the race were purchased by Government in 1813 in consequence of his falling into arrears the collateral branches of the family have extensive estates in Palamau still. According to their own traditions (they have no trustworthy annals) they have not been many generations in the *pargana*. They invaded that country from Rohtas and with the aid of Rajput Chiefs the ancestors of the Bhákurs of Ranka and Cháuzpur drove out and supplanted a Rajput Rájá of the Raksel family who retreated into Sarguja and established himself there. It is said that the Palamau population then consisted of Kharwárs Gondas Mars Kowás Parheyás and Nágeswars. Of these the Kharwárs were the people of most consideration the Cheros conciliated them and allowed them to remain in peaceful possession of the hill tracts bordering on Sargujá. All the Cheros of note who assisted in the expedition obtained military service grants of land which they still

retain It is popularly asserted that at the commencement of the Chero rule in Palamau they numbered twelve thousand families and the Kharwárs eighteen thousand and if an individual of one or the other is asked to what tribe he belongs he will say not that he is a Chero or a Kharwar but that he belongs to the twelve thousand or to the eighteen thousand as the case may be. The Palamau Cheros now live strictly as Rajputs and wear the *pheta* or caste turban. They do not however intermarry with really good Rajput families. I do not think they cling to this method of elevating themselves in the social scale so tenaciously as do the Kharwárs. But intermarriages between Chero and Kharwar families have taken place. A relative of the Palamau Raja married a sister of Minu Singh Raja of Rámgarh and this is amongst them evidence of identity of origin. As both claimed to be Rajputs they could not intermarry till it was proved to the satisfaction of the family priests that the parties belonged to the same class. But the Palamau Cheros and I suppose all Cheros claim to be descendants of Chun Muni one of the Rishis a monk of Kumaon. Some say the Rishi took to wife the daughter of a Rajá and that the Cheros are the offspring of their union others that the Cheros are sprung in a mysterious manner from the *ashan* or seat of Chun Muni. They have also a tradition that they came from the Moring.

Cheros profess to carry their daughters as infants but it seems doubtful whether this practice has yet become fully established amongst them. The poorer members of the caste particularly the totemistic Cheros of Chhát Nagpur have not yet completely cut themselves loose from the non-Aryan custom of adult marriage while the Hindholung Cheros find the same difficulties in getting husbands for their daughters which hamper all pseudo Rajput families in the earlier stages of their promotion to the lower grades of the great Rajput group. The marriage service conforms on the whole to the orthodox pattern but retains a few peculiar practices which may perhaps belong to a more ancient ritual. At the close of the *thantai* ceremony the couple march round an earthen vessel set up under the billal canopy of boughs the bridegroom stooping touches the toe of the bride and swears to be faithful to her through life. Again after the binding rite of *sindurdan* has been completed the bridegroom's elder brother washes the feet of the bride lays the wedding jewellery in her joined hands and then taking the *patmuri* from the *munr* or pith head-dress worn by the bridegroom places it on the bride's head. The practice known as *amlo* also deserves notice. This is performed by the bridegroom's mother before the bride's procession (*baat*) starts for the bride's house and by the bride's mother after the procession has arrived. It consists of putting a mango leaf into the mouth and then bursting out into tears and loud lamentation. The maternal uncle of the bride or bridegroom meanwhile pours water on the leaf.

Polygamy is permitted but is not very common. There is said to be no theoretical limit to the number of wives a man may have

Widows may marry again and among the less Hinduised members of the caste they usually do so. Widow marriage however is regarded with disfavour by the wealthier Cheros who affect orthodoxy and within a generation or so we may expect that the practice will be abandoned. Where it is still recognised the widow is expected on grounds of family convenience to marry her late husband's younger brother or cousin. She may however marry any one else provided that she does not infringe the prohibited degrees which we are binding on her before her marriage and does not select a man whose sister could not have been taken in marriage by her late husband. Divorce is not allowed. A woman found in adultery is turned out of the caste and can under no circumstances marry again.

The religion of the Cheros is still in a state of transition and

they observe a sort of dual worship which
discloses unmistakable traces of their non-

Aryan descent. For the worship of the Hindu gods they employ Kanauja or Sakadwipi Brahmins who are received on terms of equality by other members of the sacred order. Their spiritual guides (*gurus*) are either Brahmins or Gharbari Gosains. They also reverence animistic deities of the type known to the Kharias and Mundas—Baghaut Chenri, Darhá Dharti, Dukhnahí, Dwarpar and others to whom goats, fowls, sweetmeats and wine are offered in the month of Aghan so as to secure a good harvest. In these sacrifices Brahmins take no part and they are conducted by a priest (*taija*) belonging to one of the aboriginal tribes. Cheros also like the Kols observe triennial sacrifices. Every three years says Colonel Dalton a buffalo and other animals are offered in the sacred grove of *sanna* or on a rock near the village. They also have like some of the Kols a priest for each village called *phun*. He is always one of the impure tribes a Bhuiya or Kharwar or a Parheya and is also called *baiga*. He alone can offer this great sacrifice. No Brahmanical priests are allowed on these occasions to interfere. The deity honoured is the tutelary god of the village sometimes called Duár Pahár sometimes Dharti sometimes *lur gahaili* or *Daknai* a female or *Dura* a sylvan god—the same perhaps as the Darhá of the Kols. I found that the above were all worshipped in the village of Munka in Palamau which belongs to a typical Chero Kunwar Bhikari Singh.

The Cheros of Palamau affect the ceremonial purity characteristic of the higher castes of Hindus and the con-

nexion of their leading families with the land

secures to them a fairly high social position. Many of them wear the sacred thread with which they are invested by a Brahmin at the time of their marriage. Brahmins will take water from their hands and eat anything but rice that has been cooked by them. They are held in fact in much the same estimation as any of the local Rajputs. In Chota Nagpur on the other hand the status of the caste is by no means so high and the Bhogtás while admitting the Cheros to be a sub-caste of their community decline to eat with them and regard them as socially their inferiors. Agriculture

is supposed to be the original occupation of the caste and in Palamau many of them still hold various kinds of *pur* tenures. Some have taken to shopkeeping and petty trade while others live by cartage working on roads or in coal mines and by collecting *tasar* cocoons catechu and lac. For all this says Mr Forbes the Cheros are a proud race and exceedingly jealous of their national honour. They have never forgotten that they were once a great people and that their descent was an honorable one. Only the very poorest among them will hold the plough and none of them will carry earth upon their heads.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Cheros in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881
Shahabad	93	453
S	2004	
Chhapra		270
Hatnabagh	11	
Lodhaga	956	10813
Chhapra States	786	11448

Chera *Cheru* a synonym for Chero

Cheru a *mul* or section of the Kanaujia sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Cheruka a fish a totemistic sept of Binjhas in Chota Nagpur

Cherviyar a title of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Cherwa a sub tribe of Kaurs in Chota Nagpur

Chesiá a section of Babhans in Behar

Cheswár a section of the Kesarwani sub caste of Banias in Behar

Chhaghariá Kapá a hypergamous group of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Chhagri goat a title of Fantis in Bengal

Chhágulíá a sub caste of Telis in Bengal

Chhajáti a sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Chhalor a sub section of the Lovatiá section of Majraut Goalás in Behar

Chhamulia Mili a sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Chhapparband Chayal a maker of bamboo frame works for thatched roofs an occupation usually followed by Mahomedans

Chhapáticha a *thar* or sept of Sunuwars in Darjiling

Chhaphulia a group of the Bárendra Sunris in Tipperah

Chharidar stick bearer the title of the messenger who serves under the *manjhan* or headman of the Thor caste in Behar

Chhariyár a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Chhathwárk a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Chhatimane Chhatman a *mul* of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Chhatrawár a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Chhatrí or *Chhetrí* a man of the second or regal and military caste & synonym for Rajput

Chhatris Asram a sub caste of Gandhabaniks in Bengal

Chhayi a *m* or hypergamous sub group of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Chhenilama a *thar* or sept of the Das (uruig) sub tribe of Gurungs. The founder of this *thar* who became very powerful defeated the chief of Chaleh married his daughter and built a fort at Peun on the Kaliganga. He bored a hole in a sheep's horn and with its aid employed art magic to slay his enemies hence his name was Ioho Chheni the borer with iron pin and the *thar* is called *Chheni* to this day

Chhilatia or *Silhotia* a sub caste of Dhanuks in Behar

Chhipi Chhipigar a calico printer and a printer of patterns on cotton cloth & chintz stamper. The term seems also to include the making of dies

Chhitni a section of the Samulia Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Chhongphthang a sept of the Agnia sub tribe of Meches in the Darjiling Terai

Chhotá bhág a sub caste of Bhuinmalis Haris and Muchis in Bengal

Chhota bhágiya a sub caste of Kumhars in Dacca

Chhota bhágiyá or *Kayath* Tanti a sub caste of Tantis in Eastern Bengal

Chhota Kurmi or *Sikharía* a sub caste of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur

Chhotapatti a sub caste of Jelis in Bengal

Chhota Samáj a sub caste of Dhobás in Hughli

Chhot gohri a sub caste of Khandaitis and Rautias in Chota Nagpur

Chhotgohri Deswari a sub caste of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Chhothar a sub tribe of Lambus in Darjiling

Chhotki dangi a sub caste of Koiris in Behar

Chhumbipá a *ru* or sept of Dejong Lhoris whose ancestor had emigrated from North Bhotan

Chhungpá a sub sept of the Pon po sept of Dejong Lhoris or Bhotias of the south

Chhutár a sub caste of and synonym for Sutradhar in Bengal

Chidra or *Cherrá* squirrel a section of Bedyas and Binjhas in Chota Nagpur

Chigah jackal a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Chigi Chiki a sub sept of the Tudu sept of Santáls

Chil a class of Mahomedan butchers See **Chikwa**

Chik or **Chik Baraik** ab caste of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Chikana a section of Chols in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Chikan doz an emblem of flower in which usually works for Chikawals

Chikanjari a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Chikanwala a dealer in hand worked flowered muslin usually a Mahomedan

Chikbarikin a sub caste of Doms in Hazaribagh who are lame or blind of thin skin of bamboo

Chikchaba a sept of the Panthar sub tribe of Lambus in Darjiling

Chit d a synonym for Ludyia

Chikkophung he who planted the *tribiti* a thorny plant with a bitter berry used for medicinal purposes a sept of the Lhedab sub tribe of Lambus

Chikni daliwala a dealer in sugar or betel-nut

Chiksari a section of Mijraut Gulas in Behar

Chiksoria a section of Labhans in Behar

Chikwa a butcher and fllmonger a dealer in small lighter animals—goats and he is opposed to the *gasab* who deals in large cattle

Chilbindha eagle slayer a sub sept of the Mansda sept of Santals

Chilbindha panaria a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Chilbinuar kite a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Chilhar a *mul* or section of the Chhannh Milla sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Chilhia kite a stemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chilhar a section of Bahans in Behar

Chilchor lit. cat? a *mul* a section of the Nuya caste in Orissa

Chiluar kite a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Chinear a section of Ghasis in Chota Nagpur

Chingala a group of the Sudhy sub caste of Gauras Bihans

Chingri a section of Binjhas in Chota Nagpur

Chingrisha a sept of Maghs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Chinpuria a group of the Lkadas fells in Bengal

Chira Kash an engraver in gold silver or copper The pattern is traced in wax with a sharp style and afterwards cut out with a chisel Patterns in relief are made by beating them taken wooden blocks placed underneath The Chira Kash are usually Mahomedans but some belong to the Kayasth Thakur and Sunri castes

Chiranjia a section of the Binphor sub caste of Doms in Western Behar

Chiriyámár *Chidimar Chodimar* bird killer (i) a title of Bediyas (ii) in Behar a class of Mahomedan possibly converted Bediyas who catch and sell parrot *maini* and the like

Chirko mushroom a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chirkut or **Chirákut** a title of Bagdis Chandals and other castes who prepare *chura* or rice parched and flattened

Chirkuttá a title of Khandaits in Orissa who make *chura*

Chirme or *Chirmát* a sub caste of Koiri in Behar which though enigmatical as regards the rest of the caste intermarries with the Maghaya sub caste

Chirra a squirrel a totemistic section of Binjhiyas Bhuiyas Kharwars Rajwars and Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Chisim a *duku* or section of the Kochh Mandai in Eastern Bengal The name indicates the original habitat of the group probably a village or hill in Assam and at the present day has no bearing upon marriage

Chitari a painter

Chitauria a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Chitauriar a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Chiterah an engraver on metal

Chithá a section of Sonárs in Behar

Chitosia a section of the Ját sub-caste of Goalas in Behar and the North Western Provinces

whose titles are Chaudhri Singh and Marar

Chitrikar a painter synonym for *Itaria qv*

Chitrakar painter—a profession followed by Acharji Ganak Sutradhar and other low castes

Chitti a kind of snake a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chitwaníá or *Chitauma* a sub tribe of Tharus in Nepal a sept of Rautar Tharus

Chiwari a section of Babhans in Behar

Chobdár *Chopdar* an attendant carrying a staff or mace who accompanies rájis and wealthy zemindars on ceremonial occasions His functions are purely ornamental

Chobegu a sub sept of the Thekim sept and a sept of the Panthar sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling

Chocha a bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Chokarhadi a synonym for Chik in Chota Nagpur

Chomar a title of Goalas in Bengal

Chonchwar a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Chongá a sept of Dhimals in the Darjiling Terai

Chongphrán a sept of the Agniá sub-tribe of Mochees in the Darjiling Terai

Chonre a sept of Santals

Chonrhá a section of Sonárs in Behar

Chopear a sub sept of the Murmu spt of Santals

Chora a section of C in the North West in Drown

Chorai a sept of Hos and Santal

Chorant gras a totemistic sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Chorharya a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur at Gissa

Chorka a section of Binjharis in Chota Nagpur

Chorwar a mul cr sectn of the Kurmur Kulla sub caste of Sanrs in Lohar

Chota a sect of bird a totemistic sept of Mui das in Chota Nagpur

Chota Bhágiya or *Sunnjaon* Santal a sub caste of Sanhars in Bengal

Chotchain a section of the Ch in sub caste of Nuniyas in Behar

Chouria a sept of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Chouria Musa field rat a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Chownia a totemistic sept of Gals in Chota Nagpur who may not eat field rats

Crownr a badge of office a sept of Lins in Chota Nagpur

Choyndai a thar or sept of Chhatris in Nepal

Chuár a title of the Bhumi tribe

Chuhrá the lowest description of village servants the same as

th Bhan Hal khor M hitu

Chuirachh a thar or sept of Khumbu in Darjiling

Chukan an undifferentiated in Pundia in Jharkhand

Chukulya a sub caste of Chas in Orissa

Chulá a salt balr in Cuttack

Chulia malangi the salt maker in Orissa who is mixed with the Ch in

Chumi a section of Murmis a thar or sept of Munda in Darjiling

Chunaru or *Chun* a synonym for Baiti in the title of the Ch in also a synonym for Baiti

Chundiar a thar or sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Chungbang a sept of Limbus in Darjiling

Chungyepa a thar or sept of Deoghar the members of which are of mixed low origin

Chunia a synonym for Baiti in the title of the Ch in in Northern India who deal in lime

Chuniar a pt of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Chunihara a title of Dhar Chumai in Behar who deal in lime

Chunipara a title of Chamars in Lohar

Chura kuti a sub caste of
Sutradhars in Dacca

Churálar a sub caste of Ka
mars in the Santal Parganas

Churaliye a section of Oswáls

Churihár *Churicila* a maker
of the glass bracelets worn by
Mahomedian women Churihars
are invariably Mahomedans and
the persons engaged in this occu-
pation form an endogamous group

Churihara a title of Goalás

Churuar a sept of Lohars in
Chota Nagpur

Chutia small rat a totemic
sept of Mundas a section of
Binjhás in Chota Nagpur

Chutkádeswar a sub caste
of Kharwars who often call them-
selves Deswarí It is contradic-
tory to be named Deswarí and
being descended from Balha Deswarí

D

Dabgar a subdivision of the Chaur or Muchi caste in Behar who manufacture skin or leather vessels used for ghi and oil country saddles and the like

Dabhauchwar Dabhinchhwar a *kul* or section of Bahans in Bihar

Dabhreit a *mul* or section of the Namuh or Mujaut sub cast of Golas in Bihar

Dadhi a *jati* of the Sarna *jati* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Dadhic a *mul* or local group of the Baidik *gotra* of the Ishitya Baidik Brahmans in Bengal

Dadhiyal a *jati* of the Bhairwaj *jati* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Dadipur a *jati* or section of Sakadwaj Brahmans in Behar

Dadhraut a *mul* or section of the Sindhur Khilaut sub cast of Golas in Bihar

Dádukli a *mul* or section of the Chhumuh Madhusa sub cast of Halwas in Behar

Dadul bull frog a section of Bujhas in Chota Nagpur

Dadgar a low class of Mahomedan in Eastern Bengal also known as Dildah from their using the *nal* grass to make baskets. They are said to be in offshoot of the Hajjam but they claim a higher position than the parent stock by reason of their having adopted a different occupation. Hajjams eat with the

Daf dars but the latter decline to deal with the Hajjam on terms of equality. No such class exists in Behar

Dafali a class of Mahomedan weavers who sell tinkat beads (to and also) make drum

Daffi a book binder a servant who looks after furniture and the like in public offices

Dáganiá a group of the Barendia Golas in Bengal

Dagar a section of Golas in the North Western Provinces

Dagara a sub caste of Patnis in Pungal

Daghta those who brand cattle generally Mahomedans

Daginkairi a sub caste of Kairis who grow vegetables and fruits

Dagri a *panjat* or section of the Jhor Doms in Behar

Daha a title of Daldah Irfi and Banwaja Kayasths

Dahait a sect of Tharus in Behar

Dahal a sect of Brahmans and Chhetris in the Eastern Himalayas

Dahanga torch bearer a sect of Mundis in Chota Nagpur

Dáhárak a *mul* or section of the Chhumuh Madhusa sub cast of Halwas in Bihar

Dahiara dealers in milk and curds a sub caste of Golas in Bihar somewhat superior to ordinary Golas. Their usual

occupations are—service shop keeping and agriculture

Dah Lama a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Dahiet a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Dahmá a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Dái a midwife usually a Mahomedan or a Hindu of the Chamar caste. Among Hindus of all other castes there is a strong prejudice against cutting the navel cord and a common term of abuse applied to a midwife is *narkata* or cord cutter. The male relatives of these women are usually tailors or musicians while in villages they often work as weavers and sometimes sell betel leaves.

In Dacca says Dr Wise who had special opportunities for learning the truth on this subject the midwives are invariably ignorant and generally consequential while being few in number they are very independent extorting money in proportion to the anxieties of their patients. A midwife forms an important part of a household and no family of note is without one. Like the Purohit and barber the Dái is a privileged person and has freedom of access to the female apartments at any hour. Her post is usually hereditary but if childless the Dái adopts a young woman and educates her in the mysteries of the profession. Mahomedan ladies have no objection to be attended by a Hindu or Christian woman but one of their own creed is preferred. The poorer classes attend on each other and only in cases of difficulty is the European doctor or the professional *accoucheuse* called in. Parturition is in most instances easy and the poor have seldom any need of skilled attendance but among the listless inmates of *zanánas* who never lead a healthy or invigorating life labour is often tedious and exhausting.

When a woman either Hindu or Mahomedan approaches the term of her pregnancy an outhouse or detached room is prepared for her to which when labour begins she retires with the Dái and a servant. This den to which the highest as well as the lowest is condemned is known as the *Asaucha ghar* or *Chhathi ghar*. The duty of the midwife is to rub and roll about the patient so as to increase the pains and when the child is born to cut the cord with a piece of bamboo (*tariá ka-chhalti*) and to give immediate warning for the Azán or call to prayers.

Of the mechanism of parturition of the dangers to be avoided and provided against midwives are profoundly ignorant a woman being satisfied if she is attended by the family Dái or by the pupil of the Dái who aided her mother or sister under similar circumstances. Being obliged to observe many customs without the due performance of which her own and her child's life would be endangered the mother resigns herself to the hands of the midwife assured that all will go well. To cause the uterus to contract they use an embrocation of the juice of the Nag dauná leaf (*Artumisia vulgaris*) with spirit. When it is wished to stay the flow of milk the dried bark of the Pání kudú (*Cucurbita*) mixed with pease meal (*Ervum hirsutum*) and rubbed up in water is used as a plaster.

The midwife is expected to pay frequent visits until all danger has passed but should the lady be rich she is not allowed to leave the house for days. It devolves on her to anoint the infant daily for in India babies are anointed daily. Lampblack must be smeared along the eyelashes and a mash of warm aromatics (ghitt) given daily. For two days after birth the mother is only allowed to take turmeric molasses and infusion of ajwain while on the third and up to the fortieth day she may eat pulse (masur) and rice.

After the birth of a child many strange rites are performed. A bonfire (śalāva) is kept smouldering at the door of the Chhathi ghar for six days in the hot for twenty one in the cold season and an oil lamp placed within the room must never be permitted to go out an attendant being always on the watch to trim it as darkness favours the entrance of evil spirits. A hearth is placed beneath the bedding as iron is most detrimental to health of leprosy and an earthen vessel on which the name of God is written is hung over the door. No one can leave the room before milky and on no account must the baby be touched or dried anywhere but inside the room. If the husband or doctor has to visit the mother his clothes are fumigated with the smoke of mustard seed thrown on the fire and when the visitor leaves any food milk or drinking water standing in the room must be flung away. For six days the Hindu mother is confined in this den her Muhammadan sister remaining for ten.

On the sixth or Chhathi day the barber and washerman are sent for the former cutting the hair and paring the nail of the infant the latter taking away the puerperal garments. It is from performing this menial work that the Dhobi belongs to a very unclean class.

On the twenty first or thirtieth day the barber and washerman again attend when similar duties are performed.

On the fortieth day after the birth of a baby impurity ceases as among the Jews but several rites must be first of all performed. There is the Kua Jhankna or peeping into the well which is identical with the worship of Sulhacharn among Hindus after which the mother resumes her household duties.

If a child be stillborn the mother is given an infusion of bamboo leaves in which a copper coin has been coiled. The draught is believed to decompose the poison which caused the death of the child. Should a woman give birth to several stillborn children in succession the popular belief is that the same child reappears on each occasion when to frustrate the designs of the evil spirit that has taken possession of the child the nose as a portion of an ear is cut off and the body is cast a way on a ditch.

Dais have many secret remedies which they puff with unblushing assurance. Several are innocuous a few useful but in all cases they consist of so many and such heterogeneous substances that their action must be extremely doubtful. Their favourite remedy is called Masturi or Battisa from its being composed of thirty to forty ingredients. Among other things it contains yrup, galls, litharge, sandal wood, rock salt and jollia (*Eribulu* *le* *g* *u*) and is

applied on balls of cotton soaked in Champa oil in all diseases peculiar to women

Daibak *Daibajna Duwak Dai vama* an astrologer calculator of nativities almanac maker etc He is usually an Acharji Brahman and the name is therefore used as a synonym for Acharji

Daibaki a section of the Mah mudabiz sub caste of Napits in Murshedabad

Dai Dom a sub caste of Doms in Bengal whose men are day labourers and women serve as midwives

Daikurar a title of Muchis whose women practise midwifery

Dainá Raju or **Chauán** a sub caste of Rajus in Midnapur who derive their name from their women fastening their are on the right side

Daji a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Dakhina or *Tur* a sub caste of Doms in Behar

Dakhinha a sub caste of Lichhis in Behar

Dakhini a sub caste of Bhaidaris in Orissa and of Telis in Chota Nagpur

Dakhin Kabat south gate a title of Khandaits in Orissa

Dakhin Rarhi a sub caste of Kharis in the 24 Parganas a sub caste of Napits a group of the Barabhadgiya Muchis

Dakrahi a *pur* or section of Sakardwiji Brahmans in Behar

Dakshinatya an illegitimate division of the Vudik sub caste of Brahmans in Bengal

Dakshina Uriya **Dakhin atya** a sub caste of Utkal Brahmans in Orissa

Dakshini a sub caste of Kharbati in Murshedabad

Dakshin Rarhi a group of the Ille Kharbattas in Central Bengal a sub caste of Chasidhols and Kayasths in Bengal

Dakutia a sub caste of the Kraunchdwiji Brahmans in Behar

Dalai a title of Kewats in Orissa

Dalai or **Tiar** a group of the Rajbansis sub caste of Kochhs in Northern Bengal

Dalai broker a title of Jugis and Luntis in Bengal

Dalihara a title of the castes who sell oil or pulses

Dalihare *Dililura* a section of Lichhis in Behar

Dalut a title of Karangas

Dam a title of Bangaja and Baidar Kayasths in Bengal

Damarwar a sept of the Chundhar division of Rajput in Behar

Damboria a section of Couls in the North Western Province and Behar

Damdaria a section of Kanaujia Jochars in Behar

Dami *Danya Tami Ktut Nija* a Nepalese caste by occupation tailors

Damma Pariwar a *thar* or sept of Doms in Darjiling whose chief occupation is singing

Damu a subsection of the Ivtis section of Majnuit Gola in Behar

Dán a title of Kiyastha Mayaras Grandhabiniks and Subarnabaniks in Bengal

Dana a title of Dakshin I rhi and Bungaja k yasths

Dandamálí a title of Brahmins

Danda Mánjhi a title of Iohrs and Bigdis in Western Bengal

Dandapat a section of Utkal or Orissa Brahmans

Dandapátdharí *Dindipit* a title of Suvarnabaniks in Bengal

Dánd Binjhiá a sub tribe of Binjhis so called from living in the plains

Dandi a religious group of Jugis a sect of an order of Saivite religious ascetics said to have been founded in Malabar by Sankara Acharya in the eighth or ninth century See **Dasnami**

Dandia a title of Binjhis in Chota Nagpur

Dand Korwa a sub tribe of Korwas in Chota Nagpur

Dandpatí a section of I rhi in Chota Nagpur

Dandwar a title of Binjhis a sept of the Suryabansi sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Dang big stick a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Dangar a sept of the Chandrabansi division of Rajputs in Behar

Dangarwar a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Dangbe a sub caste of Koiris in Behar

Dangwaria a sept of the Rautar sub tribe of Tharus in Behar

Danjai a *thar* or section of Nejhi Brahmans

Danreha or *Gaunhi* a sept of the Rautar sub tribe of Tharus in Behar

Danri a title of Bangaja k yasths

Dansuria a section of Sonars in Behar

Dantela a sub sept of the Hemrom and Tulu sects of Santals called from their bringing in with very large tusks for sacrificial purposes

Dantraí a group of the Karas a title of Kaibittas in Noakhali

Dantwa *Dintwa* a cultivation of the Nejhi I rhi

Daosri a section of Agarwals

Daraha a grain splitter—an occupation filled with women of the labouring castes in Behar

Darang a *tharu* or section of the Kachh Mundas in Dacca. The name indicates the habit of the group of living in hill villages in Arunachal Pradesh the present day has no bearing upon it

Darang Chiachi a section of the Kachh Mundas in Dacca

Darang Saudana a section of the Kachh Mundas in Dacca

Darang Dakal a section of the Kachh Mundas in Dacca

Darang Dambak a section of the Kachh Mundas in Dacca

Daratia a sub caste of Bagdis found in Nadia

Darbe a section of the Banj par sub caste of Koiris a *pangat* or section of Banjhor Doms and of Dosadhs in Behar a section of the Kadar caste in Lohar which intermarries with all the other sections except the Marik and Bare

Darchua a sub caste of Sunris in Behar who distil and sell country spirits By reason of their occupation they hold an inferior social position to the Bihari and Sagahut Sunris who are grain dealers and shopkeepers

Dārhibarhi a *mul* or section of the Chhamuli Midhesia sub caste of Halwais in Lohar

Dariápār *Dhariapar* a *mul* or section of the Chhamuli Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Darihare probably a variant of Dalihare a section of Bahans in Behar

Darihare Dih a *mul* of the Kasyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Darihare Rajanpurá a *mul* of the Kasyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Darihare Bargamiá a *mul* of the Kasyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Darihare Ratauli a *mul* of the Kasyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Darihare-Sanasrá a *mul* of the Kasyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Darjea a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Darka a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur who are said to have been born out of a rent in the earth

Darkhuriá a *mul* or section of the Ghosin sub caste of Coalis in Behar

Darnal a *thar* or sept of Doms in Darjiling whose lineage is said to have sprung from a Brahman by a Dmi wife a sept of Mangars

Darnál a section of Kamis in Darjiling

Darrá Lámi a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Darshan a title of Muchis in Bengal

Darsuriá a section of Lohárs in Behar

Daryesh a Mahomedan religious mendicant The term is also incorrectly applied to Hindu ascetics In the case of Mahomedans it includes the following classes—(1) Chishtia (2) Kádiri (3) Nakshbandi (4) Rafai (5) Madániá

Darwán a door keeper In Calcutta this post is usually held by up country Brahmins and Rajputs

Darzi a tailor Usually tailors are Mahomedans but Dhobis and Ghulám Kayasths have been known to take up the business A synonym for the Dámi tribe in Darjiling

Dás Jalwah Kaibartta a sub caste of Kewats in Western Bengal and of Kaibartas in Dacca

Dás a family title of Siddha Baidyas of Halwais and the Kathbaniá sub caste of Baniás in Behar a title of Kayasths and all Sudras of the Navasákh group in Bengal also assumed by members of non Aryan castes in

Bengal like the Kochhs who become Vaishnavas with a view to be considered Hindus a title of the Oswál Baniyas a sept *Ihárus* a section of Utkál or Orissa Brahmans and *Kirans* a title of Kaibarttas and Sunris in Bengal

Dasá an endogamous sub caste of Agarwáls, Maheeris and Oswáls

Dasabigha a section of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Dasanonth a section of Barhis in Behar

Dasarath Ghatak a *mel* or hypergamous sub group of Bárhí Brahmans in Bengal

Dasása a sub-caste of Sukhi in Midnapur

Dasaunchi a title of Bháts or genealogists They also call themselves Rajbhat

Dasbiha a sept of Lárs in Chota Nagpur

Dasgharia a group of the Bar gohri sub caste of Khandits in Saranda of Singbhum

Das Gurung or **Char Gotra** a sub tribe of Gurungs in Darjiling

Dasí a maid servant

Dasika a *dugu* or section of the Kochh Mandai in Dacca The name indicates the original habitat of the group probably a hill or village in Assam and at the present day has no bearing upon marriage

Dasil a *mel* or section of the Coria sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Daskaria wild fowl a totemistic sept of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Das Lambu a synonym for Lambu referring to the ten divisions of the tribe

Dasnám the collective name of ten classes of Saivite religious mendicants followers of Sankara Acharya each of which bears a peculiar name as Tirtha Asrama Suraswati Vana Bharati Aranya Giri or Gir Parvata Puri and Sugara which is added to the proper names of the members According to Professor H H Wilson only the first three and part of Bharati are now considered pure Dandis or bearers of the mendicant staff the others are of a more secular character and are usually called *Atis*

Dáspára Dáspária a sub-caste of Kumhars and Telis in Bengal

Daspuria a section of Ghásu in Chota Nagpur

Dasta dár an honorary title of Kiyasths in Bengal

Dastarband or **Pagriband** a turban maker a purely Mahomedan trade never engaged in by Hindus

Dast farosh an old clothesman collecting old clothes and rags which he sells to the narchaband to make hookah snakes to the masalchi for torches and to the jildgar for binding books

Daswáni a title of Bhats in Behar

Dásya a section of Bágdís in Bengal

Datayan a section of Maghaya Hindus in Behar

Datkiliar a section of the Amashta Kayasths in Behar

Datt a *thar* or sept of Man-gars in Darjiling

Datta a family title of Sadhya Baidyas Kayasths Mayaras Sankh ris T mbulis of Baruis of the Aut ub caste of Gandhabaniks Tintis Sutradhars and of Subarnabaniks in Bengal Int rmarriage is prohibit d within the title

Datta ke ráut a section of the Bichhut oy d Kharidaha Kal wars in Behar

Dattamánjhi a title of Kaibertas in Bengal

Dáturiá a sub caste of Sutra dhars in Noakh li

Daubárik messenger or sentinel a title of Khandaits in Orissa

Daulbandh a sub tribe of Kharwars in Lalámau

Daultá ke raut a section of the Bichhut and Kharidaha Kal wars in Behar

Dauru a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Dauwá a sept of Dhímáls in the Darjiling Terai

Dawári a *thar* of the Basishtha gotra of Nepáli Brahmans

Dawin a sept of Chakmás in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Day a *gam* of the Sabarna gotra of Rá hi Brahmans in Bengal

Dáymia a group of the Sanadhya sub caste of Gaura Brahmans

De a family name of Káyasths in Bengal of the Aut sub caste of Gandhabaniks of Kámars Mayarás Támbulis Tantis Telis

and Subarnabaniks in Bengal Intermarriage is prohibited within the title

Deau a synonym for Lohar Manjhi q v

Deb a family title of Sadhya Baidyas and of Bangiya and Barendra Kayasths in Bengal

Debangs a title of up country and Uriya Brahmans

Debans a sub tribe of Rajputs in Chota Nagpur to which the Rájas of Bishanpur in Lunakura profess to belong

Debáns a class of Tiyars who are fishermen

Debkuliar a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Debrishi a section of Mayaras in Bengal

Dedhgawe a section of Kayasths in Behar

Dehádbenáras a *nul* or section of the Chhamuha Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Dehát a *mel* or hypergamous sub group of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Dehát Baidya village doctor a title of Baidyas used by outsiders

Dehlásariár a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Dehri a section of Koráneh Kandus in Behar

Dehriti priests a sept of Mal Paharias in the Santál Parganas

Dehuri a title of Sudhas in Orissa

Dejong Lhor Dejongpa (people of the fruit district or

Sikkim) Lhopá Bhotia (Tibetans of the south) the common designation of the Tibetans who are settled in Sikkim. A list of their sub tribes and septs will be found in Appendix I

Demta red tree ant a totemistic sept of Grolás Kharwas Iohars Munlās Pín and Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Denrgamia a section of Awadhias Hajams in Behar

Dó a title of Baruis in Bengal

Deobansi a sub caste of Maulks in Chota Nagpur

Deodhiar a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Deoghat a section of the Chhumulia Mithila sub caste of Halwars in Behar

Deohar a title of inoculators for small pox now applied to vaccinators in Behar

Deorahir a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Deori a title of Sunnis in Bengal

Deradar a title of Kewats in Behar

Derhgáon a *mul* or section of the Ayilli sub caste of Hajjams in Behar

Desa (sram a sub caste of Gandhabhiks in Bengal)

Desauri a title of Kandhs in Orissa

Deseriet a *mul* or section of the Satmulia or Kishnaut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Desi a sub caste of Kumhars Telis, and of Kaibarttas in Behar

a group of the Rajbansi sub cast of Kachhs in Northern Bengal of Goalas in the North West Provinces a sub caste of Hindu in Orissa and of Bhumijs in Chota Nagpur

Deja a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Desla a sub caste of Ichis in Bengal

Desoar a section of Chasis in Chota Nagpur

Deswal a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Deswali a sub tribe of Santals in the south of Munbhum who call themselves Brahman and have adopted portions of the Hindu ritual

Deswali Deswal a title of natives of Upper Inha who settle in Bengal

Deswar a sub caste of Kulwars in Behar and of Maals in the Sakalpurans a section of the Sakhi and Lari Doms in Behar who perform their domestic worship outside of the *angan* or courtyard of their houses

Deswari Kharwar a sub tribe of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Deuli a *jain* of the Batsya *gotra* of Barenira Brahmans in Bengal

Deuri a title of Kumhars in Behar

Devakotya a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Devapathi a section of Karmas and a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Deva Sarma a synonym for Brahman

Dewán a section of the Yakh caste originally a title conferred by the Nepal Raj

Dewán ke asamí a section of the Binodhiá and Jaiswár Kalwars in Behar

Dewárk a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Dhabal a title of Telis in Bengal

Dhabalrishi a section of Chasádhibás in Bengal

Dhabhinchhwár *Dabhauch war* a section of Babhans

Dháí *Das* a nurse wet nurse or midwife See *Dái*

Dhaiá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces

Dháin a *gám* or sub section of Saptasati Brahmans in Bengal.

Dhákáes a *mul* or section of the Tinmulhá and Chhamulia Madhesiá and Bhojpuria sub castes of Halwáis in Behar

Dhákái a sub caste of Kámárs in Eastern Bengal

Dhákáich a section of the Bivahut and Kharidáha Kalwárs in Behar

Dhakaichhá a section of Sonárs in Behar

Dhákáis a *mul* or section of the Naomulhá or Goria sub-caste of Goálás in Behar

Dhakait a section of Bábhans and of Madhesia Halwáis in Behar

Dhákai a *thar* of the Upa manya *gotra* of Nepáli Brahmans

Dhakania a section of Kaneupjá Lohárs in Behar

Dhakaren a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Dhákawál a sub caste of Kamárs in Murshedabad

Dhákí a beater of the *dhal* or large drum a title of the Baiti and Muchi the only castes which use this kind of drum

Dhálí an honorary title of Kayasths and Goálás in Bengal of Kawális in Eastern Bengal

Dhaliá a sub-caste of Mals in Bankura

Dhalo a sub caste of Koras in Western Bengal

Dhaluá a sub caste of Karan gás

Dhamala a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Dháman a *mul* or section of the Naomulhá or Majraut sub-caste of Goálás in Behar

Dhamaniá a class of professional beggars in Chota Nagpur who eat dead animals and snakes

Dhamdi a section of Kai barttas in Orissa

Dhamí a section of the Goria sub caste of Goálás in Behar whose title is *Mandar*

Dhánun Dhamí a low probably non Arya caste in Darbhanga who make fans or brushes (*morchhal*) of peacock's feathers. In Gya the Dhamins officiate as priests to pilgrims in the ceremonies performed for the benefit of ancestors on the Rámula and Pretsila hills immediately above the town. They pretend to be a sort of Brahmans but their social position is low and orthodox Hindus will not take water from their hands

Dhámna Sap a section of Ghásis in Chota Nagpur

Dhán paddy or rice soup a totemistic sept of Chiks Korwas Lohárs and Oraons a sept of Mundas who are forbidden to take rice and rice soup and eat only *gondli* a section of Kharias a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Dhanáí Mandah a family name of the Grihasth group of Jugs in Bēngal

Dhanautá a *mul* or section of the Finmulia Mudhesia sub-caste of Halwais in Behar

Dhandh plum bush a totemistic sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Dhandhábe a section of the Bahannajati sub-caste of Khatris in Bengal

Dhánej a *mul* or section of the Chhamulá Mudhía sub-caste of Halwais in Behar

Dhanesri a section of Pods in Bengal

Dhaneswar a *mul* or section of the Finmulia Mudhesia sub-caste of Halwais in Behar

Dhangar in Chota Nagpur proper an agricultural labourer usually non Aryan engaged by the year who receives if hired by a native a lump sum varying from Rs 4 to Rs 6 at the time of hiring besides monthly wages in grain and a cloth at the end of the year. Labourers of this class are also largely employed by European tea-planters on the Lohar daga plateau. In this case they got Rs 9 on engagement and Rs 9 more in three instalments besides a blanket and an umbrella. On the origin of the term there has been some discussion.

It is writes Colonel Dalton a word that from its apparent derivation (*dang* or *dhang* a hill) may mean any hillman but

amongst several tribes of the Southern Tributary Mahals the terms *Dhangar* and *Dhanga* mean the youth of the two sexes both in highland and lowland villages and it cannot be considered as the national designation of any particular tribe. So Mr Oidham says in a note on *Some Historical and Ethical Aspects of the British Rule in India* that the Male Laharias call their men of fighting age *Dhanga* or *Dhangaria*. The Malas are recruits of the Oraons the typical Dhangar labourers of Chota Nagpur so that on this showing the word may well be nothing more than the Oriya for an adult. A corollary to another interpretation the name has reference to the fact that persons working as *Dhangars* receive the bulk of their wages in the form of rice. It is a crop or cold weather crops are not largely grown in Chota Nagpur proper and during the slack season from December till end of March large numbers of Dhangars leave their own country in search of agricultural work in the central and eastern districts of Bengal where the harvesting of the winter rice creates a great demand for labour. The *tanjari* system of payment is so general in Chota Nagpur that the term is virtually synonymous with labourer and these nomadic labourers describe themselves and are known throughout Bengal as Dhangars. When they settle as they frequently do they acquire the name of *Buna* which is sometimes prefixed to their tribal name thus Buna Oraon Buna Mundas.

Dhanichhwán a section of Babhans in Behar

Dhanjaya a *gotra* or section of Nepali Brahmins

Dhanka: Dhanko; a *mul* or section of the Naiya caste in Behar

Dhanka Oraon a sub-tribe of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Dhankharia a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Dhanki a sept of Nāgeswars in Chota Nagpur

Dhanroar a sub caste of Gwalas in Behar

Dhanu a title of Dakshin Barhi and Bangaja Kayastha a section of Kishnaut Gwalas in Behar

Dhanuar a section of Kharias in Chota Nagpur

Dhānuk one of the seven subdivisions of the Kurmis who are supposed to have been archers but are now employed in personal service and agriculture

Dhānuk, a cultivating caste of Behar many of whom are employed as personal servants in the households of members of the higher castes. Their origin is obscure. Buchanan considered them a pure agricultural tribe who from their name implying archers were probably in former times the militia of the country and are perhaps not essentially different from the Kurmis for any Yasawar (Jaiswar) Kurni who from poverty sells himself or his children is admitted among the Dhānuks. All the Dhanuks at one time were probably slaves and many have been purchased to fill up the military ranks—a method of recruiting that has been long prevalent in Asia the armies of the Parthians having been composed almost entirely of slaves and the custom is still I believe pretty general among the Turks. A great many of the Dhānuks are still slaves but some annually procure their liberty by the inability of their masters to maintain them and by their unwillingness to sell their fellow creatures. According to the Padma Purana quoted by Sir Henry Elliot Dhānuks are descended from a Chamar and a female Chandal. Another equally mythical pedigree makes the mother a Chamar and the father an outcast Ahir. Such statements however slight their historical value serve to indicate in a general way the social rank held by the Dhanuks at the time when it was first thought necessary to enrol them among the mixed castes. In this point of view the degraded parentage assigned to the caste lends some support to the conjecture that they may be an offshoot from one of the non Aryan tribes.

Dhanuks are divided into the following sub castes — Chhilatia or Silhotia Magahya Tirhutia or Chiraut Jaiswar Kanauja, Khapariya, Dudhwar or Dojwar Sunri Dhānuk, and Kathautia. Sir Henry Elliot writing of the Dhanuks of the North West Provinces gives a slightly different list which will be found in Appendix I. Buchanan mentions Jaiswar Magahya Dojwar and Chhilatia. Little is known regarding the origin of any of the sub castes. Magahya Tirhutia Kanauja are common territorial names used by many castes to denote sub-castes who reside in or are supposed to have emigrated from particular tracts of country. The Dudhwar or Dojwar sub-caste pride themselves upon not castrating bull calves.

The Sunri Dhanuk are said to have been separated from the rest of the caste by reason of their taking service with members of the despised Sunri and Telu castes. According to some authorities the Chhulatia sub caste is also known by the name of Jaiswar Kurmi a fact which to some extent bears out Buchanan's suggestion that there may be some connexion between the Dhanuk and Kurmi—castes. Speculations based upon resemblances of names are however apt to be misleading and I can find no independent evidence to show that the Dhanuks are a branch of the Kurmis or which is equally possible that the Jaiswar sub caste of the Kurmis derive their origin from the Dhanuks. It is curious that the distinction between personal service and cultivation which has led to the formation of sub-castes among the Gangotri Am and Kewat should not have produced the same effect in the case of the Dhanuks. Throughout Behar indeed full expression is given to these differences of occupation in the titles borne by those who follow the one or the other mode of life but it is only in Purniah that they form an impassable barrier to intermarriage between the Khawasia sub caste who are employed as domestic servant and the Gharbait and Mandal who confine themselves to agriculture.

The sections of the caste are shown in Appendix I. They are comparatively few in number and their influence on marriage seems to be gradually dying out its place being taken by the more modern system of counting prohibited degrees. For this purpose the standard formula *nanera chachera* etc is in use the prohibition extending to seven generations in the descending line.

Both infant and adult-marriage are recognised by the Dhanuk caste but the former practice is deemed the more respectable and all who can afford to do so endeavour to get their daughters married before they attain the age of puberty. The marriage ceremony differs little from that in vogue among other Behar castes of similar social standing. In the matter of polygamy their custom seems to vary in different parts of the country. In Behar it is usually held that a man may not take a second wife unless the first is barren or suffers from an incurable disease but in Purniah no such restrictions seem to exist and a man may have as many wives as he can afford to maintain. A widow may marry again by the *saju* or *chuna na* form in which Brahmins take no part and the union of the couple is completed by the bridegroom smearing red lead with his left hand on the forehead of the bride. In Purniah the deceased husband's younger brother or cousin should such a relative exist is considered to have a preferential claim to marry the widow but elsewhere less stress is laid on this condition and a widow is free to marry whom she pleases provided that she does not infringe the prohibited degrees. Divorce is not recognised in Behar but the Dhanuks of the Santal Parganas following apparently the example of the aboriginal race permit a husband to divorce an unchaste wife by making a formal declaration before the panchayat of his intention to cast her off and tearing a leaf in two to symbolise and record the separation. The proceedings conclude with a feast to all the relations the idea of which appears to be that by thus entertaining his family the husband

frees himself from the stain of having lived with a disreputable woman. Women so divorced may marry again provided that their favours have been bestowed solely on members of the caste. Indiscretions outside that role are punished by immediate expulsion and cannot be atoned for by any form of penance except in the unusual case of a Dhanuk woman living with a man of notably higher caste.

The religion of the Dhanuks presents no features of special interest. They worship the regular Hindu gods and employ as their priests Maithil Brahmins who are received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order. Among their minor gods we find Bandi Goraiya Mahabir Rām Thakur Gahil Dharm I aj and Sokha Sindubas. The last appears to be the spirit of some departed sorcerer. Dhanuks are also much given to the worship of the sun to whom flowers rice betel leaves cloves cardamoms mola ses together with money and even clothes are offered on Sundays during the months of Baisākh and Aghān. The offerings are taken by the caste Brahman or the Mah. The dead are burned and the *sraddh* ceremony is performed on the thirteenth day after death. In the case of persons who die from snake bite their relatives offer milk and fried rice (*lma*) to snakes on the Nagpanchami day in the month of Srāwan.

Notwithstanding the degraded parentage assigned to them by tradition and the probability that they are really of non Aryan descent the social position of Dhanuks at the present day is quite respectable. They rank with Kurmis and Koiris and Brahmins will take water from their hands. They themselves will eat cooked food drink and smoke with the Kurmi Amat and Kewat and Bihot. Dhanuks will eat the leavings of Brahmins Rajputs and Kayasths in whose houses they are employed. Personal service including palanquin bearing and agriculture are their chief occupations and in some parts of the country they are engaged in the cultivation of hemp and the manufacture of string whence they derive the title Sankatwar. Most of them are occupany or non occupany rayats and the poorer members of the caste earn their living as agricultural day labourers.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Dhanuks in 1872 and 1881 —

DIST	1872	1881	DIST	1872	1881
Bardw	150	2	Munshah	172	18
Bak	17	181	Chitrag		1
Bahadur	772	43	Panna	25 038	36 530
Madia			Cy	5 7	4 79
Hghil	102	18	Shahbad	1 781	1 891
Hwah	181	65	Thakur { Darbhanga	15 17	130
Panna	308		Muzaffarpur		62 773
Nadi	4 47	4 802	Sara	15 516	17 864
Mahabadi	134	111	Champanan	9 906	1 235
Danajp	34		Mithy	113 24	119 5
Rajahy	2	7	Shahulp	38 397	10 06
Raipur	3		Purnia	39 232	36 192
Bogra	199	2	Mithy	7 806	5 944
Panna	19	11	Santal Parganna	12 422	12 943
Darjiling	13	11	Lohardaga	620	1 225
Jalgaon	191	12	Manbhum	2 17	1 872
Kuch Behar	213		Tribary States	124	24
Faridpur					1 500
Bakargaj					

Dhanukī a sub-caste of Doms in Eastern Bengal who use bows and arrows to kill game a /i or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Dhanuta a section of Madhesia Kaudis in Behar

Dhanwantari a *gotra* or section of the Budya caste in Bengal

Dhaona a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Dhaprá a sub-caste of sweepers Doms in Behar who were on Syam Singh an uncle hero in process of conversion into a god

Dhar a family title of Sadhya Bailyas of the Kutsul caste of Grandhratik (Sankharis) of Dakshin Barhi and Brendra Kayasths and of Subarnababiks in Bengal Intermarriage is prohibited within the title

Dhar a sub-caste of Koiris in Behar

Dhar or *Dhar* a sub-caste of Dosadhs in Ichar

Dhara a title of Bagdis in Ichar

Dharadhare a *mel* or hypergamous sub-group of Barhi Brahmans in Bengal

Dhararindasi a sub-caste of Khatiks in Behar

Dharampuria a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub-caste of Gwalas in Behar

Dharan a section of Babhans in Behar

Dharani a title of Dakshin Barhi and Bangaj Kayasths,

Dhárán a section of Babhans in Western Bengal

Dhardhar a *gun* or sub-section of Saptaati Brahmans in Bengal

Dharén a *thir* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Dharh a sub-caste of Chakmas in Behar

Dhari *Dhar* a class of Muslim musicians formerly women who play singing and are regarded by some as in subhumanity apart from the Muslim community and live on their wives earnings. Thus however is a late development resulting from their conversion to Islam for when Buchanan wrote he found the Dhari in Behar employed in dancing, trunks and did not collect for work. They are poor and worshipped Bauli and Ham Bhakur

Dhariwar a section of Oswals in Ichar

Dharkar a sub-caste of Doms in Behar who make mud and iron and sell iron

Dharkia a section of Blojpuria Hulwar in Behar

Dharkilar a section of the Amalita Kayasths in Behar

Dharmaghare a religious group of Jugas in Bengal

Dharmahu a section of Awadhia Hajams in Behar

Dharmapandit a title of Telis Jugas and Doms in Bengal who officiate as priests in the religious ceremonies of their caste and of the rural god Dharma who is

said in a Bengali Purana dedicated to him to be an avatar of Vishnu. Dharma represented by a square stone with human features roughly carved upon it is particularly worshipped by women and is believed to cause and cure skin diseases. Brahmans will not worship him.

Dharm ásrām or *Dharm Sut* a sub caste of Mayaras in Central Bengal

Dhároá *Dharua* a sub-caste of Gonds usually employed in washing gold from the sands of the rivers in Chota Nagpur

Dhartá Kausik a *gotra* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Dharwár a *lul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Dhaul a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Dhaundria a section of Sonárs in Behar

Dhaurani a section of Babhans in Behar

Dhausáni a section of Babhans in Behar

Dhawá a class of Mahomedan palanquin bearers and fish mongers in Bengal

Dhawan a section of the Chhajati sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Dhayat a title of Kanaujia Brahmans

Dhechua a black bird a totemistic sept of Bedias Oraons and Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Dhek a section of the Banwar sub-caste of Banyas in Behar

Dhekhá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Dhelakata a tree at totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Dhelki a section of Khariás in Chota Nagpur

Dhelphor *dlod breaker* a title of Koiris in Behar which is supposed to have reference to their skill and thoroughness in cultivation

Dhemá a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Dhemal a synonym for Dhimai

Dhengar a sub caste of Gurers in Behar

Dhenu a section of Goriá Goalas in Behar

Dhenuár a small Dravidian caste of Chota Nagpur whose totemistic sections seem to indicate a possible kinship with the Mundas. Very little is known of their customs and their numbers are scanty

Dhesia Dhá ál or *Tapasपुरia* a sub-caste of Doms in Bengal who remove dead bodies etc

Dhibar a sub-caste of Kewats in Western Bengal and a synonym for Kaibartia

Dhilki a section of Mahils in Chota Nagpur

Dhilki Khariá a sub caste of Khariás in Chota Nagpur

Dhimál, Dhemál Maulik a non Aryan tribe of the Darjiling

Origin

and Nepal Terai classed by Fr Muller as
Lohitic They belong to the same main stock

as the Kochh whom they resemble closely in features and complexion and like them are rapidly losing their tribal identity by absorption into the large and heterogeneous Rajbansi caste. Rajbansis who pretend to be Kshatriyas strenuously deny that any such process is going on but a shrewd observer of social changes assures me that any Dhimál can become a Rajbansi at any time if he is only prosperous enough and in factances are known in which a fee of Rs 600 has been paid for this privilege. Formal promotions of this sort are however exceptional and the average Dhimál who aspires to social elevation transforms himself into a Rajbansi by simply assuming that title. So this movement rather than to any lack of vitality in the race we may attribute the fact that while in 1847 Hodgson² estimated the number of the Dhimáls at 15 000, no recent census shows any approach to this figure and they seem likely to disappear altogether as a separate tribe within the next generation. Already indeed they affect a dislike for the tribal name Dhimál which is now used only by outsiders and prefer to call themselves by the modern title of Maulik. They have no traditions of their own and look upon themselves as the original inhabitants of the tract of country where they are now settled. The scanty legends current among other races regarding their origin are noticed in the article on the Mech tribe with whom the Dhimáls are associated by the Nepalese dwellers in the Terai.

The Dhimáls are divided into three classes—Agnia, Later and Dungia—the members of which are not absolutely interbarred from intermarriage though the Agnia Dhimáls deem themselves superior to the other two classes and as a rule marry within their own group. Marriages also occasionally take place between Dhimáls and Rajbansis of either sex but in such cases the Rajbansis usually have to abandon their own caste and enroll themselves in the Dhimál community giving, as it were, a *janclayit* by way of entrance fee. There are four exogamous sects—Chonga, Dauwa, Kauwa and Ranga. Prohibited degrees are reckoned by the standard formula down to seven generations on the male and three on the female side.

Infant marriage is almost unknown among the Dhimáls and is practised only by the few well-to-do families who strive to imitate the customs of high caste Hindus. Among the main body of the tribe youths between the age of sixteen and twenty marry girls from twelve to sixteen. Courtship is unregulated and the young people usually settle their own love affair with the intervention of parents or guardians. It occasionally happens that a match affecting the proprietary interests of two families is arranged by the fathers of the

M W B Oldham B. H. C. L. S. v. 11. D. I. y. Comm. ss. ongr
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They numbered 873 in 1832 and 66 in 1851

couple concerned but as a rule the first step taken in the direction of marriage is for the girl to go off one evening with the man of her choice and quietly establish herself in his house. At this stage her parents come forward and demand a settlement of the bride price (*humna*) which formerly stood at Rs 11 but now ranges from Rs 20 to Rs 80 according to the attractions of the girl and the value which her parents set upon her lover. The amount however is not paid or even finally settled at once, the bride must first pass through a period of probation extending often to a year or more during which time her capabilities as a housewife are supposed to be tested. If she gives satisfaction the bride-price is determined and paid and the marriage formally celebrated. If she is rejected the man with whom she eloped is bound to maintain her and her children but instances of this very rarely occur. The procedure however is by no means uniform in all cases. Very commonly the marriage takes place a month or so after the elopement while the question of bride price stands over until the young woman's true value has been ascertained by the working test of domestic life. Dhimals seem however to regard marriage as a form of minor importance. I know of a young Dhimil who took a girl to his house some three years ago. The two live happily together and she has borne him a child but the marriage ceremony has not yet been performed owing probably to the parents being unable to agree about the bride price. No social stigma attaches to the girl's position and the women of the village receive her on equal terms but she is not entitled to serve boiled rice to guests invited on any ceremonial occasion. From this curious laxity in ordering the relations of the sexes it follows of course that intercourse previous to elopement or marriage is tacitly recognised. But if a girl becomes pregnant while still in her parent's house she is expected to disclose the name of her lover and to prevail upon him to marry her or at least to take her to live with him.

The marriage ceremony has evidently been borrowed from the Hindus. Its essential portions are the standard rites of *satpāk* or carrying the bride seven times round the bridegroom and smearing vermilion on her head (*sindurdan*). The village barber attends to shave the front half of the bridegroom's head the caste *guru* usually a Rājbanśi mutters gibberish which passes muster as sacred texts and the proceedings are completed by the assembled guests showering paddy *dub* grass sandal powder and water on the heads of the married couple.

Polygamy is permitted up to a supposed maximum limit of three wives but the tribe is a poor one and very few Dhimals can afford themselves the luxury of more than one wife. A widow may marry again and is in no way restricted in her choice except that the second marriage must take place from her parent's house and the prohibited degrees binding on her before her marriage may not be infringed. *Si'u dar* and the resumption of the massive shell bracelet usually three or four inches wide which distinguishes a married woman are the essential portions of the ceremony in use. Traces of Hindu influence may be discerned in the tendency to think

less highly of a remarried widow than of a woman whether married or not who is cohabiting with a man for the first time and is therefore eligible for marriage by the full form. Divorce is permitted on the ground of unchastity with the sanction of the caste panchayat and divorced wives may marry again under the conditions applicable to widows. A man who seduces a married woman is supposed to be liable to repay to the injured husband the bride price given for her when a virgin and the panchayat may be called upon to enforce this obligation by the various forms of social punishment which they have at their command. The tribe knows nothing of the Hindu systems of law and the devolution of property is regulated by a tribal custom of their own administered by the village council or panchayat. Sons inherit by equal shares failing sons the uterine brother divides the property next in order comes the wife then the daughters and next to them the cousins of the deceased.

In the forty years which have passed since Hodgson published his *Life of the Kohli Bots and Dhimal* the Dhimals have made a marked advance in the direction of Hinduism. They now insist upon describing themselves as orthodox Hindus and in their favourite object of worship are Chhawal Thakur or Gopal Thakur (a form of Krishna) Chaitan and Nitya (Chaitanya and Nityananda the great teachers of Vaishnavism) the Sakti or goddess Lakshmi and the tulsi plant (*Ocimum sanctum*). In the Darjiling Terai Dhimal temples may be seen in which Krishna is the central figure having Chaitanya on his right hand and Nityananda on his left while the sacred tulsi is planted in front of the bamboos hut which contains these images. No better illustration could be given of the distance which separates the Dhimal religion of today from the simple Nature worship described by Hodgson to which temples and images were alike unknown. The river deities of forty years ago seem entirely to have lost their hold on the people who no longer mention them among the regular gods though it is possible that they may still drag on an obscure existence as patrons of the village or the household. From the precinct of the regional tribal deity on they have been expelled by the onslaught of the Kali Bisahari Manasa Bura Thakur Manma and other celestial personages borrowed from the Hindu system. These aloft gods however are worshipped on just the same principle as the spirits of flood and field whom they have displaced. None of the characteristic deities of Hinduism have accompanied the new divinity who are propitiated for the avoidance of physical ills by much the same offerings as were presented to their predecessors. Thus to Chhawal Thakur and Chaitanya plantains milk and parched rice are offered to Kali buffaloes goats and pigeons to Bisahari goats pigeons and ducks. In this *melange* of Vaishnavism and Saivism the functions of priest are usually discharged by selected members of the Rajbans caste called Lamans to distinguish them from the degraded Prahmans who are occasionally called in to assist in a recently important act of worship. The men though belonging to the class of Lamans and Prahmans and living the lowest caste of Hindus would

not deign to attach themselves regularly to the Dhimal tribe and it seems likely enough that the whole of the Dhimals may be absorbed in the Rajbansi caste without ever reaching the dignity of having Brahmans of their own

Among the Dhimals of the present day the Hindu practice of cremation unknown at the time when Hodgson wrote is fast displacing the more primitive usage of burial. The Agniá Dhimals indeed who rank above the other sub castes are said to owe their name to their adoption of the custom of burning the dead. When burial is resorted to the corpse is laid in the grave face upwards with the head pointing towards the north. A meagre imitation of the Hindu ceremony of *śraddh* is performed usually on the tenth day after death but the practice in this matter is by no means uniform and some prefer the third day some the seventh and others again the thirteenth. A feast is always given to the relatives and friends of the deceased. Offerings for the benefit of ancestors in general are made in the month of Kártik (October–November).

Standing as the Dhimals do outside the regular caste system their social status cannot be very precisely defined. They abstain from beef snakes rats and similar vermin and the leavings of other people but eat fowls pork lizards and all kinds of fish. Rajbansis will take water from them and smoke in the same hookah but all other castes regard them as unclean. Dhimals in their turn profess not to take water from the Mech tribe from Mahomedans and from the large group of semi Nepalese castes vaguely termed Lahuris. Cooked food they will take from a Rajbansi or from a member of any higher caste. Agriculture fishing and pasturing cattle are their chief occupations and a few work as coolies in the tea garden of the Terai or carry on a petty trade in the commoner sorts of food grain. In former years they were greatly addicted to the *ghum* system of cultivation but the limits within which this is possible have been greatly curtailed by the development of forest conservancy and Dhimals residing in British territory have for the most part taken to regular plough cultivation. In the Darjiling Terai a few of them are *pidris* under a ten years settlement the bulk of the tribe being ordinary raiyats or landless day labourers. They still retain the nomadic habits noticed by Hodgson and large numbers of them will at times desert their villages in order to settle in some locality better suited to their peculiar mode of life.

Dhimar a sub caste of Kahárs in Behar who say that they immigrated from the west. They carry palanquins and work as domestic servants while some of them parch grain and keep petty shops. Socially they rank somewhat below the Rawam Kahárs

and Brahmans will not take water from their hands. They practise widow marriage and have a remarkable ceremony for divorce on the ground of adultery the concluding act of which is to pour a *ghairah* of water over the wife's head and turn her adrift.

Dhimire a *thar* of the Kásyap | Dhoár a sub caste of Gonrhus
gotra of Nepáli Brahmans | in Behar

Dhobá, the washerman caste of Bengal and Orissa who claim

descent from Neta Muni or Netu Dhapani
Origin. who washed the clothes of Brahma According
to another story Neta was the son of a devotee called Dhoba
Muni who washed his loin cloth (*kopin*) in a river and thereby so
fatigued himself that he could not fetch flowers for the daily
worship For this neglect his fellow devotees cursed him and he and
his posterity were condemned to follow the profession of washing
dirty clothes The Skanda Purana quoted in the Jati Kaumudi
makes the Dhobás the offspring of a Dhibar father and a Tibar
mother—a statement quite unsupported by evidence which is
only mentioned here in illustration of the common tendency to insist
on referring every caste now existing to some mode of mixed
parentage

Owing to the universal custom which forbids a Hindu to wash
his own clothes the Dhoba caste is very widely
Iternal structure. distributed and has in Bengal Proper been
broken up into an unusually large number of sub castes Eighteen
of these are shown in Appendix I but I am by no means certain
that the enumeration is exhaustive In Eastern Bengal two great
divisions are recognised—Ramer Dhobá and Sítár Dhobá the
former claiming descent from the washermen of Rama and the latter
from those of Sita Members of these two groups eat and drink
together but never intermarry The story is that originally Rama's
washermen worked only for men and Sita's only for women The
latter received a special payment of nine *paus* (720) of golden
cowries for washing Sita's menstrual cloths and this made Rama's
washermen covetous so that one day they stole those garments and
washed them themselves From that time it is said each branch of
the caste took to washing indifferently for either sex

In Central Bengal we find four sub castes—Sátisá Athisá
Hájará Samaj and Nitisina The first two are said to have reference
to the number of families originally comprised in each group the
third is supposed to consist of a thousand persons degraded for some
breach of social rules the fourth are day labourers as well as washer
men The distinctions between the first three are said to be less
strictly maintained of late years The Hughli Dholas have four sub
castes—Bara Samaj, Chhota Samaj, Dhoba Samaj and Rarhiya
Samaj the members of which do not intermarry and cannot eat
cooked rice together In Noakhali we find three endogamous groups
bearing the names of parganas Bhulua Jugidia and Sundip
In Orissa there appear to be no sub castes The Manbhūm series
Bangáli, Goríá Maghayá and Khotta seems at first sight akin to the
Behar set of sub castes in that it recognises Bangáli and Maghaya as
distinct geographical groups I have however placed the Manbhūm
Dhobas in the Bengal division of the caste because they speak Bengáli
themselves and are on the whole more subject to Bengáli than to
Behar influences

The sections of the Bengal Dhobas present no points of special interest. All of them have been borrowed from the Brahmanical system and are not taken into account in arranging marriages. There is indeed usually only one *gotra* current in each local community and that seems to be retained mainly from the force of custom and as a badge of social distinction. The prohibited degrees are the same as in other castes of about the same position in society.

Bengal Dhobas including the Manbhum members of the caste marry their daughters as infants at the age of from seven to nine years. Boys are usually married between eleven and fifteen but the sons of poor men who cannot afford to pay the bride price (*pan*) often remain unmarried till five and twenty by which time a man has probably earned enough to secure a wife for himself. The marriage ceremony is the same as is observed by most of the lower castes. The carrying of the bride seven times round the bridegroom is regarded as its binding portion. Polygamy is fully recognised in the case of well to do men whose first wives are barren for others it is allowed but is not considered quite respectable. Widows may not marry a second time. Divorce is not allowed but when a husband casts off his wife for adultery a reference is usually made to the panchayat and a purificatory ceremony (*giri chitti*) such as is described in the article on Chasadhola is gone through by the husband. Women thus cast off cannot marry again.

Among the Dhobas of Eastern Bengal some curious usages prevail in respect of marriage. The very *amaj* or local assemblage of the Ramer Dhoba sub caste is headed by three officials known in order of rank as the Naik the Paramanik and the Barik. The rest of the assemblage or community are known by the general name Samajik. For marriages between equals that is between persons both of whom belong to the same class whether official or Samajik the bride price is fixed at Rs 50. But where the parties do not belong to the same class the bride price varies above or below this sum in relation to the rank of the bride and bridegroom. Thus a Samajik marrying the daughter of a Naik Paramanik or Naik will pay Rs 51 Rs 52 or Rs 53 as the case may be while a Naik marrying in the classes below him pays Rs 40 Rs 48, or Rs 47 according to the rank of the bride. A somewhat less elaborate system exists in the Sitar Dhoba sub caste. There the headman of the Samaj is called Pradhan and the second Paramanik but there is no third official. The amount of *pan* varies with the rank of the bride but neither the nominal amount nor the scale of variation is fixed by custom. In Murshedabad and other districts of Central Bengal the Samaj of the Dhoba caste is presided over by three officials—Paramanik Barik and Mandal who are consulted when a marriage is under consideration and who decide any questions regarding affinity which may arise.

The Dhobas of Orissa differ in several important particulars from the Dhobas of Bengal. In the first place they have among their *gotra* the distinctly totemistic group Nagasa the members of which

revere the snake as their common progenitor and observe the primitive rule of exogamy which forbids a man to marry a woman who bears the same totem as himself. Prohibited degrees of course are recognised but the form in which they are stated shows them to be later amplifications of a more archaic method of preventing marriages between persons of near kin.

Again adult as well as infant marriages are sanctioned and there are no limits to polygamy. A man may take as many wives as he likes or can afford to maintain. Widows may marry again under much the same conditions as are recognised by the non Arvan races of Chota Nagpur. The ritual observed is *sanga*. When such a marriage is under consideration the widow appears before a caste council and solemnly cuts an arca nut (*ipiri*) into two pieces. This is supposed to symbolize her complete severance from the family of her late husband. The actual ceremony goes through on the day of the *sanga* is of the simplest character. The bridegroom decks the bride with new ornaments and noting that she has put off the undorned state of widowhood and a feast is given to the members of the caste then present at which is deemed to ratify the marriage. While permitting widows to remarry the Orissa Dhobas do not extend this privilege to divorced women. In dealing with women taken in adultery the main point is whether the paramour is a member of the caste or not. If he is I gather that the moral sense of the community is satisfied by the imposition of some slight penance and that the husband by no means invariably insists on getting rid of his wife. A *li* on with an outsider however admits of no atonement and the offending woman is simply turned out of the caste.

The religion of the Dhoba caste whether in Bengal or in Orissa exhibits no points of peculiar interest. Most Dhobas belong to the Vaishnava sect and a few only are Saktas. Like many other serving castes they pay especial reverence to Viswakarma. They employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes but the Dhoba Brahman as he is usually called ranks very low and is looked down upon by those members of the priestly order who serve the higher castes. In the disposal of the dead and the subsequent propitiatory ceremonies they follow the standard customs of lower class Hindus. It deserves notice that the Dhobas of Orissa bury children up to five years of age face downwards—a practice which in Upper India is confined to members of the sweeper caste.

The necessities of Hindu society give rise to a very steady demand for the services of the Dhoba and for this reason a comparatively small proportion of the caste have abandoned their distinctive occupation in favour of agriculture. The village Dhoba however besides receiving customary presents at all village festivals often holds *chalan* land in recognition of the services rendered by him to the community. In Eastern Bengal according to Dr Wislizenus the presence of the Dhoba is deemed indispensable at the marriages of the higher classes as on the bridal morn he sprinkles the bride and bridegroom with water collected in the palms of his hands from the grooves

of his washing board (*put*) and after the bride has been daubed with turmeric the Dhobá must touch her to signify that she is purified.

In Dacca says the same accurate observer the washerman is hard working regular in his hours of labour and generally one of the first workmen seen in the early morning making use of a small native bullock as the donkey does not thrive in Bengal for carrying his bundles of clothes to the outskirts of the town. He cannot however be said to be a careful washerman as he treats fine and coarse garments with equal roughness but for generations the Dacca Dhobas have been famous for their skill when they choose to exert it and early in this century it was no uncommon thing for native gentlemen to forward valued articles of apparel from Calcutta to be washed and restored by them. At the present day Dhobas from Kooch Behar and other distant places are sometimes sent while young to learn the trade at Dacca.

For washing muslins and other cotton garments well or spring water is alone used but if the articles are the property of a poor man or are commonplace the water of the nearest tank or river is accounted sufficiently good. The following is their mode of washing. The cloth is first cleansed with soap or fuller's earth then steamed steeped in earthen vessels filled with soap suds beaten on a board and finally rinsed in cold water. Indigo is in as general use as in England for removing the yellowish tinge and whitening the material. The water of the wells and springs bordering on the red laterite formation met with on the north of the city has been for centuries celebrated and the old bleaching fields of the European factories were all situated in this neighbourhood. Dhobás use rice starch before ironing and folding clothes for which reason no Brahman can perform his devotions or enter a temple without first of all rinsing in water the garment he has got back from the washerman.

Various plants are used by Dhobas to clarify water such as the nir mali (*Stychnos potatorum*) pui (*Basella*) nagphani (*Cactus Indicus*) and several plants of the mallow family. Alum though not much valued is sometimes used.

The Dhoba often gives up his caste trade and follows the profession of a writer messenger or collector of rent (*tahsilár*) and it is an old native tradition that a Bengali Dhobá was the first interpreter the English factory of Calcutta had while it is further stated that our early commercial transactions were solely carried on through the agency of low caste natives. The Dhoba however will never engage himself as an indoor servant in the house of a European.

Among the natives of Bengal the washerman like the barber is proverbially considered untrustworthy and when the former says the clothes are almost ready he is not to be believed. The Bengali Dhobá is not so dissipated as his Hindustani namesake whose drinking propensities are notorious but he is said to indulge frequently in *ganja* smoking.

The Dhobá is reckoned as unclean because he washes the peripheral garments—an occupation which according to Hindu ideas, is reserved for outcasts and

abandoned races. His social rank therefore is low and we find him classed with Chandáls Jugis Máls and the like. Notwithstanding this he assumes many airs and lays down a fanciful standard of rank to suit his pleasure. Thus in Bikrampur in Dacca, he declines to wash for the Patani Rishi Bhunmáli and Chandál but works for the Sunri because the Napit does so and for all classes of fisher men. He also refuses to attend at the marriages of any Hindus but those belonging to the Nava Sákhá, and under no circumstances will he wash the clothes worn at funeral ceremonies.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Dhobás in Bengal Orissa and Manbhú in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872.	1881	DISTRICT	1872.	1881
Bardwan	7 152	4 904	Dajl g	85	330
Bes kura	2 74	4,405	J lp	168	979
Bh bh m	2 131	209	K h Beh		310
M dinapur	24 896	41 607	Dacca	9 615	11 028
Hughl	18 152	7 78	F dp	4 32	9 815
H wrah		9 312	B k rpa j	27 795	21 628
24 P rmanas	29 591	13 908	M man h	12 587	17 419
Nad y	4 815	6 874	C l i go g	11 135	11 446
Kh ina		2,276	Noakhali	1 345	16 51
Jesore	7 624	9 866	Tipp rah	16 197	16 592
M rihedabad	5 295	6 900	H li Tracts	7	38
D napp	7	2 071	i stack	27 550	26 129
Raj bahy	1 743	1 685	Puri	12,247	1 529
Bangp	805	899	B lasore	16 475	21 350
Bogra	327	51	Trib tary States	16 975	16 645
Pabna	1 576	2,225	Manbh m	7 816	9 404

Dhobi the washerman caste of Behar entirely distinct from

Origin.

the Dhobas of Bengal and Orissa. Except the vague story that they are descended from Garí Bhuiyá one of the minor gods of Behar Dhobis have no tradition respecting their origin and the internal structure of the caste throws no light upon the sources from which it has been formed. Mr Nesfield holds that the washerman represents an impure caste but are many degrees higher than that of the Bhangí from whom he has sprung. Both are descended from the Dom, whose sole wealth according to Manu must be dogs and asses¹. The Indian washerman has always been associated with the indigenous ass which carries the soiled clothes down to the bank of the river or tank and takes them back clean to the house. No Hindu of any caste even the lowest will wash his own clothes and so the Dhobi has been formed into a caste which shall bear the impurities of all. It seems to me open to question whether this ingenious hypothesis is borne out by the very scanty evidence that is available. Dhobis and Doms as I understand the argument are alleged to be cognate races because both are associated with the donkey. Now in the first place the use of donkeys by the Dhobi caste is so far from being

¹ Manu x 62 speaks thus of the Chandals not of the Doms. There is nothing probable in the view that both are descended from a common stock but I doubt whether the evidence justifies the assumption of their identity.

universal that it has given rise to the formation of a slightly inferior sub-caste called Gadhayá. Secondly beyond the highly conjectural identification of the Doms with the Chandals spoken of by Manu, there is nothing to show that Doms have the faintest partiality for the donkey. On the contrary the Magahya Doms of Behar as is explained in the article on that caste will not touch a donkey and regard the Dhobí with very special aversion in explanation of which they tell a curious story. So far as my knowledge extends neither the physical characteristics nor the exogamous divisions of the Dhobí caste suggest any conclusion at all regarding the origin of the group and for the present at any rate all that can be said is that it is probably a functional group evolved under the pressure of social requirements from whatever elements happened to be at hand in any particular locality. The tendency no doubt would be to relegate the ceremonially objectionable work of a washerman to the non-Aryan races and in Orissa as has been pointed out in the article on Dhobá some evidence has survived to show that this has actually taken place. But it would be hopeless to attempt by any mode of analysis to trace the various elements which may have been combined in a large functional caste.

The Dhobís of Behar are divided into the following sub-castes —
 Internal trust Kanaujá Maghayá Belwar Awadhíyá,
 Batham Gorsár Gadhayá (keep donkeys),
 and Bangla (immigrants from Bengal). There is also a class of Mahomedan Dhobís known as Turkia.

Magahya Dhobís have exogamous sections (*mulá*) of the territorial type. The other sub-castes appear to have no sections and to regulate their marriages solely by the standard Behar formula regarding prohibited degrees.

The usual practice among Dhobís is to marry their daughters as infants at ages ranging from five to twelve years but cases sometimes occur in which a girl is married after puberty owing to her parents being too poor to arrange for her marriage before. The preliminary negotiations are conducted by a match maker (*jua*) who may or may not be a relative of the bride. A small customary price (*tilak*) is usually paid to the parents of the bridegroom. The ceremony is of the ordinary type. Polygamy is supposed to be prohibited but a man may have two wives without incurring censure and as a rule no one is rich enough to be able to keep more. A widow may marry again by the *agat* form in which the ritual consists of smearing vermilion on the parting of the bride's hair with the bridegroom's left hand and presenting to her a lac armlet. If her late husband has left a younger brother or younger cousin it is considered the right thing for the widow to marry him some four or five months after her husband's death. A divorce may be obtained with the assent of the caste panchayat when a woman is taken in adultery with a member of the caste or for incompatibility of temper. Sexual intercourse with an outsider belonging to a lower caste would involve expulsion but I infer from the case cited below that a woman would incur no social penalty by becoming the

mistress of a man of high caste. A divorced woman may marry again by *sa ja*. The man whom she marries is expected to give a feast to the members of the caste.

It is a singular fact that the Dhobis of Behar like the Bauris and Bagdi of Bengal admit into their community men of higher castes who have been expelled from their own group. In such cases the head of the new member is shaved and he is bathed in any sacred stream that may be available. He must also worship Sat Narayan and give money and a feast to the Brahmans of the caste. A case of this kind occurred recently in Champaran. A Bhuinhar (Bábhán) of Khirtari thana Dhaka having been expelled from his own caste for eating and drinking with a Dhobi woman who was his mistress was formally received into the Dhobi caste by the ceremony described above.

In all that concerns the worship of the greater gods the religion of the Dhobis differs little from that of other castes. They are about the same social position as the *Vishnu Kártika* or the Saktis are selected for worship very much as the personal tastes of the worshipper may dictate. Maithil and Sakadwipi Brahmans are employed as priests but these suffer in social estimation by serving so low a caste and are distinguished by the official name of Dhobi Brahman. Besides these professional priests the Dhobi turns Baragi may find employment as *guru* or spiritual adviser among the members of his caste. In addition to the minor gods common to them and other low castes of Behar Dhobis pay especial respect to Gari Bhuia whom they worship on the 10th of Srávan with offerings of five goats, betel leaves, flowers of the *ushul* tree, cakes of flour, rice boiled in milk, *janri* with *chulam* ready for smoking, a *dhoti* and a few coins. These offerings with the exception of the *ja ja* are afterwards consumed by the members of the family. The *dhoti* with money is given to Brahmans. In the Monghyr district Barham Ghassi appears to occupy much the same position as Gari Bhuia does further north. On the last day of Ashadh Ghosi Pachaim is propitiated in very similar fashion. Some Dhobis are said to worship their flat iron (*ustiri*) but I have been unable to find out the precise form of ritual appointed for such occasions. Jhuiki Gosain and Lam Thakur are also reckoned among their gods.

In point of social standing Dhobi hold but a low place among the castes of Behar being classed with Beldars, Musahars, Chamars and the like. Brahmans of course cannot take water from their hands. They are not very particular about their food and in some districts they are known to eat field rats—a fact which suggests non-Aryan affinities. Most of them adhere to their traditional occupation of washing clothes and only a few have taken to agriculture as non-occupancy ayats. Some however work as cartmen and others have taken to selling milk. In North West Shahabad says Mr Guerson the village Dhobi receives as his perquisite ten *seers*

of grain for every plough in the village This is called *jauru*. In the same part of the country he also receives an armful of crop known as *kharu* or *krid* according as it is large or small In the North Western Provinces and probably also in Behar the Dhobi gets a special fee in cash or kind at child birth and on the day when the mother first leaves her room According to the same high authority¹ —

The honesty of the washerman and his tenderness for the clothes committed to his care are not considered of much account in Behar and there are numerous proverbs coined at his expense *e.g.* *dhobi par dhobi buse tib kharu u alu u* —no soap ever touches clothes unless many washermen live together (when owing to competition they wash well) Again *thuk /ap ker ki hhu nahin phat* —nothing belonging to a washerman's father is ever torn by him (i.e. those are the only clothes about which he is careful) It is also a wise precaution which accords with Behar ideas should universally be adopted to disbelieve a washerman when he says the clothes are nearly ready A washerman's donkey is a bye word as in the proverb *gadha ken na losar jo amyan thol yi ken na dosar parohan* —an ass has only one master (a washerman) and the washerman has only one steed (a donkey) Again *dhobi nau daryi tinu alga yi* —there are three careless people the washerman the barber and the tailor

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Dhobi caste in Behar and Chota Nagpur during 1872 and 1881 —

D	187	188	1	OT	1872	1881
Patna	12 4 9	19 4	Bh ar li		16 414	23 491
Gya	7 9 4				10 775	1 11
Sh h bad	1 1	1 7	M i l l		1 5 7	3 8 3
Tirh t { Da bh ga	45 19	2 8		ryana	1 7 7	7 5
Moxt p	1 122	2		h	7 5	11 72
	1 1	17		h	2 1	11 37
Chota Nagpur	15 772	2		m	2 5	2 26
				y St tes		3 963

Dhobáhá a section of the Biháhut and Kharidáhá Kálwars in Behar

Dhobá Samáj a sub caste of Dhobás in Ilughli

Dhobdhar a sept of Bairágis in Chota Nagpur who cannot wash their clothes when performing ceremonies for the birth of a child

Dhobi a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur who cannot touch a washerman

Dhokar Gond or **Márgan** Gond a sub tribe of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Dhokasan a section of Goalás in Behar

Dhokra a sub caste of Karmars or blacksmiths in Western Bengal who make brass idols

Dhol Dhole a title of Barendri Brahmans and Bangaja Káyasths in Bengal

Dholá a sub caste of Doms in Bengal who are supposed to come from Dhalbhum

Dholi *Dhuli* *Dholá* *Dhulá* a beater of the *dhol* or small drum a title of the Báiti Hari Kora Muohi and other low castes a section of the Dhaprá

sub-caste of Doms in Behar a title of Goálás.

Dholo a sub caste of Sunris in Western Bengal

Dhondh a water snake a sept of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Dhongán a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Dhor a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Dhorá a sub tribe of Bhuiyás in Chota Nagpur

Dhorán a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Dhosáli a *gaim* of the Bátsya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Dhrámar a title of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Dhruba a *gotra* or section of the Baidya caste in Bengal.

Dhukankorá a sub caste of Sunris in Behar

Dhukursáni a sub caste of Kotals in Bengal

Dhuli a *thar* or sept of Dámis in Darjiling the members of which are drummers by profession

Dhuliá or *Dhulo* a sub caste of Bauris in Western Bengal

Dhum a title of Bangaja Káyasthas in Bengal

Dhunakáta a sub caste of Mals in Midnápur and Manbhum

Dhundhiá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces

Dhundhiá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces

Dhundhuri a *gaim* of the Sábarna *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Dhungiál a *thar* of the Agastí *gotra* of Nepáli Brahmans.

Dhunisiá a cotton carder an occupation followed by Mahomedans.

Dhunkor a section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Dhurári a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Dhurfandá a section of the Biyahut and Kharidáhá Kalwars in Behar

Dhuriá a sub caste of Kándus and Kahars in Behar

Dhurjhár a *mul* or section of the Chosin sub-caste of Goálás in Behar

Dhurjya a sept of Chakmás in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Dhurungia a section of Ghásis in Chota Nagpur

Dhusia Dhusiyá a totemistic sept of Chamars and Doms in Chota Nagpur a sub caste of Chamars in Behar

Diá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces

Diáli a section of Kámis in Darjiling

Diag a kind of fish a totemistic sept of Bedias in Chota Nagpur

Dikshit or Dikshit a title of Kanaujia Brahmans, Bábhans and Rajputs in Behar

Dighá, a title of Bauris in Western Bengal.

Dighal a *gotra* of the Batsya *gotra* of Rárhí Brahmans in Bengal

Dighbáit Dighwait a *kul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Dighwará a *mul* or section of the Tinnuli Madhusia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Dighwe Tipri a *mul* of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans and of Babhans in Behar

Dighwe Nagar a *mul* of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Dighwe Kankaurá a *mul* of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Dighwe Sannahpur a *mul* of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Dighwe-Sakarpura a *mul* of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Dihbans a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Dih korwa a sub tribe of Korwas in Chota Nagpur

Dihparsár a local section of the Maghaya sub-caste of Kouris in Behar

Dihwár a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Dil'er a sept of Goalás in Chota Nagpur

Dilpalí a *thar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Dingsain a *gain* of the Bhadrarwaja *gotra* of Rárhí Brahmans in Bengal

Dip a sept of Chik in Chota Nagpur who may not eat after twilight

Dipar a section of Babhans in Behar

Dirghatí a *gam* of the Sándilya *gotra* of Rárhí Brahmans in Bengal

Dirra a kind of eel a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Dirwar a jungle fruit a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Doi *Doi Chalanía Baidya Lakkhiputra Patia Das* a low cultivating caste of Eastern Bengal especially numerous along the banks of the Lakhya river in Dacca. The Doai are probably allied to the Hajang a Mongrel Garo tribe of Maimansingh and Silhet bordering on the Garo Hills who under Brahminical influence have broken off from the hillmen. A division of the Kochh Mandai however bears the name Doi and the Danyi are described by Buchanan as the most depraved of the Kochh tribe and the most impure of the Rájbangs.

The Doais of Rungpur according to Mr Damant have no Brahmans but employ members of their own caste as Purohīts and any stray Barágí as Guru the sraddha being held on the eleventh day after decease. They eat pork and drink spirits while their principal occupation is carrying palankins and fishing.

The Doai of Dacca are described by Dr Viseas as squat men with an Indo-Chinese type of features others are tall and muscular with large black eyes, aquiline noses, and a profusion of hair on the face while their complexion is of a light brown. At the present day

the Doais have become so thoroughly Hindused and have so completely lost their original language and customs, that very little information can be got from them. They have Patit Brahmans of their own who confess to having been their priests for three generations only. The weddings and funerals are the same as those of other low caste Hindus the *sraddha* being likewise celebrated on the thirtieth day. The Doai will drink from the vessels of the lowest Sudras but even the Bhūnmālī is disgraced if he drinks from theirs. They disavow the use of pork and spirits although their neighbours affirm that indulgence in both is universal. They all belong to one gotra the Aliman and their sole title is Dās. Disputes are settled by a headman Pradhán whose office is not hereditary.

Their religious festivals are Hindu the majority being Vaishnavas while a Gosáin or Baurági is the Gúru. Before felling a Gujálī or Sál tree offerings are made to Chandī, or Durga, the Brahman officiating while according to their own account no religious rite is ever celebrated without the guidance of the family priest.

Living as they always do on the edge of the forest they cut firewood for the market and make matting (pat) whence the name Patia Dās but do not catch fish for sale or engage themselves as boatmen. They have lost their ancestral language and some of them occasionally learn to read and write Bengali being employed as *lahsildars* or rent-collectors by landlords while the illiterate become watchmen and messengers.

Doálak a *mul* or section of the Naomulá or Majraut sub-caste of Goalás in Behar.

Doálband he who bears a sword a soldier one of the two main divisions of Kharwars, the other being Láítband.

Doasí *Dofash*, a designation of the illegitimate offspring of parents of different castes.

Dobar a section of Sunris in Behar.

Dobe see Dube.

Dobháit a *mul* or section of the Maghaya sub-caste of Barul in Behar.

Dobhasia Dubash a man of two languages an interpreter a title of the Rajbansi sub-caste of Kochhs in Northern Bengal.

Dobongw a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur.

Dodrai a kind of bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur.

Doen a *mul* or section of the Chhamulá Madhesia sub-caste of Halwais in Behar.

Doeri *Dwari* *Darwan* a door keeper. The term is reserved for the door keepers of the houses of considerable landholders in the mofussil.

Doglá a mixed caste in Behar descended from fathers of the higher classes by women of the low castes. They are chiefly employed as writers.

Dohál a *tha* of the Bachh *gotra* of Nepáli Brahmins.

Dohán a section of Goalás in the North Western Provinces.

Dohar a sub caste of Chamar in Behar.

Doh-rahb-pá, one dwelling under the feet a *mul* or sept of Dejong Lhoris, the members of

which form the lowest class of Bhotias

Doh zepá living in rough and craggy rocks, a *ru* or sept of Dejong Lhoris the members of which form the lowest class of Bhotias

Doi a synonym for Doai a section of the Kochh Mundai in Dacca.

Doingnak a sub-tribe of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Dojwár see Dudhwár

Dokáne Máli a sub caste of Máhs in Bengal

Dokhangpá a *ru* or sept of the Bed tshan gye sub tribe of D jong Lhoris or Lhotias of the south

Dolbandhi a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Dorn a sub caste of Turis in Chota Nagpur

Dom *Domrá* sometimes called Chandál by outsiders a Dravidian monial caste of Bengal Bihar and the North Western Provinces regarding whose origin much has been said Dr Caldwell considers the Doms and other Chandáls of Northern India and the Larelys and other low tribes of the peninsula to be the surviving representatives of an older ruder and blacker race who preceded the Dravidians in India. Some of the e were driven by the Dravidian invasion to take refuge in mountain fastnesses and peñtential jungles while others were reduced to perpetual servitude like the Doms of Kumaon whom Mr Atkinson describes as for ages the slaves of the Khaisyas—thought less of than the cattle and like them changing hand from master to master Sir Henry Elliot says they seem to be one of the aboriginal tribes of India Tradition fixes their residence to the north of the Gogra, touching the Bhars on the east in the vicinity of Rohini Several old forts testify to their former importance and still retain the names of their founders as for instance Domdiha and Domangarh Ramgarh and Sahankot on the Rohini are also Dom forts Mr Carneg observes that the fort of Domangarh was the stronghold of the Domar a degenerate clan of Rajputs and suggests in a note that these Domar or Donwar may themselves have been a family of Doms who had retired to power locally and got themselves enrolled in the conveniently elastic fraternity of Rajputs In support of this theory he refers to the case of Ali Baksh Dom who became Governor of Ramlabad, one of the districts of Oudh and mentions that it was not uncommon for men of this class to rise to high office under kings by whom they were employed as musicians

Grammar of the Dravidian Languages p 546

North-Western Provinces Gazetteer vol x p 370

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Buchanan *Eastern India* p 353 calls this the Domangar or the castle of the Dom lady It would be noted that Sir Henry Elliot mentions Buchanan who nowhere gives it a his own opinion that the Dom is the same as the Domk tar section of the Bahhan caste though he mentions (1871) without comment a popular tradition to that effect

Notes on the Races of A udh (Oudh) p 24

Out of this somewhat profitless discussion there seems to emerge a general consensus of opinion that the Doms belong to one of the races whom for convenience of expression we may call the aborigines of India. Their personal appearance bears out this opinion. Mr Beames describes the Magahiyá Doms of Champáran as small and dark with long tresses of unkempt hair and the peculiar *glassy* eye of the non Aryan autochthon and Mr Sherring remarks that dark complexioned low of stature and somewhat repulsive in appearance they are readily distinguishable from all the better castes of Hindus. The type, however as is the case with most widely diffused castes seems to display appreciable variations. In Eastern Bengal according to Dr Wise the Dom's hair is long black and coarse while his complexion is oftener of a brown rather than a black hue and among the Magahiyá Doms whom I have met in Behar only a small proportion struck me as showing any marked resemblances to the aborigines of Chota Nagpur who are I suppose among the purest specimens of the non Aryan races of India. On the whole however the prevalent type of physique and complexion seems to mark the caste as not of Aryan descent although evidence is wanting to connect it with any compact aboriginal tribe of the present day. The fact that for centuries past they have been condemned to the most menial duties and have served as the helots of the entire Hindu community would of itself be sufficient to break down whatever tribal spirit they may once have possessed and to obliterate all structural traces of their true origin.

The Dom community is a large one and the intricacy of its internal organization is doubtless due for the most part to the large area over which the caste is distributed. The sub castes and sections are given in a tabular form in Appendix I. About most of these there is very little to be said. Inquiry into the origin of sub castes is usually a difficult and unfruitful process and it is attended with peculiar difficulties in the case of a caste regarded by all Hindus with extreme repulsion and destitute of the social pride which delights to recall the reasons for minute internal divisions. The Magahiyá Doms of Behar have a legend that once upon a time Mahálá and Larvát invited all the castes to a feast. Supat Bhakat the ancestor of the Doms came late and being very hungry mixed up and ate the food which the others had left. His behaviour was deemed so scandalous that he and his descendants were straightway degraded and condemned to eat the leavings of all other castes. Even at the present day if a Dom who comes to heg is asked to what caste he belongs the answer will invariably be *Jhúla khás* or eater of leavings. This myth is unknown to the Doms of Central and Western Bengal who trace their origin to a common ancestor called Kalubir the son of a Chandál woman by her Let's husband. From his four sons Iránbir Manbir Bhánbir and Shánbir the sub-castes Ankuriá Bisdeliá Bájuníá and Magahiyá are said to

be descended. The two elder sons Pránbir and Manbir were it is said sent out to gather flowers for a sacrifice. Pránbir who was lazily inclined tore the flowers from the trees with a bamboo hook (*ánkuli*) and picked them up as they fell on the ground while Manbir climbed the trees and gathered flowers carefully from branch to branch. The flowers brought in by Manbir were accepted and he received the title of *Lisdalia* (*his* twenty and *dal* a branch) because he had climbed twenty branches in the service of the gods. The elder brother's offering was rejected as unclean and he and his descendants were named *Ankuria* in reference to the hook. On hearing this decision the third brother was greatly pleased and drummed on his stomach in token of satisfaction. He and his offspring therefore were entitled *Bajunia* or musician Doms. The *Dhakal Dhesia* or *Tajapuria Doms* who remove dead bodies and dig the cross trench which forms the base of the funeral pyre also claim descent from Kalubir. One of his sons they say was sent by Mahádeva to fetch water from the Ganges. At the river bank he found a dead body waiting to be burned and was tempted by offers of money from the friends of the deceased to dig the necessary trench. On his return to Mahádeva the god cursed him and his descendants to minister to the dead for all time. No special legend is given to account for the name *Magahiya* which doubtless originally denoted the Doms of South Behar. The Dusub-caste owe their name to the circumstance that their women act as midwives in parts of the country where *Chamains* are not numerous enough to perform this function. The men are day labourers. The *Bansihar* or bamboo splitter sub-caste derive their name from the material out of which they make baskets while the *Chaparjá* seem to be so called from building the bamboo framework by which a roof (*chagan*) is supported. The *Uttariya Doms* of South Behar work in *sirkas* and regard this as an important distinction between themselves and the *Magahiya* who in that part of the country till the soil and make mats and baskets of bamboo.

The exogamous sections of the caste are very numerous. In Behar they seem to be *territorial* or *titulus* while in Bankura the names are *totemistic* and the members of particular sections refrain from injuring the animals after which they are called. In Central Bengal traces of totemism may perhaps be found but the tendency is to borrow the Brahmanical *gotras* while in the eastern districts all exogamous groups seem to have disappeared and marriages are regulated by the more modern system of counting prohibited degrees down to and including the fifth generation in descent from a common ancestor. The *Magahiya Doms* of Behar affect to observe a very elaborate method of working the rule of exogamy. They lay down that a man may not marry a woman belonging to the same section as his own (1) father (2) paternal grandmother (3) paternal great grandmothers (4) paternal great great grandmothers (5) mother (6) maternal grandmother (7) maternal great grandmothers. In applying the rule to a particular case, all the sections on both sides are taken into account in the manner described

in the article on Bais so that a marriage would be barred if one of the great-grandmothers of the proposed bride happened to have belonged to the same section as one of the great-great-grandmothers of the proposed bridegroom even though the parties themselves belonged to different *muls*. This mode of calculation appears to be confined to Behar and in Bengal wherever section exist the only rule observed is that a man may not marry a woman of the same section as himself. The standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees is in general use. In Bankura it is ordinarily calculated to three generations in the descending line but where *bhavadi* or mutual recognition of relationship has been kept up between two families the prohibition extends to five generations. The Doms of the 24 Parganas affect to prohibit marriage between *sapindas* but this is a palpable imitation of the customs of the higher castes. Members of other castes may be received into the Dom community by paying a fee to the panchayat and giving a feast to the Doms of the neighbourhood. At this feast the proselyte is required to wait upon his new associates and to eat with them. He must also have his head shaved and undergo a sort of baptism with water at the hands of the caste panchayat in token of his adoption of the Dom religion. Instances of men of other castes thus joining themselves to the Doms are very rare and occur only when a man has been ejected from his own caste for living with a Dom woman. Some say however that in these cases the proselyte though ordinarily spoken of as a Dom is not admitted to complete equality with the original members of the caste. His children however will be Doms of the same sub-caste as their mother.

In Central and Eastern Bengal Doms following the example of the higher castes nearly always marry their daughters as infants and regard it as wrong for a girl over ten years of age to remain unmarried in her father's house. A small bride-price (*pan*) varying from Rs 5 to Rs 10 is paid to the parents of the girl. In Behar and Western Bengal adult-marriage still holds its ground for those who cannot afford the more fashionable practice and sexual intercourse before marriage is said to be tolerated. Among the Doms of the Dacca district the marriage service is peculiar. The guests being assembled on a propitious day fixed by a Brahman the bridegroom's father takes his son on his knee and sitting down in the centre of the *Marooha* opposite the bride's father who is holding his daughter in a similar posture repeats the names of his ancestors for seven generations while the bride's father runs over his for three. They then call God to witness the ceremony and the bridegroom's father addressing the other asks him 'Have you lost your daughter?' The answer being in the affirmative a similar interrogation and reply from the opposite party terminates the service. The boy bridegroom then advances, smears the bride's forehead with *sindur* or red lead—the symbol of married life—takes her upon his knee and finally carries her within doors. Like all aboriginal races Doms are very fond of gaudy colours the bridal dress consisting of yellow or red garments for the female and a yellow cloth with a red turban for the male.

In the 24 Pargannas a more Hinduised ritual is in vogue. The marriage takes place on a raised earthen platform (*bedi*) to which a branch of a banian tree is fixed. An earthen vessel full of Ganges water is placed in the centre. On this vessel the bride and bridegroom lay their hands one above the other and the ceremony is completed by exchanging garlands of flowers. The Dom priest Dharma Jandit presides and mutters words which purport to be sacred texts and the actual marriage service is preceded by offerings to ancestors and the worship of Surya Ganesha Durga Mahadeva and Anta Kulkovata. Further west again in the districts of Bankura and Manbhum the ritual appears to differ little from that already described in the article on the Bagdi caste. There is however no marriage with a tree and no symbolic capture of the bride as in the case of the Bagdis while in the joining of the hands which precedes *sindurdan* the bride presents her right hand if she is given away by a male and her left if by a female relative. On the night before the wedding the ceremony of *adhibas* is performed in the houses of both parties by anointing the body with turmeric and oil and tying a thread soaked in this mixture and knotted with a few blades of *durra* grass on the right wrist of the bridegroom and the left wrist of the bride. The ritual followed in Behar is of the simple character consisting mainly of *sindurdan* which is often performed in the open air under a tree. The wealthier Doms however erect a wedding canopy (*chhatra*) and generally copy the Hindu ceremony with more or less accuracy of detail.

Polygamy is everywhere permitted and poverty forms the only restriction on the number of wives a man may have. The standard of living however is low and it is unusual to find a Dom with more than two wives and most men content themselves with one. A widow may marry again and in Behar it is deemed right for her to marry her late husband's younger brother but in Bengal this idea does not seem to prevail and a widow may marry any one she pleases provided that she does not infringe the prohibited degrees binding on her before her first marriage. The ritual (*sanga* or *sagai*) observed at the marriage of a widow consists mainly of *sindurdan* and the present of a new cloth. A *pan* is rarely paid and never exceeds a rupee or two. In Murshedabad there is no *sindurdan*, and a formal declaration of consent before representatives of the caste is all that is required. Considerable license of divorce is admitted and in some districts at any rate the right can be exercised by either husband or wife so that a woman by divesting herself of the iron bracelet given to her at marriage can rid herself of a husband who ill treats her or is too poor to maintain her properly. Dom women have a reputation for being rather martial and many of them are conspicuous for their powerful physique. It may be by virtue of their characteristics that they have established a right very rarely conceded to women in Bengal. A husband on the other hand can divorce his wife for infidelity or persistent ill temper. In either case the action of the individual requires the confirmation of the panchayat which however is usually given as a matter of course, and is expressed in Bhagalpur by solemnly pronouncing the *prithi*

monosyllable *jao*. In North Bhagalpur the husband takes in his hand a bundle of rice straw and cuts it in half before the assemblage as a symbol of separation. Divorced wives may marry again by the same ritual as widows. Their children remain in the charge of their first husband. In Monghyr the second husband must give the panchayat a pig to form the basis of a feast and if convicted of having seduced the woman away from her first husband must pay the latter Rs 9 as compensation. A husband again who divorces his wife has to pay a fee of 10 annas to the panchayat for their trouble in deciding the case.

Most of the sub castes seem to have a fairly complete organization for deciding social questions. The system of panchayats is everywhere in full force and in Behar these are presided over by hereditary headmen variously called *sardar*, *p*, *than*, *manjhan*, *magorait* or *kaliraj*, each of whom bears rule in a definite local jurisdiction and has under him a *chharidar* or rod bearer to call together the panchayat and to see that its orders are carried out.

The religion of the Doms varies greatly in different parts of the country and may be described generally as a chaotic mixture of survivals from the elemental or animistic cults characteristic of the aboriginal races and of observances borrowed in a haphazard fashion from whatever Hindu sect happens to be dominant in a particular locality. The composite and chaotic nature of their belief is due partly to the great ignorance of the caste but mainly to the fact that as a rule they have no Brahmins and thus are without any central authority or standard which would tend to mould their religious usages into conformity with a uniform standard. In Behar for instance the son of a deceased man, sister or of his female cousin officiates as priest at his funeral and recites appropriate *mantra* receiving a fee for his services when the inheritance comes to be divided. Some Doms indeed assured me that the sister's son used formerly to get a share of the property and that this rule had only recently fallen into disuse but their statements did not seem to be definite enough to carry entire conviction and I have met with no corroborative evidence bearing on the point. So also in marriage the sister's son or occasionally the sister (*awain*) repeats *mantra* and acts generally as priest. Failing either of these the head of the household officiates. The possible significance of these facts in relation to the early history of the caste need not be elaborated here. No other indications of an extinct custom of female kinship are now traceable and the fact that in Western Bengal the eldest son gets an extra share (*jithang*) on the division of an inheritance seems to show that kinship by males must have been in force for a very long time past. In Bengal the sister's son exercises no priestly functions there being usually discharged by a special class of Doms known as Banikans or Digharias and in other districts as Dhimir Indut. Their office is hereditary and they wear copper rings on their fingers as a mark of distinction. In Mirshadabad on the other hand most Doms with the exception of the Banukia sub-caste and most of the Ankuria have lost all connection with Brahmins and are regarded as

the Dom and may perhaps be a survival from times when that caste were the recognised priests of the elemental deities worshipped by the non Aryan races. Whenever an eclipse of the sun or moon occurs every Hindu household places at his door a few copper coins which though now claimed by the Aohárya Brahman were until recently regarded as the exclusive property of the Dom.

Similar confusion prevails in Bihar under the régime of the British. The Dom is only with this difference that the advance in the direction of Hinduism seems to be on the whole less conspicuous than in Bengal. Mahadeva Kali and the river Ganges receive it is true sparing and infrequently but the working deities of the caste are Syam Singh whom some hold to be the deified ancestor of all Doms, Rakat Málá (Chhal) and Gohil Gorayá Bindu Lukeswar Dihwar Dák and other ill defined and primitive shapes which have not yet gained admission into the orthodox pantheon. At Deodha in Darbhanga Syám Singh has been honoured with a special temple but usually both he and the other gods mentioned above are represented by lumps of dried clay set up in a round space smeared with cow dung inside the house under a tree or at the village boundary. Before these lumps formless as the creed of the worshipper who has moulded them pigs are sacrificed and strong drink offered up at festivals marriages and when disease threatens the family or its live stock. The circle of these *godlings* as Mr Ibbetson has excellently called them is by no means an exclusive one and a common custom shows how simply and readily their number may be added to. If a man dies of snake bite say the Magahiyá Doms of the Gya district we worship his spirit as a *Sampert* lest he should come back and give us bad dreams we also worship the snake who bit him lest the snake god should serve us in like fashion. Any man therefore conspicuous enough by his doings in life or for the manner of his death to stand a chance of being dreamed of among a tolerably large circle is likely in course of time to take rank as a god. Judging indeed from the antecedents of the caste Syam Singh himself may well have been nothing more than a successful dacoit whose career on earth ended in some sudden or tragic fashion and who lived in the dreams of his brethren long enough to gain a place in their rather disreputable pantheon. Systematic robbery is so far a recognised mode of life among the Magahiyá Doms that it has impressed itself on their religion and a distinct ritual is ordained for observance by those who go forth to commit a burglary. The object of veneration on these occasions is Sansari Mái whom some hold to be a form of Kali but who seems rather to be the earth mother known to most primitive religions. No image not even the usual lump of clay is set up to represent the goddess a circle one span and four fingers in diameter is drawn on the ground and smeared smooth with cowdung. Squatting in front of this the worshipper gashes his left arm with the curved Dom knife (*katari*) and daubs five streaks of blood with his finger in the centre of the circle praying in a low voice that a dark night may aid his

designs that his booty may be ample and that he and his gang may escape detection

Labra movet metuens andiri pulchra I averna

Da mihi fallere da justo sanctoque videri

Noctem peccatis et fraudibus objice nubem ²

According to Dr Wise it is universally believed in Bengal that

Doms do not bury or burn their dead but dismember the corpse at night like the inhabitants of Tibet placing the pieces in a pot and sinking them in the nearest river or reservoir. This horrid idea probably originated from the old Hindu law which compelled the Doms to bury their dead at night. The Doms of Dacca say that the dead are cast into a river while the bodies of the rich or influential are buried. When the funeral is ended each man bathes and successively touches a piece of iron a stone and a lump of dry cowdung after wards making offerings of rice and spirits to the manes of the deceased while the relatives abstain from flesh and fish for nine days. On the tenth day a swine is slaughtered and its flesh cooked and eaten after which quantities of raw spirits are drunk until everybody is intoxicated. In Western Bengal and Behar the usual practice is to turn the dead and present offerings to the spirit of the deceased on the eleventh day or as some say on the thirteenth. Before going to the place of cremation the Behar Doms worship Masán a demon who is supposed to torment the dead if not duly propitiated. Burial is occasionally resorted to but is not common except in the case of persons who die of cholera or small pox and children under three years of age. In these cases the body is laid in the grave face downward with the head pointing to the north.

By all classes of Hindus says Dr Wise the Dom is regarded with both disgust and fear not only on account of his habits being abhorrent and abominable but also because he is believed to have no humane or kindly feelings. To those however who view him as a human being the Dom appears as an improvident and dissolute man addicted to sensuality and intemperance but often an affectionate husband and indulgent father. As no Hindu can approach a Dom his peculiar customs are unknown and are therefore said to be wicked and accursed. A tradition survives among the Dacca Doms that in the days of the Nawábs their ancestors were brought from Patna for employment as executioners (jallad) and disposers of the dead—hateful duties which they perform at the present day. On the paid establishment of each magistracy a Dom hangman is borne who officiates whenever sentence of death is carried out. On these occasions he is assisted by his relatives and as the bolt is drawn shouts of Dohai

The whole of the scene was acted before me in the Juar Central Jail by a number of Magahya Doms undergoing sentence there. Some of them had their left arms scarred from the shoulder to the wrist by assiduous worship of the tribal Lamera.

Horace *Epist.* i. 16. 60

Mahārānī' or Dohāi Judge Sahib are raised to exonerate them from all blame

The peculiar functions which the caste performs at all Hindu funerals may be observed by all visitors to Benares and are described by Mr Sherring as follows — On the arrival of the dead body at the place of cremation which in Benares is at the base of one of the steep stairs or *ghāts* called the Burning Ghāt leading down from the streets above to the bed of the river Gangā the Dom supplies five logs of wood which he lays in order upon the ground the rest of the wood being given by the family of the deceased When the pile is ready for burning a handful of lighted straw is brought by the Dom and is taken from him and applied by one of the chief members of the family to the wood The Dom is the only person who can furnish the light for the purpose and if from any circumstance the services of one cannot be obtained great delay and inconvenience are apt to arise The Dom exacts his fee for three things namely first, for the five logs secondly for the bunch of straw and thirdly for the light It should be added that the amount of the fee is not fixed but depends upon the rank and circumstances of the deceased In Eastern Bengal according to Dr Wise the services of the Dom at the funeral pyre are not now absolutely essential Of late years at any rate in Dacca household servants carry the corpse to the burning ghāt where the pyre constructed by them is lighted by the nearest relative

The degraded position forced upon all Doms by reason of the functions which some of them perform is on the whole acquiesced in by the entire caste most of whom however follow the comparatively cleanly occupation of making baskets and mats Taking food as the test of social status it will be seen that Doms eat beef¹ pork horse flesh fowls ducks field rats and the flesh of animals which have died a natural death All of them moreover except the Bānsphor and Chapariya sub castes will eat the leavings of men of other castes To this last point one exception must be noted No Dom will touch the leavings of a Dhobi nor will he take water sweetmeats or any sort of food or drink from a man of that caste The aversion with which the Dhobi is regarded is so pronounced that Doms of Behar have assured me that they would not take food from a Muhammadan who had his water fetched for him by a washerman of his own religion The reason is obscure Some people say the Dhobi is deemed impure because he washes women's clothes after childbirth but this fact though conclusive enough for the average Hindu would not I imagine count for much with a Dom Moreover the Doms themselves say nothing of the kind but tell a very singular story to account for their hatred of the Dhobis Once upon a time

In Murhādabad and Eastern Bengal they profess to abstain from beef and hold themselves pure so to Muchis and Bauris for so doing In Assam buffalo meat is also forbidden

Some Doms say they will not eat the leavings of Dosadhs and Chamārs but this refinement is not general

they say Supat Bhakat the ancestor of the Doms was returning tired and hungry from a long journey. On his way he met a Dhobi going along with a donkey carrying a bundle of clothes and asked him for food and drink. The Dhobi would give him nothing and abused him into the bargain whereupon Supat Bhakat fell upon the Dhobi drove him away with blows killed his donkey and cooked and ate it on the spot. After he had eaten he repented of what he had done and seeing that it was all the Dhobi's fault declared him and his caste to be accursed for the Doms for ever so that a Dom should never take food from a Dhobi or eat in his house. The legend may perhaps be a distorted version of the breach of some primitive taboo in which Dhobis and donkeys somehow played a part. Doms will not touch a donkey but the animal is not regarded by the caste in the light of a totem. In this connexion I may mention the curious fact that the Ankuria and Bisdeha Doms of Birbhum will not hold a horse or kill a dog nor will they use a *dao* with a wooden handle explaining that their ancestors always worked with handleless *taos* and that they are bound to adhere to the ancient custom. The prejudice against killing a dog seems at first sight to suggest some connexion with the Bauris but it may equally arise from the fact that one of the duties of scavenging Doms in towns is to kill ownerless dogs.

Doms believe their original profession to be the making of baskets and mats and even the menial and scavenging sub castes follow these occupations to some extent. About half of the caste are believed to have taken to agriculture but none of these have risen above the rank of occupancy raiyats and a large proportion are nomadic cultivators and landless day labourers. In the south of Manbhum a small number of rent free tenures bearing the name *sibollar* and supposed to be set apart for the worship of the god Siva are now in the possession of Doms—a fact of which I can suggest no explanation. The Bajuniá sub caste are employed to make highly discordant music at marriages and festivals. His women folk however only perform as musicians at the wedding of their own people it being considered highly derogatory for them to do so for outsiders. At home the Domni manufactures baskets and rattles for children. A single wandering branch of the Magahiyá sub caste has earned for itself a reputation which has extended to the whole of that group. The Magahiyá Doms of Champaran says Mr Beames are a race of professional thieves. They extend their operations into the contiguous districts of Nepal. They are rather dainty in their operations, and object to commit burglary by digging through the walls of houses they always enter a house by the door and if it is dark they carry a light. Of course all this is merely done by way of bravado. Magahiyás never live long in one place. They move about constantly pitching their ragged little reed tents or *sar/13* outside a village or on a grassy patch by the roadside like our gypsies till they have done all the plundering that offers itself in the neighbourhood when they move off again. The popular belief that all Magahiyá Doms are habitual criminals is however a mistake.

Burglary is followed as a profession only by the wandering members of that sub caste. The Magahiyás of Gya are peaceable basket makers and cultivators who regard thieving with as much horror as their neighbours and know nothing of the Laverna cult of Sanasári Máí whom they identify with Jagadambá the small pox goddess one of a group of seven sisters presiding over various diseases. There seems indeed reason to believe that the predatory habits of the gipsy Magahiyás of Champaran are due rather to force of circumstances than to an inborn criminal instinct and the success of the measures introduced for their reclamation by Mr. E. R. Henry while Magistrate of Champaran affords grounds for the hope that they may in course of time settle down as peaceable cultivators.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Doms in 1872 and 1881 —

D O T	1872	1881	D T	187	1 81
Bardiwa	52 137	38 986	Chittag g	1 4 1	9 117
Bank ra	7 198	17 661	N akh l	7 3	380
B rth m	34 897	35 238	T pperah	19	8 4
Madnap	14,410	16 33	Pat	6 1	5 894
Hugli	} 10 715	10 729	G	7 7	773
H orah		2 960	Shah bad	7	5 2
24-Parganas	6 478	3 59	T b { Darbh	} 11 7 7	{ 1 1
Nadry	2 937	2 247	Shah g		
Khulna		49 39	S ra	7 466	9
Jessore		2 054	Ch mpara	4 1	8
M rahedabad	1 469	7 677	M nchy	117 9	1 910
Dinajp	1 34	3 494	Bhag l	14 46	7 79
Rajshahye	588	415	P ul	5 2 7	6 852
Rangpur	3 985	1 736	M ld h	1 7	377
Bogra	171	3 7	S tál Parja as	29 465	35 34
Fabna	1 506	1 831	C tack		1 785
Dajling	38	166	Balasore	1 3 7	2 328
J ipso	73	363	T b ury States	8 3	1 582
K h b har		261	H sa ba h	7	7 2
Dacca	641	370	Loha dakt		675
P ridd	89	228	Q ag h		1
B k rga j --	1 068	54	M bh m	17 34	18
Maiman nh	3,717	1 113	T b t y States	836	2 1

Domkatár a section of Babhans in Western Bengal and Behar to whom the members of other sections will not give their daughters in marriage though they will marry Domkatár women. It perhaps deserves notice that *katar* or *katarí* is the name of the peculiar curved knife used by the basket making Doms.

Dom Khakha a raven a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur.

Dom Pátr **Machhwá** or **Naqárchí** a sub caste of Pátrús in Bengal.

Domrá a sub caste of Turis in Chota Nagpur a synonym for Dom.

Domtakaraí a *mul* of the Bharadwáj section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar.

Domtashí a title of those Doms whose only profession is to sell bamboo articles originally immigrants from Upper India.

Domtikár a *kul* or section of Bábhans in Behar.

Don a *mul* or section of the Chhamulá Madhesá sub caste of Halwás in Behar.

Dondchatra a section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Dong ba a *rus* or sept of Sherpa Bhotias of Nepal

Dongwár a title of those who use canoes generally Gond Malla or Oraon

Donwár a *kul* or section of Bábhans and a sept of Rajputs in Behar a sept of the Rautár sub tribe of Tharus

Dopátia a sub-caste of Mayas in Eastern Bengal

Dorinar jogi a section of Rajwárs in Chota Nagpur

Doroá-Gond or Nárk, a sub tribe of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Dorompá a *rus* or sept of the Ruchhung sub-tribe of Dejong Lhoris or Bhotias of the south

Dorowár a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Dorrá a sub tribe of Bhuyás in Western Bengal

Dosádh, a degraded Aryan or refined Dravidian cultivating caste of Behar and Chota Nagpur the members of which are largely employed as village watchmen and messengers and bear a very evil reputation as habitual criminals. Dosádhs claim to be descended from the oldiers of the Pándava prince Bhuma or Bhum Sen and to be allied to the Cheros who are supposed at one time to have ruled in Behar. Buchanan thought there was some reason to suspect that the Dosádhs might be the same tribe as the Chandals of Bengal basing this conjecture on the statement that the two castes follow nearly the same professions and bear the same rank while the Chandáls pretend to be descended of Ráhu and I am told worship that monster. In fact however the Chandáls do not worship Ráhu or trace their origin to him and the Dosádhs revere a host of deified heroes a form of worship entirely unknown to the Chandál. The young men of the caste are often rather good looking and many of them have a yellowish brown complexion with wide expanded nostrils and the tip of the nose slightly turned up. The complexion however and the shape of the nose show a range of variations which seems to indicate considerable mixture of blood.

Professor Mantegazza following Dalton describes them as Aryans of a very low type and it seems about equally likely that the original stock may have been a branch of the Aryans degraded and coarsened by crossing with lower races or a non Aryan tribe refined in feature and raised in stature by intermixture with semi Aryan castes. In Northern Behar there has probably been some infusion of Mongolian blood and in all parts of the country some allowance must be made for the fact that members of any Hindu caste except the Dom, Dhobi and Chamar may gain admission into the Dosadh community by giving a feast to the heads of the caste and eating pork and drinking liquor in token of their adoption of Dosádh usage. This privilege no doubt is not eagerly sought for and most of those who join themselves to the Dosádhs after this fashion have probably got into trouble with their own people for keeping a Dosádh mistress or doing something disreputable. Still

the existence of a regular procedure for enrolling recruits from other castes shows that such cases are not unknown and they must tend in some measure to modify the physical type of the caste

The caste is divided into eight sub-castes — Kanaujīá Magahiyá,

Bhojpuriá, Pailwár Kámar or Kánwar

I ternal stru ture
Kuri or Kurin Dhárhī or Dhár Silhotia or
Sirotiá Báhalíá The members of nearly all these groups will eat cooked food together but do not intermarry The Dhárhī however who pretend to be descended from a Goálá who accidentally killed a cow and disclaim all connexion with the Dosadhs are excluded from this privilege and the Kámar have only recently cleared themselves from the suspicion of eating beef and been admitted to social intercourse with the other sub-castes Concerning the Bahaliá there is some question whether they are Dósádhs at all and it has been maintained that they are a distinct caste of gypsy like habits and possibly akin to the Bediyás Most Báhalíás however insist on their title to be considered Dosádhs and in Bengal at any rate the Bahaliá and Dosádhs eat and smoke together and though they do not intermarry behave generally as if they were branches of the same stock The sections (*dih r ul parich* or *panqat*) which are very numerous are shown in Appendix I In applying the rule of exogamy to a particular case the caste profess to exclude the sections of (1) the father (2) the paternal grandmother (3) the paternal great-grand mothers (4) the paternal great great-grandmothers (5) the mother (6) the maternal grandmother (7) the maternal great grandmothers and to follow the double method of reckoning explained in the article on Bais So that if the proposed bridegroom's maternal grandmother should happen to have belonged to the same section as one of the proposed bride's paternal great-great grandmothers the marriage would be disallowed notwithstanding that the parties themselves belong to different sections It is obvious however that entire conformity with so complicated and far reaching a scheme of prohibitions requires that genealogies shall be carefully kept up and infringements of the rules jealously watched for by the headmen and pancháyats who in the first instance determine the question whether a particular couple may marry or not There are indeed officials called *panjars* or genealogists who are supposed to act as referees in such matters but the caste as a whole is on a very low educational level and it is very doubtful whether the strict letter of these rules is invariably complied with It will be seen that nearly all the sections of the Magahiyá and Pailwár sub-castes are *titular* while most of the other sub-castes have *local* or *territorial* sections The Bahaliá have no sections and regulate their marriages by the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees calculated to seven generations in the descending line This formula is also used by the other sub-castes as supplementary to their system of exogamy

Dosadhs marry their daughters whenever they can afford to do

so but they do not hold the strict view of the
Marriage. spiritual necessity of infant marriage which is
current among the higher castes and the fact of a girl's marriage

being deferred until she has passed the age of puberty is not deemed to put any special slur on the family to which she belongs. Some Dosadhs however hold that an adult bride is not entitled to the full marriage service (*biyah*) but must be married by the *sagai* form used at the remarriage of a widow. The marriage ceremony is a somewhat meagre copy of the ritual in vogue among middle-class Hindus. Well to do Dosadhs employ Brahmans to officiate as priests but this practice is not general and most members of the caste content themselves with getting a Brahman to fix an auspicious day for the event and to mutter certain formulae (*mantras*) over the vermilion the smearing of which on the bride's forehead constitutes the binding portion of the rite. An infant bride is kept in her parent's house until she reaches puberty at the age of twelve or fourteen when the *gaund* ceremony is performed her nails are cut and stained red and her husband takes her to his own house. Consummation does not take place until after the *gauna* ceremony. Polygamy is permitted to a limited extent. A man may in no case have more than two wives and he is not supposed to take a second wife at all unless the first is childless or suffers from an incurable disease. In the Santál Iarganas however three wives are allowed and the tendency is to follow the aboriginal usage of unlimited polygamy. A widow may marry again by the *sagai* form and it is deemed right on grounds of domestic convenience for her to marry her late husband's younger brother if such a relative survives him. In the event of her marrying an outsider she takes no share in her late husband's property and any children she may have had by him remain in the charge of his family. Divorce is permitted by all sub-castes except the Kamar with the sanction of the panchayat for adultery and persistent disobedience or ill temper on the part of the wife. In the Santál Iarganas and Lalámau a *sál* leaf is torn in two or a stick broken to symbolise the separation of the couple. Divorced women may marry again by the *sagai* rite but they must first give a feast to the members of the caste by way of atonement for their previous misconduct.

Most Dosadhs if questioned about their religion will persistently aver that they are orthodox Hindus and in proof of this allegation will refer to the fact that they employ Brahmans and worship the regular gods. In most districts indeed degraded Kanaujia or Maithil Brahmans serve the caste as priests in a somewhat irregular and intermittent fashion being paid in cash for specific acts of worship and for attendance at marriages. Many Dosadhs again belong to the Sri Narayani sect and some follow the *p nth* or doctrine of Kabir. Iulá Dás Gorakhnath or Nānak. This enthusiasm for religion however like the Satnāmī movement among the Chamars of the Central Provinces appears to be a comparatively recent development induced in the main by the desire of social advancement and existing side by side with peculiar religious observances, survivals from an earlier animistic form of belief traces of which may perhaps be discerned in current Hindu mythology. Their tribal deity Rahu has been transformed

by the Brahmans into a Daitya or Titan who is supposed to cause eclipses by swallowing the sun and moon. Though placed in the orthodox pantheon as the son of the Danava Viprachitti and Sinhiká Ráhu has held his ground as the chief deity of the Dosádhs. To avert diseases and in fulfilment of vows sacrifices of animals and the fruits of the earth are offered to him at which a Dosádh Bhakat or Chatiyá usually presides. On special occasions a stranger form of worship is resorted to *parañels* to which may be found in the rustic cult of the Roman villagers and the votaries of the Phœnician deities. A ladder made with sides of green bamboos and rungs of sword blades is raised in the midst of a pile of burning mango wood through which the Bhakat walks barefooted and ascends the ladder without injury. Swine of all ages a ram wheat flour and rice milk (*hir*) are offered up after which the worshippers partake of a feast and drink enormous quantities of ardent spirits.

Another form of this worship has been described to me by

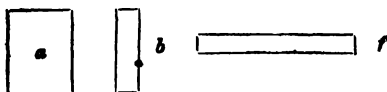
His w rah p

Dosádhs of Darbhanga and North Bhágalpur

On the fourth the ninth or the day before the full moon of the months Aghan Mágh Phálgun or Baisakh the Dosádh who has bound himself by a vow to offer the fire sacrifice to Ráhu must build within the day a thatched hut (*gilbar*) measuring five cubits by four and having the doorway facing east. Here the priest or Bhakat himself a Dosádh who is to officiate at the next day's ordeal must spend that night sleeping on the *kusa* grass with which the floor is strewn. In front of the door of the hut is a bamboo platform about three feet from the ground and beyond that again is dug a trench six cubits long a span and a quarter wide and of the same depth running east and west. Fire places are built to the north of the trench at the point marked *d* in the plan below. On the next day being the fifth the tenth or the full moon day of the months mentioned above the trench is filled with mango wood soaked in ghee and two earthen vessels of boiling milk are placed close to the platform. The Bhakat bathes himself on the north side of the trench and puts on a new cloth dyed for the occasion with turmeric. He mutters a number of mystic formulæ and worships Ráhu on both sides of the trench. The fire is then kindled and the Bhakat solemnly walks three times round the trench keeping his right hand always towards it. The end of the third round brings him to the east end of the trench where he takes by the hand a Brahman refrained for this purpose with a fee of two new wrappers (*dhotis*) and calls upon him to lead the way through the fire. The Brahman then walks along the trench from east to west, followed by the Bhakat. Both are supposed to tread with bare feet on the fire but I imagine this is for the most part an optical illusion. By the time they start the actual flames have subsided and the trench is so narrow that very little dexterity would enable a man to walk with his feet on either edge so as not to touch the mouldering ashes at the bottom. On reaching the west end of the trench the Brahman stirs the milk with his hand to see that it has been properly boiled. Here his part in the ceremony comes to an end. By passing through the fire the Bhakat is believed

to have been inspired with the spirit of Ráhu who has become incarnated in him. Filled with the divine or demoniac *afflatus* and also it may be surmised excited by drink and *gánjá* he mounts the bamboo platform chants mystic hymns, and distributes to the crowd *tsai* leaves which heal diseases otherwise incurable and flowers which have the virtue of causing barren women to conceive. The proceedings end with a feast and religious excitement soon passes into drunken revelry lasting long into the night.

d



a Bhakat's hut (q h b)

b Platform (kan)

Tr n h f l f úr

d Fire place

Ve sels of m lk

f Point from which Brahman and Bhakat pass through the fire

Next in importance to the worship of Ráhu is that of various deified heroes in honour of whom huts are erected in different parts of the country. At Sherpur near Patna is the shrine of Gaurais or Goraiyá a Dosádh bandit chief to which members of all castes resort the clean making offerings of meal the unclean sacrificing a swine or several young pigs and pouring out libations of spirit on the ground. Throughout Behar Saleh or Sálais said to have been the porter of Bhim Sen but afterwards a formidable robber in the Morang or Nepal Terai is invoked a pig being killed and rice and sweatments and spirits offered. In other districts Choar Mal is held in reverence and a ram sacrificed. In Mirzápúr the favoured deity is Bindhaohal the spirit of the Vindhya mountains. In Patna it is either Bindi M t Ram Karu or Karwá Bir Miran the Panch Pir Bhairav Jagda Ma Káli Devi Patanesvari or Ketu the descending node in Hindu astronomy sometimes represented as the tail of the eclipse-dragon and credited with causing lunar eclipses while Ráhu the ascending node represented by the head of the dragon produces a similar phenomenon in the sun. In none of these shrines are there any idols and the officiating priests are always Dosádhs who minister to the Súdra castes frequenting them. The offerings usually go to the priest, or the head of the Dosádh household performing the worship but fowls sacrificed to Miran and the Panch Pir are given to local Muhammadans.

In Eastern Bengal says Dr Wise Sákadvipi Brahmins act as the hereditary purohits of the Dosadhs, and fix a favourable day for weddings and the naming of children. To the great indignation of other tribes these Brahmins assume the aristocratic title of Misra which properly belongs to the Kanauja order. The guru called Gostán Faqír Vaishnava or simply Sadhu abstains from all manual labour and from intoxicating drugs. His text-book is the Gyán ságar or Sea of Knowledge believed to have been written by Vishnu himself in his form of Chatur bhujá or the four armed. It inculcates

the immaterial nature of god (Nirākāra) which is regarded by the Brahmans as a most pernicious heresy In the Santāl Parganas Dhobis and barbers serve the Dosādhs as priests.

Dosādhs usually burn but occasionally bury their dead and perform a *śrāddh* more or less of the orthodox pattern on the eleventh day after death. The female Dosādih is unclean for six days after child birth. On the seventh day she bathes but is not permitted to touch the household utensils till the twelfth day when a feast (*barahi*) is given and she becomes ceremonially clean.

The social rank of Dosadhs is very low. No respectable caste will eat with them, while they themselves, besides eating pork, tortoises, fowls, and field rats and indulging freely in strong drink, will take food from any class of Hindus except the Dhobi and the specially unclean castes of Dom and Chamar. Some of them even keep pigs and cure pork. Their characteristic occupation is to serve as watchmen (*chaukidārs*), and in this capacity they afford an excellent illustration of the Platonic doctrine *οπου τις απα δεινος φυλαξ τειναι και φαρ δεινος*¹ for they rank among the most persistent criminals known to the Indian police. We find them also as village messengers (*gorast*), grooms, elephant-drivers, grass and wood cutters, pankhā coolie and porters. They bear a high character as carriers and are popularly believed to repress their criminal instincts when formally entrusted with goods in that capacity. In South Bhagalpur the occupation of a groom is considered degrading and a Dosādih who takes service in that capacity is expelled from the caste. This seems to be a purely local practice. In Western Bengal and Behar Dosādhs occasionally work as cooks and grooms for Europeans. Some of the *chaukidārs* and *gorast*s hold small allotments of land rent-free in lieu of the services rendered by them to the village² but generally speaking Dosadhs hold a low place in the agricultural system. Their improvidence and their dissolute habits hinder them from rising above the grade of occupancy raiyat and a very large proportion of them are merely tenants at will or landless day labourers. During the Muhammadan rule in Bengal says Lt. Wise Dosadhs and Bāhals served in the army and when Ali Vardī Khān was Nawab, Nazim the native historian stigmatises their licentious conduct as a disgrace to the Government. From the days of William Hamilton it has been generally believed that in the early period of our military history Bengali sepoys almost exclusively filled several of our battalions, and distinguished themselves as brave and active soldiers but as is pointed out by Mr. Shore for years before the battle of Plassey the troops in Bengal were chiefly composed of recruits enlisted in Hindustan. According to Mr. Reade most of the sepoys who served under Lord Clive were Dosadhs who of course cannot be regarded as Bengalis in the ordinary sense of the word. It must be remembered however that a few generations ago the

¹ Plato *Rep.* i. 334

² Buchanan ii. 235 says that in Bhagalpur the Dosadhs receive from two to ten bighas of land rent-free with 1/10 part or a quarter of a sayer per maund of the rent in grain all these charges being paid by the landlord.

word Bengal was used in a more extended and less accurate sense than is now the case and it is quite likely that when Hamilton wrote of *Bengali* sepoys he merely meant to distinguish Natives of Hindustan from the Madras sepoys (see article Telinga) who were largely employed in our early campaigns in Bengal

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Dosadhs in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D	187	1881
Bārdw	895	800	B k gā j	14	
B h rā	1	2	M m h	36	159
B th m	144	1 1	I pcrat	9	
M d	96		P t s ng		8
H gh		254	(85 086	100 631
H w h	478	1 1	St h bad	96 61	108 294
24-F rgana	5 686	1 14	T h t { I th ga	77 974	60 845
Nā y	1 357	3 9	{ M uff iur	30 186	189 1
Kh lna		1	S ra	7 98	17 8
Jessore	23	20	h upara	(600	79 00
M l dabad	2	1 88	M h	9 42	82 7
D nāj	1 1	6 1 2	Bh ag l	67 7	1 331
Raj h ly		6 6	f l	7 4	7 13
Rangp	2 1		M i h	8 907	11 33
Bogra	46		H l h	1	26 7
Pabna	25	31	I h l 4	5 233	54 998
Darj g	6	1 2	M m	44	0
Jalpa	14	6	M l l m	303	1 4
K b Behar		100	I b y States	4 030	2 786
Dacca	50	1 7			
Faridpur		3 14			

Dos: a title of Oswal Banī yas

Doside a subgroup of the Hele Kaibartas in Central Bengal

Dṛṭiyāl a *thar* or section of Nepālī Brahmins

Dowalbandh: a section of Ghāms in Chota Nagpur

Drābirī Dravirī a territorial division of the Pancha Dravina Brahmins who live in the south of the Vindhya range a country of the Dravidian or Tamil language

Duarbandha a sub caste of Sunnis in Maldah

Duārseni a sub-caste of Ghāms in Chota Nagpur

Dubarthia a section of Sonárs in Behar

Dube or **Dobe** a title of Gaura Śāraswat and Kanaujā Brahmins, and of Bābhans in Behar

a title of the Brahmins who officiate as priests for lower castes in B ng l

Dubhīār **Dobihār** a *mul* or section of the Kanaujā sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Dub Sag a grass a totemistic s pt of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Dudhaila or **Maḥaya** a sub caste of Dhanuks in Bihar

Dudhīā a section of Mauliks in Western Bengal

Dudhkatora a *mul* or section of the Ajodhiabasi sub caste of Sonárs in Behar

Dudh Kaur a sub-tribe of Kauris in Chota Nagpur

Dudhlia a section of Goāls in the North Western Provinces

Dudhnait a *mul* or section of Bābhans in Behar

Dudhpuriet a *mul* or section of the Naomulá or Majraut sub-caste of Góalas in Behar

Dudhráj a section of Kamis in Darjiling

Dudhwar or **Dojwár** a sub caste of Dhánuks in Behar who are said never to castrate calves

Dud Kharía a sub caste of Kharías in Chota Nagpur

Dudul a kind of bird a totemistic sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Dugar a sect of Dasnámi Sannyás

Dugra a variant for Dogli or Dogli qí

Dugriar a section of Kurmís in Chota Nagpur

Dukhchákí a *tra* or sept of Manúars in Darjiling

Dulal a *tra* or section of Nepali Brahmins

Dulia a tribe of Bagdás in Bengál who are fishers in the Bilábar and general labourers

Dumala Goara a sub caste of Góalas in Orísá

Duman a sub caste of Sutaríahs in Nagáland

Dumaria a section of Góalas in the North Western Province and Behar

Dumar a section of Góalas in Behar

Dumariar a *pur* or section of Sakáwí Brahmins in Behar

Dumdúlia a section of Góalas in the North Western Province and Behar

Dumjan a section of Mumú in Darjiling

Dumrahar a section of Báis Sonárs in Behar

Dumrait a section of Babhans in Behar

Dumri a *mul* or section of the Mumú Madhía sub caste of Hálwís in Behar

Dumria *Dumri* *Dungriar* *Dumri* a totemistic section or sept of Kurmís in Chota Nagpur the *mul* which will not eat the willow (*luni*)

Dumriaba a totemistic sept of Jungs in the Tributary States of Orísá probably a variant of Dumri and having reference to the wild fig

Dundoar an owl a totemistic sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Dundu a kind of eel a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Dundwar a section of Babhans in Behar

Dungdung a river fish a sept of Múla and Kharías in Chota Nagpur

Dungia a sub tribe of Dhímá in the Dujá Bára

Dungmali a sept of Kharibus in Dujá Bára

Duntakrieh a *mul* of the Dujá Bára of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Dunya a sept of the Tungá Bára of Chokm in the Hill District of Chittagong

Dura a fruit a totemistic sept of Múlas in Chota Nagpur

Dural a section of Kámis in Darjiling

Durang a section of Kharías in Chota Nagpur

Durbichá a *thar* or sept of Sunuwars in Darjiling

Durgbansi a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Durgu a section of the Kochh Mandai in Dacca

Durhar a string maker in Hazaribagh Some of them bear the title of Gosain

Durhár a religious group of Jugis

Durjea see Darjea

Daryodhan a title of Sunris in Bengal

Dusád a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Dusre a group of the Sri bástab sub caste of Káyasths in Behar

Dut a title of Bangaja Káyasths

Dwádas a sub-caste of Telis in Bengal

Dwya a synonym or Brahman

Dwijátí *Dyuti* twice-born a title of Brahmans Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas in the scheme of castes attributed to the mythical Manu In the Census papers the term seems to have been used pedantically by Brahmans or Rajputs who wished to glorify themselves

E

Echaghatsu a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Eh Ar a sept of the Chandra dansi Rājputs in Behar

Ekádas a sub-caste of Telis in Bengal and Orissa a section of the Rauniyār sub caste of Baniyās in Behar

Ekádas a functional group of Jugis in Bengal

Ekauna a section of the Biyá hut and Kharidáhá Kalwās and of Awadhia Hajams in Behar

Ekáhre Ora a *mul* of the Bharadwáj section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Ekahre Ruchaul a *mul* of the Bharadwáj section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Ekahre Kanhaul a *mul* of the Bharadwáj section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Ekahre Sagram a *mul* of the Bharadwáj section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Ekahre Torne a *mul* of the Bharadwáj section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Ekka tortoise a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Ekpatjá a sub caste of Mayarás in Eastern Bengal

Eksariá, a *kul* or section of Bábhans in Behar

Ekside a sub group of the Hele Kaibarttas in Central Bengal

Emboro a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Erengá Kharjá a sub caste of Kharias in Chota Nagpur

Ergat a kind of mouse supposed to live in plum bushes a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Ergo rat a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

F

Fadung a sept of Tipperahs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Fakir a title of the Hindu section of Utkal Brahman in Orissa

Fakir an Arabic word properly denoting a Mohammedan religious mendicant but vigorously used to denote beggars of all kinds. Of fakirs in the strict sense of the word the following classes are enumerated by Wilson

1 The *Kudari* or *Banawa* who profess to be the spiritual descendants of *Said Abdul Kadir Jilani* of Bagdad. 2 The *Chih* *tiá* followers of *Banda nawaz* whose shrine is at *Kalbarga* they are usually *Shias*. 3 *Shutaria* descendants of *Abdul Shutarink*. 4 *Lakkia* or *Madari* followers of *Shih Malai* many of these are jugglers and bear or monkey ladies. 5 *Malang* descended from *Jamin Jati* one of *Shah Madar's* disciples. 6 *Rafai* or *Curzmir* descend from *Said Ahmed Kabir* *Idi* who appear to beat out and wound themselves with it inflicting inconvenience and who in the belief of the faithful can cut off their own heads and put them on again. 7 *Jilali* followers of *Said Jalaludin Bokhari*. 8 *Sohagi* from *Alsa Sohag* who dress like women wear female ornaments play upon musical instruments and sing and dance. 9 *Nakhibandi* followers of *Bahadudin* of *Nakhibandi* distinguished by begging at night and carrying a lighted lamp. 10 *Biwa pari*

ka fakirin who dress in white. There are other distinctions and at the *Muharram* a number of the lower classes assume the hair and garb of fakirs of different ridiculous presentations for the amusement of the population and the collection of contributions.

Faluda wálá a maker of hermit and yugs. In *Lhar* the *Kaluli* are often seen at a shop during the cold weather.

Fanigá grasshopper a festive sept of *Larhai* is in *Chota Nagpur*.

Farakhbadi a sub caste of *Gareris* in *Lhar*.

Fariansa a sept of the *Funjuna* sub tribe of *Chilims* in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong.

Farrash *Furk* a servant who buys it to spread and sweep mats, etc.

Fatehpuri a section of *Bonaris* in *Behar*.

Fatehsing a sub caste of *Telis* in *Murhedabad*.

Faujdar a title conferred by the local Rajas of Western *Bengal* on certain families who were engaged in police duties. The word also denotes the provosts in the officials of the *Vaishava* sects.

Fenga a section of *Mals* in *Bankura*.

Feringi a title of the Hindu section of *Utkal Brahman* in *Orissa*.

G

Gábag a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Gácha a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Gacha a sept of Parharyas in Chota Nagpur

Gáchhla or **Ghaná** a sub caste of Telis in Bengal from Gachhu a designation of persons who own *gachh* or oil mills and sugarcane mills

Gachkata a wood cutter a title of Seuls who cut down date trees for their juice

Gadahia a sub caste of Doms in Behar who are breeders of donkeys a section of the Banodhiá and Jaiswár Kalwárs in Behar

Gadahpurná a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Gadáli **Gadál** a section of Kámis a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Gadaiyá a section of Saraogis in Behar

Gadariya a synonym for Gareri

Gádáwar a sub-caste of Kurmis in Orissa

Gáddi a class of Mahomedan herdsmen in Behar

Gáddi Ghosi or **Ghosin** a sub-caste of Goalás in Behar

Gadháriá a section of Goalás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Gadhayá a sub caste of Dhobis in Behar who keep donkeys a title of Beldárs

Gadheyiá a section of the Bihthut and Kharidáhá Kalwárs in Behar

Gadhojiá a section of Goalás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Gadhiwal a section of the Jat sub caste of Goalás in Behar whose titles are Chaudhri Singh and Marár

Gadibhárat a section of Bágds in Western Bengal

Gadrahá a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Gaegoal a sept of Goalás in Chota Nagpur who are forbidden to eat *pakar* fruit

Gaek a sept of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Gáger a section of the Sátmulá Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Gaghraba paddy a totemistic sept of Juángs in the Tributary States of Orissa

Gagriá a sept of Hos in Singhbhum

Gágrish a section of Sunnis in the Santál Parganas

Gahala a section of Goalás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Gahálaot a sept of the Suryabans sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Gaharbari a sept of the Rautár sub-tribe of Thárus in Behar

Gaharwár a sept of Duraj bansi Rajputs and of the Rautár sub tribe of Tharus in Behar

Gahatráj a section of Kámis in Darjiling

Gahlaut a sept of the Chandrabansi division of Rajputs in Behar

Gah oh a *rai* or sept of Dejong Ihoris whose ancestor had emigrated from Bhutan and the members of which now work as blacksmiths

Gahur a small caste of Hindu traders found in Hazaribagh

Gahunágáoná a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Gái cow a totemistic sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Gairing a sept of Tipperahs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Gaiduhá a sub caste of Pásis in Behar

Gaighatíá a section of Bhats in Behar

Gáigwár a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Gaim a section of Maghaiyá Kumhars in Behar

Gáim a group of Maghaiya Telis in Behar

Gáin a sept of Rajputs and a *pangat* or section of Banskior Doms and of Sunris in Behar a class of Mahomedan singers a low Nepali caste of musicians

Gáin or **Grámin** literally belonging to a village a term signifying a title of Rárhí and Bárendra Brahmins in Bengal whose

ancestors were given villages by Rájá Adisura when they were brought from Kanauj to perform ceremonies at his request

Gaintwar a sept of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Gairaha Pipli a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmins

Gaitháhá a section of Bhojpuria Halwais in Behar

Gaithaula a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmins

Gajamer a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Gajbania a section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Gajkesar a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Gajmer a section of Kámis in Darjiling

Gajniyál a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmins

Galan a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Galá Tánti a sub caste of Tantis in Orissa

Gamaiyá Paigana Kharakpur a *dih* or local section of the Maghaiyá sub caste of Koiris in Bhágalpur

Gambharía a *kul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Gámel a section of the Biyáhut and Kharidáhá Kalwars in Behar

Gan a title of Dakshin Rárhí and Bangaja Kayasths in Bengal

Gana a hypergamous division of Tiýars in Behar

Ganda a sub caste of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Ganda Gandak, a title of
Dakshin Barhi and Bangaja
Kāyasths in Bengal

Gandār Gandā a title of
Goalas in Behar

Gandark a *pur* or section of
Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Gandha flying bug a totemic
sept of Chiks in Chota
Nagpur

Gandhabani *Ganthalania Putuh* the spice selling druggist
and grocer caste of Bengal proper. They
claim to be a branch of the Aryan Vaisyas
and trace their descent from Chandra Bhava commonly called
Chánd Suddagar an accomplished man the son of Kotsa Vara,
the lord of crores and Shailji of Ujjain mentioned in the
Padma Purana. Although this ancient lineage is assumed the caste
no longer wear the Brahmanical thread their marriage ritual does
not include *Kusmanti* and instead of mourning like the Agarwala
Baniyas for thirteen days they mourn like pure Sudras for thirty.
A modern compiler of caste genealogies gives them a Bala father
and a Rajput mother a pedigree wholly fatal to their
claim to be Vaisyas. Another story of their origin is current. Kubja
the hunch back slave girl of a Karwa carrying home spices
and sandal wood when Krishna first met her. The son born of their
subsequent union was naturally the first spice seller and the father of
all Gandhabaniks. A third tradition tells how Siva being in need of
spices for his marriage with Durga sent the first of the Desa
Gandhabanik from his forehead the Sankha from his arm pit the
Aut from his navel and the Chhatris from his foot and sent them out
to the four quarters of the globe to fetch what he required. The
Chhatris who went to the east got back first. All four were then
appointed to sell spices to men.

The Gandhabaniks are divided into four sub-castes—Aut Asram
Chhatris—Asram Desa Asram Sankha
Asram. In Decree according to Dr Wise
the three last intermarry and eat together but this appears not to
be the case in Central Bengal. The sections shown in Appendix
I are Brahmanical with the single exception of the one called Rās
rishi which I am unable to trace on account for. The prohibited
degrees are the same as among the Kayasths.

Gandhabaniks marry their daughters as infants and receive a
bride price (dowry) varying according to the
social status of the two families concerned.
Thus the Gandhabaniks of Dikrampur in Dacca receive a higher
price for their daughters and pay a lower price for their wives
than members of families whose reputation stands so high for
purity of lineage and propriety of ceremonial observances. The
marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type. In Dacca city
says Dr Wise the Gandhabanik caste has six powerful *dals*
or unions, the *Dal* or headmen being persons of great
respectability. In one of the *dals* a curious marriage custom
said to have been observed by their forefathers when they first
entered Bengal is still preserved. The bridegroom climbs a
champá tree (*Michelia champaca*) and sits there while the bride is

carried round on a stool seven times. Should no tree be available a charupa log placed beneath a canopy or a platform made of champa wood planks is substituted and ornamented with gilt flowers resembling the real champá blossoms. The other *dals* who follow the usual Sudra ritual associate with this one in private but not in public. In all cases the bridal dress is made of yellow silk (*cheli*) with a red striped border and the bride wears hers for ten days after marriage.

Polygamy is permitted to the extent that a man may take a second wife if he has no children by the first. Widows are not allowed to marry again nor is divorce recognised. A woman convicted of unchastity is simply turned out of the caste and ceases to be a member of respectable Hindu society. Her husband burns her in effigy and performs for her a mimic *chela* if she were actually dead.

In matters of religion the Gandhabanik conform entirely to the orthodox forms of Hinduism prevalent in Bengal proper. The large majority of them are Vaishnavas a few Saktis and still fewer Saivas. Their patron goddess is Ganeshwari, our lady of perfume, a form of Durgá, in whose honour they hold a special service on the full moon of Baisakh (April-May) arranging in a pyramidal form their weights, scales, drugs and account books and placing in front a goblet daubed over with red real flower fruit rice sweetmeats and

invocations soliciting the favour of the goddess during the ensuing year. These Brahmans it may be mentioned are treated on terms of equality by other members of the sacred order except those who decline to officiate as priests for even the most respectable Sudras.

According to Dr. Wise the Gandhabanik is a spice seller or purser as well as a druggist. He will not sell rice, vegetables, salt, oil or spirits but he keeps almost every other grocery in stock. He is often called by the Hindi term *Pansari* which signifies a dealer in groceries, spices and herbs. The comparatively high position of Gandhabaniks among Sudra castes is owing to the circumstance that the sandal wood and spices essential for Hindu religious rites can only be procured at their shops. It may be surmised however that their admission into the ranks of the Nava Sakha is of comparatively recent date as their name does not appear in the passage of Parasara usually quoted as the standard authority for the composition of that group.

The Gandhabanik says Dr. Wise obtains his drugs and spices direct from Calcutta or from the place where they are produced and buys quinine iodide of potassium and sarsaparilla from English druggists. He also sells tin, lead, pewter, copper and iron and retails if licensed saltpetre, sulphur and gunpowder as well as chemicals used by pyrotechnists and dispenses medicines ordered by Kabirajs. Although Gandhabaniks possess no pharmacopoeia and are ignorant of chemistry they display wonderful sharpness in distinguishing salts and minerals. Every Gandhabanik has the reputation of being a doctor.

and like the druggists of Europe he is often consulted and prescribes for trifling ailments. Drugs at the present day are sold by apothecaries weight other articles by the bazar weight of eighty sixteen rupees to a *seer*. Kabirajs however still use the old Hindu weights *pala rat masha* and *tau*. Boys able to read and write in Hindi are apprenticed to a Gandhabanik who makes them familiar with the appearance names and prices of drugs of which it is said a *seer* name in his shop may contain three hundred and sixty kinds. Most of these go to form the different kinds of *pat* or alternative medicine greatly relied on in Hindu therapeutics. The Gandhabanik is expected to know the proper ingredients in each *pat* as well as the proper quantity of each. In the preparation of pills *ghras* milk of lime juice and water are used but *lys* is made with the juice of the *Gh. kuwar* (*Alcyonifolia*) is preferred.

The Gandhabanik retails *churas bhung gum* and *gunja* but some have scruples about selling the last and employ a *Mudhar* servant to do so. Many shops for the sale of *gunja* however are used by members of this caste who pay a *Suuri* (a *Mudhar*) to manage them.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Gandhabaniks in Bengal in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1	1881	D	1	1
B l	3	1	I	3	4
B k		24	I l		
B li		7	I k		
M l	1	140	M		
H l		8	I t		
F		6	I k t		
N l		3	I l	7	7
K l		1	M l		
I		11	I l		
M l		11	I k	5	6
I l		1	I l		
R l		1	I l		
K l		7	I l		
B k		2	I l	3	
P		7	I l		
I l		7	I l		
J l		7	M l	7	1
K l		1	I l		

Gandhabanik a synonym for Gandhabanik

Gandhar a small caste said by some to be connected with Mallis who sing and play on musical instruments

Gandharma a *thar* or sept of Mangrs in Darjiling

Gandhar *Gandharb* the caste which supplies Hindu dancing girls singers and prostitutes. Mr Nesfield classifies them with the Kancan

Gandhauria a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Gandhi a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Gandhi *Gandhar* a perfumer or dealer in scents an occupation followed by both Hindus and Mahomedans

Gandura a big bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Ganesh a subdivision of the Jugi caste chiefly employed in agriculture a title of potters in Nepal

Ganesia a section of Ayodhya Basi Sonars in Behar

Ganesrishi a section of Mayaras in Bengal

Ganet a section of Sonars in Behar

Gangá a sept of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Gangábandhu a kind of religious men who occasionally met with in Behar and the North Western Provinces

Gangábasi dwellers on the Ganges a title of those Doms who take clothes and ornaments from dead bodies and usually live close to the funeral places. They are also called Murda farash.

Gangábisaiyi a sub caste of Telis in Bengal

Gangágrami a gain of the Kásyap a *jotia* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Gangájalí a sub caste of Gareris in Behar

Gangájhí a section of Gangotas in Behar

Gangápalí a *mul* or section of the Chhimulia Mithua sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Gangapurra son of the Ganges a sub caste of Doms who prepare the funeral pile for cremation also a class of Brahmans who attend pilgrims at bathing *ghats* on the Ganges a title of Latnis

Gangar a section of Maghaya Kandus in Behar

Gángaulih a *mul* or section of the Pimmulia Mithua sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Gangaure a *mul* of the Sindil section of Marthil Brahmans in Behar

Gangautu a synonym for Gangota

Gangdahia a section of the Bichit and Kharidha Halwais in Behar

Gangoli a title of Brahmans in Bengal

Ganqotá *Gangautu* a cultivating landholding and labouring caste of Behar. Many of them live on the banks of the Ganges and this is said to be the origin of the name. Their customs give no clue to their descent unless we may infer non Aryan affinities from the fact that in some parts of the country they are known to eat pork and field rats. Gangotas are divided into two sub castes—Jethkar and Maghaya—and have two sections—Gangájhí and Jahnvi. A man may not marry a woman of his own section nor a woman who comes within the formula *chacha mamera* etc. calculated to four generations in the descending line. He may not marry two sisters at the same time but may marry his deceased wife's younger sister.

Gangotas profess to marry their daughters as infants but adult marriage is by no means unknown among the poorer classes. The ceremony is a meagre version of the standard ritual *sindurdan* being deemed the essential and binding portion. Polygamy is permitted in the sense that a man may take a second wife with the consent of his first wife if

the latter is barren or suffers from an incurable disease. A widow may marry again but she is expected to marry her deceased husband's younger brother if there is one. Divorce is not recognised.

The religion of the caste presents no features of special interest. The small pox goddess Jagadamba is worshipped twice or three times a month with offerings of husked rice and incense. At weddings and on occasions of sickness Bhagavati is propitiated with kids, rice, ghee, tulsi leaves and vermillion. The eatable portions of the sacrifice are consumed by the members of the household. Brahmans who serve the Gangotas are said to incur no degradation by doing so.

Gangotas rank with Kurmis and Koiris and Brahmans will take water from their hands. In Bhagalpur they eat pork but at the same time profess to abstain from fermented and spirituous liquors. In Monghyr on the other hand their practice in the matter of diet is reported to be the same as that of respectable Hindus of similar social position. Agriculture is their sole occupation. A few have risen to be small zamindars but the bulk of the caste are occupancy or non occupancy raiyats and landless day labourers paid in cash or kind.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Gangotas in 182 and 1881.—

DISTRICT	1872.	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881.
Kh Behar		1	Bhagalp	29	49 226
Gy	46		Patna	36 / 62	12,762
Sahar	272		Mith		460
Th			Sahar	4	21
Saran	7		Haz		260
Chhapra			Patna		334
Monghy	877	811	British States		20

Gangotri a sub caste of Brahmans in Behar

Gangthaiya a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub-caste of Gwalas in Behar

Gangtiari a *kul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Ganguli a *gan* of the Sabarna gotra of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Gangulwar-Sakuri a *mul* of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Gangulwar-Dumra a *mul* of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Gangye-pá dwelling behind a hill a *rai* or sept of Dejong Lhoris the members of which form the lowest class of Bhotias

Ganhwaria a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Ganjhu Gaunjhu or *Gonyhu* a sub caste of Sunnis in Behar a title of Binjhas, Gonds, Ishandais Kharwars Musahars Rajwars Rautas and Parhaiyas in Chota Nagpur

Ganjhu Baiswar members of the Kharwar caste who are worshippers of Vishnu :

<p>Ganjwár a sub-caste of Sun ris in Bihar who deal in liquor</p>	<p>Gánr fort builder a sub sept of the Murmu sept of San tals</p>
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Ganrár a boating fishing and trading caste of Eastern Bengal identified by M Vivien de St Martin with the Gangaridæ of Pliny and I tolemy They claim to be descended from Madhesia Kándus whose ancestors were brought to Dacca five generations ago by the Muhammadan Government from Surya garhi in Bhagal pur to act as rowers on board the imperial dispatch boats The caste is most numerous in Dacca but they are also met with in Srhet Tipperah and Maimansinh working as cultivators Buchan nan mentions that the Canrar of Rangpur originally came from Dacca, two hundred families being in his time domiciled along the banks of the Brahmaputra

In former times the Ganrár had the reputation of being the bravest of all boatmen and the river dakáits never dared to attack boats manned by them Now a days they are great traders carrying in their large cargo boats called *Pahar* rice cotton and linseed to Calcutta Bhagwángolah and other centres of trade They generally do business on their own account and being honest and straightforward obtain advances of money on favourable terms from the bankers

Ganrars use the three pronged harpoon (*lenta*) with great dexterity to kill alligators and Gangetic porpoises a float being attached to the weapon with a rope Porpoise oil is in great repute for burning and as an embrocation for rheumatism It usually sells for three to five rupees a *man* Turtles are frequently harpooned for food and turtle eggs are deemed a great delicacy Ganrars work at almost any trade but in Dacca they will not take to cultivating the soil The women are principally employed in parching grain and selling it in *Bázára*.

They all belong to one *gotra* the Ahman and the purohit is a Patit Bráhmaṇ By religion the caste is mainly Vaishnava but deities unknown to the Bráhmaṇical Pantheon are also worshipped Like most of the low castes the Ganrár set afloat the *Bura* in honour of Khwajah Khizr and pay special adoration to Sat Naraṇa On the last day of Srávan they sacrifice a turtle to Manasá Devi the goddess of snakes and make offerings in the month of Iaus to Bura-Buri The Ganrárs of Dacca through Bráhmaṇical influence have relinquished the worship of Khala Kumari who is regarded by the Ganrárs of Rangpur as the Naiad of the river This worship probably like that of Bura Buri a survival of an earlier animistic faith is only found in outlying districts where Hinduism has imperfectly established its sway

Ganrárs rarely eat flesh but they freely indulge in spirits and opium in ganja At the present day they marry their daughters as infants, and, unlike the Kandus from whom they profess to be descended forbid widows to marry again Divorce is not recognised.

Gánrol a section of the Satmaha Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Ganthen a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Ganwa (abbreviation of *gaon war*) a villager as opposed to an inhabitant of a town line an illiterate and stupid person

Gáontíá headman of a *gaon* or village a title of Bhojia feudatories in Gangpur and Bonai

Gaprai a section of the Amashta Kayasths in Behar

Gará a section of Sunnis in Behar

Garabing a big river snake a totemic title of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Garáet a section of the Jithot division of the Tarbati Kurin sub caste of Gonris in Behar

Garahíá a section of Sonárs in Behar

Gara a section of Binjhas in Chota Nagpur

Gara or **Gora** a title of Kalas or Telis in Western Bengal generally adopted by wealthy Kulin members of the caste

Garain a section of Kurmis and Sunnis in Behar

Gáral a low sub caste of Chundals, who prepare *chiru* or parched rice

Gaurar a sept of Goglas in Chota Nagpur

Garbaria a section of Lohárs in Behar

Garbetá a sub caste of Kambartias in Behar

Garbhát *Chhut* or *Sphur* a sub-caste of Kewats in Behar

Gare a sub caste of Sunnis in Behar

Gareri *Gadariya Bhenrihar* the shepherd goatherd and blanket-weaver caste of Behar Gareris appear

to have no traditions and cannot give any account of their origin beyond the vague statement that they came from the west. It is possible that they may be an offshoot from the Goglas differentiated by keeping sheep and taking to the comparatively degraded occupation of weaving but I can offer no evidence in support of this conjecture except the rather remarkable fact that Gareris will take both boiled rice (*kachhi*) and sweetmeats etc. (*pakki*) from members of the Gogla caste

The Gareris of Behar are divided into four sub castes—Dhengar Farakhábadí Gangajilí and Nikhar—of whom the Dhengar have the most numerous sections shown in the Appendix. The other sub castes appear to regulate their marriages by the standard formula *nimru chakru* etc calculated to six generations in the descending line.

The practice of infant marriage is firmly established among the Gareris. *Tilak* consisting of a loin cloth (*dhoti*), some *chupattis* and two or three rupees

Marriage

is paid to the bridegroom on an auspicious day by the parents of the bride. The marriage ceremony is of the standard type. Polygamy is permitted to the extent that a man may marry a second wife if his first wife is barren. A widow may marry again by the *sagai* form. It is considered right for her to marry her late husband's younger brother if there is one but she is not positively obliged to do so. Some say that divorce is not recognised. If a woman has an intrigue with a man of another caste she is excommunicated and turned adrift but discretions within the brotherhood admit of being atoned for by various modes of penalty awarded by the headman (*manyan*) and panchayat in which only by a feast to the members of the caste. Others hold that divorce may be had on the oath of the husband, and that a divorced woman may marry again by *sagai*.

In respect of religious and ceremonial observances the Gareri generally conform to the usages of the Vaishnava sect in comparative few Saivas are found among them. Many are followers of Dary Das a Gareri who founded a corrupt Vaishnava sect distinguished by abstinance from fish flesh and spirits. His disciples do not worship him as a deity but simply regard him as their guru or spiritual guide. The *purohit* of the caste are Kaulia or sometimes Jyoti Bril mans while Burgi or Dasmia sects serve them as *gurus*. Their household worship in which priests take no part is addressed to Bandi Goraiya Dharam Raj Narsingh the Panchbir and Kali to whom the males of the family offer cakes rice boiled in milk sweetmeats and plantains on the 30th Sriwan. The offerings are eaten afterwards by the members of the family and the relations who can claim to participate in domestic worship. When a flock of sheep is sold the Gareri keeps back a ram and having assembled his brethren sacrifices it to Baijari after which its flesh is eaten by those who follow the Saiva ritual.

The large majority of the caste find employment as shepherds goatherds or blanket weavers and comparatively few have taken to cultivation. Mr Hoey gives the following account of the manner in which their characteristic occupation is carried on in the neighbourhood of Lucknow —

One Gareri will attend a flock of 100 sheep and goats and at no expense for fodder. He drives them out to graze on wild pasture. Goats and sheep drop young twice a year and as many as four kids or lambs at a birth are not unusual. In a flock of one hundred sheep and goats let there be 60 sheep. It is the custom to cut the wool three times in the year — after the cold weather the

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 A M or p / d l a t Ma / u North rn I d a by W Hoey
 B al C l S I 104 Tl lu t l w k l l n n te oll ted
 l et H y w l l g a s i n r e p t h ts f l s ta n
 I kn w ty 18 d 1880— fact wh ch ac unts for the m nite
 tment u p d to th p r f t of parti ul t adfs

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Gareris in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
B dwan	6	116	Patna	10 144	9 713
Bank ra		60	Gy	1 381	15 633
B bh m	1	33	Shah bad	18 259	24 0 5
M dnap	236	1	T h t { M ff p		0 30
H ghi		44	Da bh nga	16 85	10 401
H w h	3		S ran	7 r	9 881
24 P rg nas	50		C hampara	87 j	805
N dy	1	217	M ghy	4 7	009
M rshad bad	294	652	Bl agalp	4 16	7 44
D jp		16	i rr i	2	4 872
Rangp	1	10	M ldah		6
Bc	1		S tal Parganas		310
Pa	13		C ttaek	112	0
Da jl g		37	i	3 5	10
J lp g		1	H lasore	1 3	29
K i B h		23	H zaribagh		975
Dac		9	L h d ga	3 24	4 788
F dp	1		S kbh m	7	287
Maigamsinh	3	23	M bt m		5
			I b ta y State	103	33

Gareyia a section of Biyahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Garg an eponymous section of Agarwals and Babhans in Behar

Garga Gargya a section of Brahmans and of Sankharis in Bengal

Gargar a *gun* of the San dilya *giri* of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Gargarishi an eponymous sept of Savars a section of Napits and Fantis in Bengal

Gargbans a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Garhatia a sept of Kumhars in Chota Nagpur

Garhbhiyar a section of the Karan sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Garhi synonym for Gareri

Garhia a section of Babhans in Behar

Garh Naik or *Singha* leader or lion of the fort a title of Khandaits in Orissa

Garhuk or *Caraua* a sub-caste of Kahars in Behar

Garhwar a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Gar monkey a totemistic sept of Mundas and Orions in Chota Nagpur

Garia, a sub caste of Dhubis in Western Bengal

Garjang a sept of Tipperahs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Garowá a sub caste of Kahars in Behar

Garra *Carial* a title of Telis

Garr a kind of bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Garur vulture a totemistic section of Rautias in Chota Nagpur and of Mal in Barkura

Garwál a section of Goúlas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Garwe a stork a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Garyá a sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Gatání a section of Maheeris in Behar

Gatpará *Gatpáchya* "pock puncturer" a term applied to those who practise inoculation

Gatsorá a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Gaudá a sub caste of Telis in Orissa

Gaudanhá a section of the Banodhiá and Jaiswár Kalwárs in Behar

Gaudhal a *mul* or section of the Naomulí r (r) a sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Gaudhaniá, a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Gauláni a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Gaulí a section of Bhojpuria Halwais in Behar

Gaunágahunar a *mul* or section of the Tinmulíá Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Gauna Kulin a hypergamous division of Rárhí Brahmins in Bengal made by Rájá Ballál Sen

Gaura a sub caste of Káyasths and Sonárs a section of Babhans and a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Gaura or **Gauriya** a territorial division of the Pancha Gaura Brahmins who live in the country of the Lower Ganges deriving its name from Gaura the ancient capital of the Hindu dynasty of the Pal Rájás

Gaura Gorho a sub-caste of Goálás in Bengal and Orissa

Gauráli a *samáy* or local group of the Basishtha *gotra* of Páschátya Baidik Brahmins in Bengal

Gaurangi a class of Vaishnavi followers of Gaurángá

Gaurihár a sub-tribe of Tharus in Behar

Gauripar a *dih* or local section of the Maghayá sub-caste of Kouris in Bhagalpur

Gauro a sept of Thárus in Behar

Gautama, a section of Báblíans in Behar The name denotes the Vedic sage Saradwat the husband of Ahalya who was seduced by Indra It has probably been borrowed from the Brahmanical system in comparatively recent times Most of the Babhan section names are territorial The name also does duty as a sept of the Suryabansi Rajputs in Behar a section of Brahmins a *thar* of the Atri *gotra* of Népáli Brahmins a section of Kayasths Mayarás Tantis Baidyas Goalas Subarnabaniks Sunris and San kharis in Bengal

Gautháhá, a section of Bhojpuria Halwais in Behar

Gawá a group of the Báren dra Goálás in Bengal

Gawál a *gotra* or section of Agarwals

Gaya a section of Awadhíá Hajams in Behar

Gayalpure a section of the Bahánnajáti sub-caste of Khatris in Bengal

Gáyán (a singer) a class of Muhammadans believed to have been originally Shandars. They have learned from their teachers the myth that they are descended from Jihad Gáyán who accompanied Shah Jalal in his conquest of Silhet and state that they emigrated from that country in covered canoes differing in build from those used by other Bediyás.

The Gáyán is usually a cultivator and when he is absent from home his wife watches the crops and tends the cattle. Any relationship with other Bediyas is warmly repudiated for which reason the Larazi sect sometimes concedes to the Gayan the rights and privileges of other Mussulmans. This concession has transformed these vagrants into rigid Puritans. The Gayán women are secluded and the other Bediyas are reproached for indecency in allowing their women to wander about unveiled and unprotected.

The Gayán sing Bengali songs in public to the music of the violins known as *arangi* and *behla*.

Gáyawál *Gayal* *Gayal* a degraded sub caste of Debal Brahmans who act as priests in the Vishnupada temple at Gaya. They are remunerated by fees from pilgrims who offer *pindas* to the names of their ancestors. The name is also incorrectly applied to the tout or recruiters who are sent out from Gaya by the Gáyawals to collect pilgrims.

Gaysari a sub caste of Kurmis in Orissa.

Gede duck a totemistic sept of Oraons in Cota Nagpur.

Gehaní a section of Kamar kalla Sonars in Behar.

Gehuaná a sept of Rajputs in Behar.

Geláng a *thar* or sept of Man gars in Darjiling.

Gelra a section of Oswals in Behar.

Ghager field bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chhota Nagpur.

Ghai a section of the Bañjari sub caste of Khairis in Bengal.

Ghajári a class of bird catchers occasionally met with in Behar. I have been unable to

ascertain whether the name has any definite and uniform relation to caste.

Ghale a section of Gurungs and Murmis in Darjiling.

Ghaleh a *thar* or sept of the Das Gurung sub tribe of Gurungs so named after a village. The Gurung chief of Ghaleh in former times ruled at a place called Dongti in Nepal and all the Gurungs were under his sway.

Ghali a *thar* or sept of Man gars in Darjiling.

Ghamela a sub caste of Kurmis in Behar.

Ghamghotie a section of Kamis in Darjiling.

Ghana or Gachhua a sub caste of Lehs in Bengal.

Ghani a section of Kaibarttas in Orissa.

Ghaniá a title of Bangaja Kayasths in Bengal.

Ghansi fish a totemistic sept of Khurwars in Chhota Nagpur.

Ghanteswari a *guni* of the Sannyas of Harhi Brahmans in Pargal.

Ghar Ghár a title of Dakshin Rárhí and Bangaja Káyasths

Gharām: a thatcher an occupation followed by members of several different castes

Gharbait or *Raut* an endogamous sub caste of Amats in Behar

Gharbár: a householder a title of religious sectarians who live a secular life

Gharbári Atit a class of Atit in Behar which whatever may have been its original mode of formation does not now differ materially in manner of life from any ordinary occupational caste

Gharbeta or **Gharbaita** a sub caste of Dhanuks in Behar

Gharikarak a section of the Bivhut and Kharidah Kalwís in Chota Nagpur

Ghar Ráut a division (not exogamous) of the Raut Mehtar sub caste of Doms in Behar

Gharruk a sub caste of Kahars in Behar

Ghartí (i) a caste formed by those members of the Kamara or slave caste in Nepal who have been freed by their masters on payment of their manumission fee. The formation of the Kamara caste and its precise

relations to the Ghartí are rather obscure but I understand that persons who infringe the law of exogamy by marrying or having intercourse with a woman of their own *llírs* are in Nepal liable to be sold as slaves or Kamáras (ii) A section of Kamaras (iii) A sub-tribe of Mangars

Ghartí a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Ghartí ghaure a section of Káms in Darjiling

Ghartmel a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Ghartyál a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Gharu a *mul* or section of the Kanaujia sub-caste of Sonars in Behar

Gharu: a title of Kaibarttas and of Goalas in Western Bengal

Gharwár a sept of Rajputs in Bohar

Gháscharái a title of Goalas who graze cattle

Ghaserá a sub caste of Doms in Bengal who cut grass for sale

Ghási a sub section of the Kantsasa section of Utkal Brahmans in Orissa

Ghási a Dravidian fishing and cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur and Central India, who attend as musicians at weddings and festivals and also perform menial offices of all kinds. Ghási women act as midwives and nurses and I have come across a case of a Brahman girl being nicknamed Ghasimani in her infancy and made over to a Ghási woman to bring up in order to avert the malevolent influences supposed to have caused the early death of previous children of the same mother.

The Ghasis of Chota Nagpur are divided into three sub castes—
 I tern 1 st t **Sonaat, Sīmarloká and Hári.** They have
 only one section (**Kasīár**) probably a corrup-
 tion of **Kasyapa**. Ghasis marry their daughters in infancy when
 they can afford to do so but adult marriage is by no means
 uncommon. Their marriage ceremony is a debased form of that in
 ordinary use among orthodox Hindus. Polygamy is permitted
 without any limit being imposed on the number of wives. Widow
 marriage and divorce are freely practised and the women of the caste
 are credited with living a very loose life.

The caste ranks socially with Doms and Musahars. They eat
 Soc 1 tat beef and pork and are greatly addicted to
 drink. Their origin is obscure. Colonel Dalton
 regards them as Aryan helots and says—

But far viler than the weavers are the extraordinary tribe called
 Ghasis, foul parasites of the Central Indian hill tribe and submit-
 ting to be degraded even by them. If the Chandals of the Puráns
 though descended from the union of a Brahman and a Sudra are
 the lowest of the low the Ghasis are Chandals and the people
 who further south are called Pariahs are no doubt of the same
 distinguished lineage. If as I surmise they were Aryan helots
 their offices in the household or communities must have been of the
 lowest and most degrading kinds. It is to be observed that the
 institution of caste necessitated the organization of a class to whom
 such offices could be assigned and when formed stringent measures
 would be requisite to keep the servitors in their position. We might
 thence expect that they would avail themselves of every opportunity
 to escape and no after asylums could be found than the retreats of
 the forest tribes. Wherever there are Kols there are Ghasis and
 though evidently of an entirely different origin they have been so
 long associated that they are a recognised class in the Kol tradition
 of creation which appropriately assigns to them a thrifling career
 and describes them as living on the leavings or charity of the more
 industrious members of society. There are not fewer than 50 000
 Ghásis in the Kol countries. Their favourite employment is no
 doubt that of musicians. No ceremony can take place or great man
 move without the accompaniment of their discordant instruments
 —drums kettle drums and huge horns—to proclaim the event in
 a manner most horrifying to civilised ears.

The Sīmarloka sub-caste have a curious aversion for Káyasths
 which they account for by the story that once upon a time some
 Ghási musicians who were escorting the marriage procession of
 a Kayasth bridegroom to the house of his betrothed were tempted by
 the valuable ornaments which he wore to murder him and cast his
 body into a well. The youth besought them to let him write a
 letter to his relatives informing them that he was dying and bidding
 them perform his funeral obsequies. This the Ghasis agreed to
 after making him swear that he would not disclose the manner of
 his death. The Kayasth however did not think the oath binding
 and on the letter being delivered the Ghasis were straightway given
 up to justice. For this reason say the Sīmarlokás trust not a
 Káyasth for he is faithless even in the hour of death.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Ghásis in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872.	1881	DISTRICT	1872.	1881
Bardwan		3	Ch mparan		5
Bank ra		3	M nchyr		260
24-Parganas		294	Bhagalpu		512
Nadiya		47	Purn ah		127
Kh lna		160	Rantál Parganas		230
Jessore		1	Cu tack		208
M rabadabad		1	Bal sore		48
Bogra		67	Trib tary States	3 014	2 769
Pabna		13	Hasaribach	3 19	230
Darj ling		90	Lohardaga	15 700	16 394
Patna		40	S gbn m	3 976	3,667
Darbhanga		27	Manbh m	4,105	2,108
			Trib tary States	5 358	9,863

Ghasuria grass-cutters The same as Ghási

Ghatat a section of Báhans in Behar

Ghatak a title of Brahmans who by profession are match makers and genealogists Each sub-caste of Bráhmans in Bengal, as well as the Baidya and Káyasth castes has its recognised staff of Ghataks, who are responsible for arranging suitable marriages and preserving the social and ceremonial purity of each family belonging to it The organization of the society of Ghataks the Herald's College of Bengal, is referred to Ballál Sen who settled the Rárhí Ghataks in Jessore Bakarganj and Bikrampur where with the exception of a few who have emigrated to Calcutta they are domiciled at the present day The Ghatal registers of the Rárhí Bráhmans like those of the Kulin Kayasths are said to go back twenty three generations or five hundred years and although any Brahman may become a Ghatak, the highest estimation and the title Iradhan or chief is only be towed on the individual who can show a long and unbroken pedigree of Ghatak ancestors

There are three grades of Ghataks The first can repeat off hand the names of all the members of the main as well as collateral branches of any family in his particular part of the country of the families with which they have married and of the issue of such marriages The second grade embraces those Ghataks who can only give the name of the *Kul* or family into which a Bráhman or his relatives have married while the third comprises such as can only name the *Bans* or lineage to which the Brahman belongs It is not uncommon for one Ghatak to challenge another to display his powers of memory and public contests are held somewhat after the manner of the logical disputations of the Middle Ages

Ghataks seldom officiate at religious ceremonies and always employ purbhits for their own requirements According to Dr Wise every Kulin Brahman in Eastern Bengal is compelled to employ a Ghatak in negotiating the marriages of his family otherwise the whole race of Ghataks revolt and ostracise him The rich Brahman zemindárs who are willing and able to pay a large sum for an unexceptionable Kulin bride often try to convince the Ghataks that their families

are of purer and more honourable descent than they actually are. Bribes are often offered to establish the claim but are rarely accepted. Disputes however are common and the Ghataks who favour a claim that is fallacious and who attend at an unauthorised marriage fall in the estimation of those who have questioned its soundness and declined to be present. The scruples of a single Pradhan Ghatak often mar the otherwise perfect satisfaction of a parent on the marriage of his son to a family of higher rank than his own and should all the leaders unite in forbidding the marriage it is impossible for him to win any permanent promotion beyond that laid down in their registers.

Ghatakar a synonym for Kumhar

Ghatakarpur potsherds the *nom de plume* of a poet at the Court of Vikramaditya who is said to have been a potter hence a title of Kumhars

Ghatáni a section of Kamis a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Ghátíyá a sub caste of Utkal Brahmans in Orissa

Ghát mánjhi a title of Patnis in Bengal

Ghatoar a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Ghát Pátni Balamí or *Ghát wal* a sub caste of Patnis in Bengal

Ghatráj a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Ghatra Kámár a sub-caste of Kámárs in Western Bengal

Ghátu a section of Mals in Bankura

Ghátwál (i) in Behar a title of Mallahs who have charge of ferries and landing places (ii) in Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur a title of the holders of service tenures who act as rural police and are attached in that capacity to certain tracts of

country or hill passes (*ghats*) Most of them belong to Dravidian tribes or castes such as Bhumij Kharwar Bauri etc

Gházípuria a division (not exogamous) of the Raut Mehtar sub caste of Doms in Behar

Ghi butter clarified a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Ghibihár the *ghi* eater a title of the Bahun sub caste of Amats and Dhanuks in Behar who are personal servants in the houses of the higher castes. The term also denotes a sub-caste of Kewats in Bhagalpur who are said to have been outcasted for eating the *ghuthu* or leavings of their masters

Ghimirya a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Ghingpá aru or sept of the Bed tahan gye sub tribe of Dejong Lhoris or Bhotias of the south

Ghiohaddá a section of Sonárs in Behar

Ghising a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Ghiuádhár a *múli* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub-caste of Goalas in Behar

Ghogro a section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Ghoneh a *thar* or sept of the Das-Gurung sub-tribe of Gurungs in Darjiling

Ghorá horse a totemistic sept of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Ghorabach a section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Ghoraija a title of the Ghosin sub-caste of Goálas in Behar

Ghorasaine a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Ghorcharhá, a sub-caste of Kurmis in Behar a section of the Banodhiá and Jaiswar Kal wárs in Behar

Ghosh a group of the Purbba Kulyá Sadgops and a title of Káyasths and Goálás in Bengal

Ghoshál a *gám* of the Bátsya *gotra* of Rárhí Brahmans in Bengal

Ghoshli a *gám* of the Sandilya *gotra* of Rárhí Brahmans in Bengal

Ghosi Bangs: *Gho* : *Ghosn* *G* : *ia* a sub-caste of Goálás *q v*

Ghosin a class of Mahomedan herdsmen in Behar

Ghosináik Náik a sub-caste of Telis or oil pressers in Hazari bagh

Ghritakaúsika a section of Brahmans Baidyas and Káyasths in Bengal.

Ghulam Kayasth a synonym for Sudra

Ghumli a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Ghundane a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Ghum a title of Bagdis so called from *ghum*: a fish trap

Ghumíá a sub-caste of Kewats in Western Bengal and of Mallas or fishermen in Behar

Ghumri a kind of fruit a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Ghurcholi a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Ghusaute-Nagwár a *mul* of the Bátsya section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Ghybrim a *thar* or sept of the Barah Gurung sub-tribe of Gurungs in Darjiling

Gidad a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Gidh or *Gidhi* vulture a totemistic sept of Mundas Oraons and Parhaiyas in Chota Nagpur

Gigánia a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Gilal a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Ginmuar a sept of Korwas in Chota Nagpur

Ginuar eel a totemistic sept of Korwas in Chota Nagpur

Giri a sect of Dasnamí Sannyasis a title adopted by Mahantas trustees of religious endowments There is also a low caste of the name somewhat akin to Jugis etc who string gold and silver ornaments and sometimes beg their fanáles make mats of dat leaves A title of Kaibartas in Bengal

Giriak a *mul* or section of the Maghaya sub-caste of Kandus in Behar

Giridhari a class of Vaishnavas

Giritar a *mul* or section of the Maghayá sub caste of Barhis in Behar

Girnam a class of Sannyasi or hermit

Gislihi bird a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Gnyambipá a *rus* or sept of the Bed tshen gye sub tribe of

Dejong Lhoms or Bhotias of the south

Goá a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Goáit a *kul* or section of Babhans and Gonrhis in Behar

Goal a synonym for *Goálá*

Goal cow a totemistic sept of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Goálá *Goar Ahir* (Sanskrit Abhira) the great pastoral caste of India. According to Manu an Abhira is the offspring of a Brahman by an Ambastha girl. Lassen¹ describes the Abhira as a non Aryan pastoral race dwelling near the mouth of the Indus and remarks that the modern word Ahir means cowherd. At the present day the designation Ahir seems to be confined to Behar and parts of Upper India. *Goálá* being more commonly used in Bengal. The traditions of the caste bear a highly imaginative character and profess to trace their descent from the god Krishna whose relations with the milkmaids of Brindaban play a prominent part in Hindu mythology. Krishna himself is supposed to have belonged to the tribe of Yadavas or descendants of Yadu a nomadic race who graze cattle and make butter and are believed to have effected an early settlement in the neighbourhood of Mathura. In memory of this tradition one of the sub castes of Goalas in the North Western Provinces is called Yadu or Jadu bansi at the present time. Another story quoted by Buchanan makes out the Goálás to be Vaisyas who were degraded in consequence of having introduced castration among their herds and members of the caste who are disposed to claim this distinguished ancestor may lay stress upon the fact that the tending of flocks and herds is mentioned by the authorities among the duties of the Vaisya order.

Taken as a whole the *Goálá* traditions can hardly be said to do more than render it probable that one of their earliest settlements was in the neighbourhood of Mathurá and that this part of the country was the centre of distribution of the caste. The large functional group known by the name Goala seems to have been recruited not merely by the diffusion along the Ganges Valley of the semi Aryan *Goálás* of the North Western Provinces but also by the inclusion in the caste of pastoral tribes who were not Aryans at all. These of course would form distinct sub castes and would not be admitted to the *jus connubii* with the original nucleus of the caste. The great differences of make and feature which may be observed among *Goálás* seem to bear out this view and to show that whatever may

have been the original constituents of the caste it now comprises several heterogeneous elements. Thus even in a district so far from the original home of the caste as Singbhum we find Colonel Dalton remarking that the features of the Mathurabasi Goalas are high sharp and delicate and they are of light brown complexion. Those of the Magadha sub caste on the other hand are undefined and coarse. They are dark complexioned and have large hands and feet. Seeing the latter standing in a group with some Singbhum Kols there is no distinguishing one from the other. There has doubtless been much mixture of blood. These remarks illustrate both the processes to which the growth of the caste is due. They show how representatives of the original type have spread to districts very remote from their original centre and how at the same time people of alien race who followed later occupations have become attached to the caste and are recognised by a sort of fiction as having belonged to it all along.

Owing to the wide range of the caste and to the double process by which its members have been recruited the internal structure is extremely complicated and the number of sub castes and sections unusually large. Taking the Goalas of the North Western Provinces as the type we find the following seven divisions recognised—*Dhī*, *Nandhan*, *Jadu*, *Ran*, *Sir*, *Ja*, *Goala*, *Asi*, *Ahir* and *Katha*. These again are subdivided into a very large number of sections the names of which appear for the most part to have reference to locality rather than to descent. According to Sir Henry Elliot traces of hypergamy may be found among these groups but his information on this point seems to be incomplete.

Among the Goálás of Behar a different series of sub castes has been developed and none of the names current in the North Western Provinces are met with. As a rule too the names of the groups are in Behar of a different type and instead of being based as in the North West upon descent from a particular stock or from some mythical progenitor have reference either to the number of *muls* or sections with which intermarriage is prohibited or to some departure from traditional usage on the part of its members. *Naomulia* and *Satmulia* are instances of the former type the peculiarities of which are explained more fully in the paragraphs on marriage below. *Satmulia* has the alternative title *Kishnaut* and seems to arrogate descent from the god Krishna. *Naomulia* is also called *Majraut* a name which I am unable to interpret. In Bhagalpur members of the *Kishnaut* and *Majraut* groups will not make butter—an occupation which they consider degrading—and confine themselves to dealing in milk. The *Goria* or *Dahíará* sub caste is said to have been degraded because its members make butter without first scalding the milk—a practice enjoined by the Hindu scriptures and recognised as a crucial test of purity by all Goalas. Dr Wise spells the name *Dair* and says it is generally believed to be merely a corruption of the Bengali *dari* a beard adding as a reason that many *Dahíara* Goálás have become Mahomedans and wear beards. This seems to be a little far fetched; a more probable etymology is from

dahi curds. The Kantitáhá derive their name from their custom of branding cows with a *kanti* or hook a practice confined to Ahirs and never resorted to by the higher grades of Goálas except at *śradh* when the Dharm Sanr is branded and let go. The Kanaujia and Bargowar sub castes believe their ancestors to have migrated to Behar from the North Western Provinces and on this ground claim to be superior to and hold themselves aloof from the other sub castes. The Separi are a writer sub caste largely employed as patwaris in some parts of Behar. They are looked down upon by the other sub castes because they do not call in the Chamai the barber or the Dhobi at the birth of a child but cut the navel string and perform all necessary offices themselves.

Turning now to Bengal we find the Pallab or Ballabh sub caste tracing their descent from one Gham Ghah who is said to have sprung from the sweat of Krishna; the Bag or Ujainia sub caste affect to have come from Ujain while the Gaura Ghost or Gop Goála also known as Lathi pretend to be pure Sudias and resent the suggestion that they should intermarry with any other sort of Goala. The Rarhi or Bhoga Goalas like the Kantitaha in Behar are cut off from intermarriage with the rest and generally looked down upon because they brand their cows with red hot iron and castrate bull calves. Two curious groups are found in Dacca—the Sada or white Goalas and the Lal or red Goalas the names being derived from the colour of the clothes worn by the bride and the members of the bridal procession. With the Sada Goalas all of these are dressed in white while the Lal Goalas wear red. The Sada are reckoned the higher of the two and a *da* or bride price is given when a girl of this group marries a Lal. In all cases of intermarriage between Sada and Lal the colour of the clothes to be worn by the bridal party follows that of the group to which the bridegroom belongs.

Goalas are very strong in Orissa and a large proportion of the Uriyas employed as personal servants by Europeans belong to that caste. It is a question whether the Gaura or Gopopuria sub caste or the Mathurabasi rank higher. Both are very particular in all matters touching their ceremonial purity and the Mathurabasi stress on the duty of making occasional pilgrimages to the original home of the caste at Brindaban. The Dumala or Jadupuria Goalas seem to be a group of local formation. They cherish the tradition that their ancestors came to Orissa from Jadupur but this appears to be nothing more than the name of the Jadavas the mythical progenitors of the Goala caste transformed into the name of an imaginary town.

In Chota Nagpur the distribution of sub castes is very much what might be expected. In parts of Singhbhum and the adjoining Tributary States a large Goala population exists holding rather a subordinate position in relation to the dominant Hos and Bhuiyas but on the whole the most flourishing of the peasantry in that part of the country. These people belong to the sub castes known in Orissa and appear to have entered Chota Nagpur from the south. According to Colonel Dalton the Magadha Goalas are suspiciously

like Hos and in most Ho villages a few of them will be found receiving pay for looking after the Hos cattle. The Mathurá basí Goálás who are of a much more Aryan type and claim to be pure Gopas will not descend to take service with Dravidians. Without forsaking their hereditary calling they frequently manage to gain possession of substantial farms where they keep large herds of cows and buffaloes and deal in milk and ghee. In the north and west of the division numerous representatives of the Behar sub-castes are met with who come in from the crowded and over-cultivated district of Behar to feed their cattle on the forest clad table lands of Hazaribagh, Lohardaga and Saraju. Here they lead a nomadic life during the dry season living in tents of bamboo matting and moving from place to place as the supply of forage requires.

The character of the exogamous subdivisions of the Goálas and of the rules by which intermarriage is regulated differs markedly in different parts of the country. In Bengal the caste regulations are six *stras* borrowed from the Brahmanical system and forbids a man to marry a girl who belongs to the same *gotra* as himself. The *gotra* of the mother is to speak precisely of the maternal grandfather is not excluded. The intermarriage of *gotras* is also prohibited though the rules on this point observed by the Goálas are hardly so elaborate as those followed by the higher castes. In Behar the Brahmanical *gotra* is an unknown and marriage among the Goálás is regulated by a very large number of *mul*s or exogamous groups of the territorial type the names of which are given in the appendix. In some places where the existing *mul*s have been found inconveniently large and marriage has been rendered unduly difficult certain *mul*s have broken up into *purukhs* or sub-sections. Where this has taken place a man may marry within the *mul* but not within the *purukh* the smaller and more convenient group taking the place of the larger one. Some difference of opinion prevails concerning the precise manner in which the rule of exogamy is worked and the subject is one of such extreme intricacy that it would be unreasonable to look for uniformity of practice everywhere. The Satmulia or Khatmul Goálas in Bhagalpur forbid a man to marry a woman belonging to the following sections or *mul*s —

- (a) His own *mul*
- (b) His mother's *mul*
- (c) His maternal grandmother's *mul*
- (d) His maternal great grandmother's *mul*
- (e) His paternal grandmother's *mul*
- (f) His paternal great grandmother's *mul*
- (g) His paternal great great grandmother's *mul*

To these the Naomulia add—

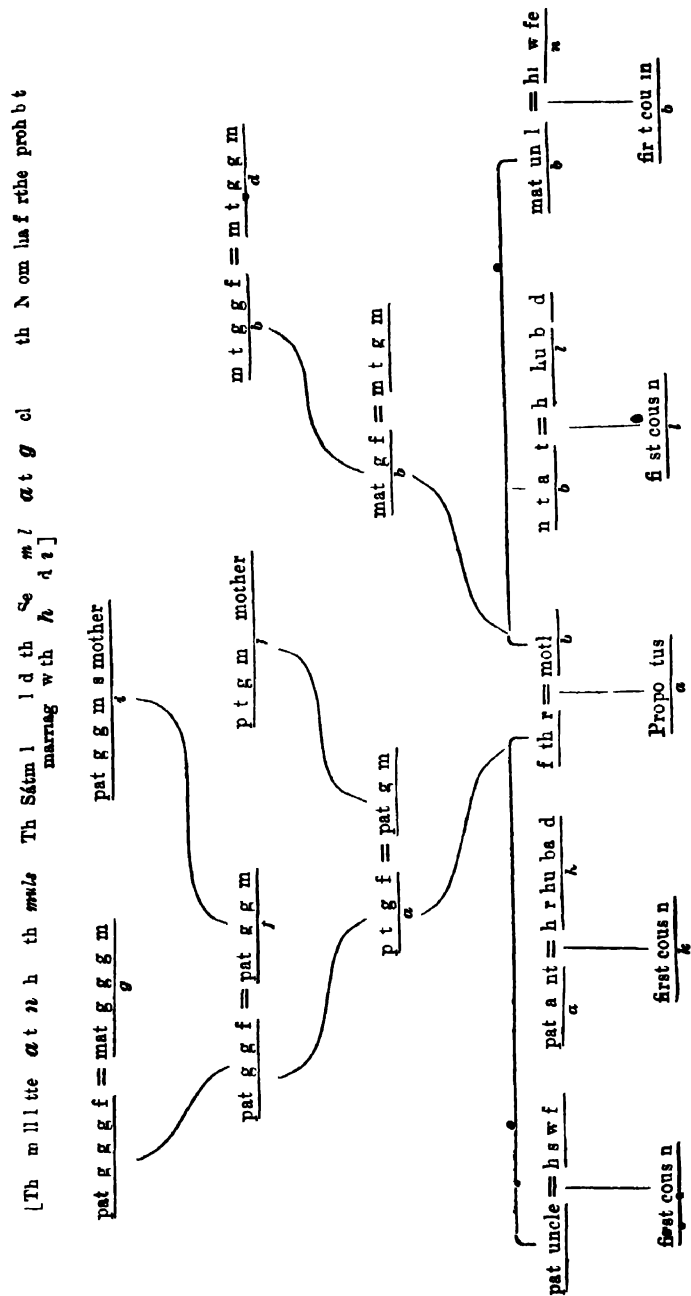
- (h) The *mul* of his paternal grandmother's mother
- (i) The *mul* of his paternal great grandmother's mother

In some cases a further complication is introduced by taking into account not only the bride's *mul* but also that of some of her

female ancestors so that if for example the *mul* of the proposed bride's maternal grandmother should happen to have been the same as that of the proposed bridegroom's paternal grandmother no marriage could take place between the parties although the *mul* of the bride herself might not correspond with any of those prohibited to the bridegroom.

Laborate as the system is an examination of the annexed table will show that the prohibitions of intermarriage based on the *mul* or section require to be supplemented by the standard formula *Chachera mamra phiphiri nasiri je char nita bachake shudi hoti hu* (In line of paternal uncle maternal uncle paternal aunt maternal aunt—these four relationships are to be avoided in marriage.) To a certain extent this rule overlaps the rule of exogamy reckoned from the *mul*. Thus in the first generation the whole of the paternal uncle's descendants both male and female would be excluded by the rule prohibiting marriage with the section. In the second and subsequent generations agnates would be barred but descendants through females would not for the paternal uncle's daughters having necessarily married out of the section their children would belong to some other section and their second cousins would be able to marry. On the other hand the rule of exogamy if it stood alone would permit the marriage of first cousins in three out of four possible cases. A reference to the table will show how this conclusion is arrived at for a *propositus* belonging himself to section A might so far as the rule of exogamy concerned marry the daughter of his paternal and maternal aunts who would not belong to any of the *mul* barred for him. The rule defining the prohibited degree is usually calculated to four generations in the descending line.

Table illustrating exogamy as practised by Sâtmulia and Naomulia Goalas



These elaborate precautions against consanguineous marriages appear to be unknown in Orissa and Chota Nagpur. In Chota Nagpur the Goálas have totemistic sections of the type common in that part of the country. A man may not marry a woman who belongs to his own totem and is also bound to observe the standard rule concerning prohibited degrees. Regarding Orissa the information available on this point is defective and I have been unable to ascertain the names of the exogamous subdivisions of the caste and the rules governing intermarriage.

Among the Goálas of Bengal and the higher Goálas of Orissa the orthodox view of Hindu marriage is on the whole accepted. Girls are married as infants, widow marriage is strictly prohibited and divorce is unknown. If a woman commits adultery with another Goála or with a man of higher caste the matter is hushed up, an intrigue with a low caste man is punished with instant exclusion from caste.

In Bihar infant marriage has established itself as a usage essential to the maintenance of social propriety, but a widow is allowed to marry again and is generally expected to marry her late husband's younger brother. Under no circumstance may she marry the elder brother.

With the Goálas of Chota Nagpur both adult and infant marriage are recognised, the latter being regarded as a counsel of perfection which well to do persons may be expected to set up to. The rule that the *rukhsiti* or final ceremony of leaving the departure of the bride from the house of the bridegroom and the commencement of regular conjugal relations shall ordinarily take place four months after the wedding holds pretty clearly that infant marriage must have been introduced in the strict sense in which it is understood in Bengal. A bride price is paid, varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 according to the status of the families concerned, and out of this sum the bride's father is expected to provide his daughter with ornaments. Brahmins officiate at the wedding. The smearing of vermillion on the bride's forehead is believed to be the most important part of the ceremony. Widows may marry again by the same ritual known as *ajun*. At this no Brahmin attends, and some sweetmeats are presented to the bride and to her mother and either the bridegroom himself or some widow of the company puts vermillion on the bride's forehead. This constitutes the marriage, no *rukhsiti* is required and the parties begin to live together at once. Among the Goálas of Singhbhum a widow is required to marry one of her late husband's younger brothers, and if doing these she must select a husband from among the agnates group to which her husband belonged. This device is certainly in all probability a survival of earlier custom which has fallen into disuse.

The usage current in Orissa is entirely very markedly in those which prevail in Bihar. In infant marriage the tendency to which every one seems to conform is that it may be conjectured that this has not been so in Orissa, a very large number of Goálas there say that if by chance a girl should remain unmarried in her father's house after she has attained puberty, the breach of ceremonial

requirements may be got over by giving her in marriage to an old man or a man otherwise unfit for marriage. After the marriage she is at once divorced by her husband and is then competent to marry again by the ritual appointed for widows. I have mentioned above that the higher Goalas of Orissa affect a high standard of orthodoxy and look down upon the Behar and Bengal divisions of the caste. Among them widow marriage is said to be forbidden. Most Uriya Goalas however allow a widow to remarry by the usual form.

Some curious particulars concerning the birth customs of the Orissa Goalas may be given here. During labour and after delivery the mother is kept in a separate house from which fresh air is excluded as much as possible and which is kept artificially heated for a period of twenty one day. Branches of *kendu* (*Eubryopteris glutinifera*) and *lipu* (*Lagneolaria*) are hung near the front door of the house. Iron nails are driven into the door posts and *chumua* (*Hemidesmus Indicus*) and *lholi* (*Smeacarpus Anacardium*) are laid in the infant's bed. After the navel string has been cut the child is bathed in hot water in which leaves of *basia* (*Justicia Adhatoda*), *li* (*Asclepias Gigantica*), *ligua* (*Vitex Neguanda*), *diul* and *dhatura* (*Datura*) have been boiled. On the fifth day after the birth *kurada* (*Cytisus*) and *mung* (*Mungo*) are distributed to friends. The worship of the goddess Shakti is performed on the sixth day when Vishnu or Brahma is believed to enter the house and write its destiny on the child's forehead. On this occasion two lumps of cowdung are placed at each side of the door and for fifteen days red lead is smeared on them, and *lholi* is well moistened laid on the top. On the eighth day a *ratna* is given to relatives and members of the caste. Finally on the 1st day new cooking pots are brought into use, an elaborate entertainment is prepared and the child is named. During this period of three weeks not only the mother but also the father is deemed to be impure and is required to abstain from all his ordinary occupations.

There is little to be said about the religion of the caste. In Bengal most of them are Vaishnavas and celebrate the Janmāṣṭami or festival of the birthday of Krishna with great circumstance. They employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes but these are looked upon as degraded and are not received upon equal terms by the higher orders of the priestly caste. In Behar the tendency to Vaishnavism does not seem to be so strong and a considerable proportion of the caste are said to belong to the Saiva and Sakta sects. The Orissa Brahmans occupy a higher position than in Bengal and are deemed as respectable as the Brahmans will serve other castes of the same status. It is however only for marriage *raddi* and the worship of Sat Narain and the greater gods that the services of Brahmans are required. When it is only a question of propitiating the host of minor gods who play so important a part in the domestic religion of the people the householder himself officiates as priest. By Goalas special reverence is paid to Bisahari Granpal

Gohi Gosawan the god of cattle disease Kalum ngih and a number of *gaidn* or ghosts To these vague shapes flowers sweetmeats milk rice and occasionally sacrifices of goats are offered and partaken of by the worshippers Monday and Friday are considered the most auspicious days Saturday being reckoned peculiarly unlucky At the time of the Sankranti on the last day of Kartik October November a pig is turned loose among a herd of buffaloes who are encouraged to gore it to death The carcass is then given to Deodhis to eat The Goalas or Ahirs who practise this strange rite aver that it has no religious significance and is merely a sort of popular amusement They do not themselves partake of any portion of the pig

In point of social standing the Goalas of Behar rank with Kurmis Amáts and the other castes from whose hands a Brahman can take water In Bengal they occupy a lower position and are courted as inferior not only to the Naba Sakh but also to the cultivating division of the Kumbharta caste The Orissa Goalas on the other hand affect a high standard of ceremonial purity and look down upon the Behar and Bengal divisions of the caste Most Goalas combine cultivation with their hereditary pursuits and in Orissa and Singbhum some members of the caste hold landed tenures of substantial value

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Goalas in 1872 and 1881 —

D	18 2	1881	D	1872	1 81
H d	2	70 26	Noakh l	1	3
H k	4 2	5	I p l	9	1
B l l	17 8		(h k g H l l Tract		
M	44 63	5	I t	17 48	17 5
H l l		4	h l bad	1	1
I l w	6 300	17 7	M f l	5 3	7
Z l k as	8 1	77	D l l	23 740	
N	1 6	9	h mpara	7 1	7 27
K l l	20 2	13 1	M f	33 1 7	3 7 3
M l l bad	3 3	4 1	H a k l p	1	1
D l p	4	5	I r n l	1	7
H l l l	9	92 3	M l d h	7 2	3
Ba l	3 4	6 11	(t a c k	1 2 7	1 7
B r g			l	4	1
I l	11 48	11 7 3	B l so		3
D l l k	42	1	I l y States		1
J l k	950	21	H l l		7 77
K h B l		17	I h d		73
Dacca	22 7 8	2	M l l		1
B l	2	6 31	I l y St l		74
H k l					
M	17	2			
C l t l k	7	6			

Goalabhuia a sub-caste of Sutaradhar in Western Bengl

Goalbansi a sub-caste of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Goar a synonym for Goalá

Gobans cow horn a sept of Bairagis in Chota Nagpur

Gobansi a title of the family of the Rajas of Pachet in the district of Manbhum referring to the legend that the founder of

the house was deserted in the woods as an infant and was suckled by a cow

Gobargárhá a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Gobarjá a synonym for Sikharia Bhuiya *q v*

Goban beef eaters an opprobrious designation of Bauris Haris, and other low castes

Gobhí, a *gotra* or section of Agarwals

Gobindpuria see Govindpuria

Gobolachan a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur who cannot eat beef

Gobra *Cobira* a sub caste of Bauris so designated from their purifying the ground with cow dung where they eat while the

other Bauris (Jhántias) simply sweep the ground a sub caste of Mals and Lohárs in Bankura

Gochalya a sept of the Tungjainya sub tribe of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Gochchhási a *gauri* of the Bhuradwaja *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmins in Bengal

Gochhpuriá a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmins in Behar

Godáhia *Godiga* a sub-caste of Goalas in Behar who brand cattle with a red hot iron see Gujjar

Godahiyá a sub-caste of Kumhars in Behar

Godhanpuria a *mul* or section of the Kamarkalla sub caste of Sonars and of Lohars in Behar

Godná wálí a female tattooer In Eastern Bengal according to Dr Wise Bediyan men travel about the country with a bag containing a variety of drugs a cuiping horn (*Sinjri*) and a scarificator (*Núri*) They attract attention by bawling 'To tattoo to cup and to extract worms from decayed teeth' They also prescribe for female disorders It is said that small grubs are kept in a bamboo tube and while the patient's attention is occupied by the talk of the operator a maggot is presented as if it had been extracted from the hollow tooth For this trick the Godná wali receives a suitable fee

In tattooing the juice of the Bhangra plant (*Indigofera tinctoria*) and woman's milk are the materials used and the punctures are made with needles or the thorns of the Karaunda (*Curatlis*) While the operation is being performed a very quivocal mantra is recited to alleviate pain and prevent any subsequent inflammation

In respectable Hindu families an old nurse usually tattoos the girls Now a days the ordinary tattoo design either circular or star-like is made at the top of the nose in the centre of the forehead formerly the fashionable strain (*Ullukli*) was at the same spot but a line extended along the bridge of the nose branching out into two curves over each ala Tattoo marks were originally distinctive of Hindu females but Muhammadan women copied them and it is only since the Farazi revival that they have discontinued the habit

Chandál women are often employed to cure goutre by tattooing. A circular spot on the most prominent part of the swelling is punctured with a bamboo spike and common ink mixed with the sap of the Kali Koshija rubbed in.

Godo crocodile a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Gogrami a *gain* of the Bhadraraja *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmins in Bengal

Goh a sept of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Goharwar a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Gohori a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Goi a section of Agarwáls

Goin a half *gotra* or section of Agarwáls

Goit a *mul* or section of the Ghosin sub caste of Góálas in Behar a totemistic sept of Bhuys in Chota Nagpur

Goita a sub caste of Koiris in Behar

Gojiá a sub caste of Kámaris in Hazaribágh

Gola a sub caste of Bhandaris in Orissa

Golaia a sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Golngya a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Golchiá a section of the Oswál Lamiyas

Goldár a title of Kalwáris in Behar

Gole a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Goleg pá go a head and leg good—the peaceful a sub sept of the Nah pá sept of Sherpa Bhotias

Golmetah a section of Maghaya Dhobis in Behar

Goloar sweet potato a totemistic sept of Lohars in Chota Nagpur

Golrá a *mul* or section of the Namli or Mijaut sub caste of Góálas in Behar

Golsaz see Hawaigar

Golvar a section of Ghosis in Chota Nagpur

Gomdan a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Gond a non Aryan tribe classed on linguistic grounds as Dravidian properly belonging to the Central Provinces but found also in the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur in the south of Lohardaga and in Singbhum. In the States of Sarguj, Khera and Udaipur most of the feudatories held on terms of military service directly under the Chief and made herds of Gond—a fact which suggests that the tribe had hitherto been among the nomadic or semi-nomadic settlements in that part of the country. The Gond of the Central Provinces divided into four sub tribes—Gond Raj Gond Dhokar Gond and

The Gond of the Central Provinces and of Bengal and do not attach to any particular tribe.

Doroá-Gond or Náik The Gond represent the bulk of the tribe while the Ráj Gond are supposed to be descended from families who attained to the dignity of Chief. The Dhokar Gond are a wandering race who make a living by begging and stealing. The Doroá Gond or Náik are found only in Singbhum. According to Colonel Dalton they were the military retainers of the Mahápatra of Bamanghati a feudatory of the Rája of Moharbhani who were driven out of Bamanghati with their leader and permitted to settle in Singbhum in consequence of his having rebelled against his lord paramount. Their sections shown in Appendix I are totemistic. One of them *Besra* (hawk) occurs also among the Santáls.

Gonds practise both infant and adult-marriage but under Hindu influence the former practice tends continually to become more popular and to be looked upon as a badge of social distinction. The ceremony is modelled on that in use among the lower castes of Hindus. *Sinduran* and marriage to a mango tree form prominent parts of the ritual while according to some the binding portion of the rite consists in the village barber pouring a vessel of water over both bride and bridegroom. Widows are allowed to marry again the usual practice being for the widow to marry her late husband's younger brother. No religious ceremony is in use in such occasions nor is it customary to send for the Brahman and Hajjám who officiate at the marriage of a virgin. All that is necessary is to assemble a sort of committee of relations before whom the bridegroom gives the bride a new cloth and a lac bracelet and promises to maintain her in a suitable fashion. The proceedings end as is the manner of the non-Aryan tribes with a feast at which every one gets very drunk.

The Bengal members of the tribe affect to be orthodox Hindus and worship the standard gods with the assistance of a degraded class of Brahmans who also officiate at their marriages. Although to this extent they have embraced the popular religion they still worship the characteristic deities of the non-Hindus, *Bar Deo* and *Dulhá Deo*. They burn their dead but the relatives mourn for three days only after which period they purify themselves by bathing and shaving and making offerings of rice and milk to the spirit of the departed. Their social rank is very low as in spite of their professed conformity to Hinduism they eat wild and other unclean food (concerning their appearance and characteristics Colonel Dalton has the following remarks:—

Socially I consider the Hinduised or *Santálised* Gonds to be the least interesting of the great families of the aborigines of India. They have none of the lively disposition of the *Crissal* or the tree-dwelling *Barman* which attracts many of the *Singbhum* Káls. They are rather dull and stupid and they are discontented cultivators and careless about the appearance of their homesteads. They are without singularly ill-favored and though

some of the wealthier families have formed a series of alliances with other races which have improved their looks I can point to many who have tried this in vain and who show to this day features more closely resembling the lower Negro type than any I have met with amongst the tribes of Bengal They often have short crisp curly hair and though it is said and no doubt truly that this is far removed from the regular woolly covering of a Negro's head I have generally found such hair in conjunction with features very noticeably Negro in type and accompanying a very dark skin They are larger and heavier in build than the Oraons and Kols and with none of the graceful physique to be found in both these tribes

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Gonds in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
Bardw	7		Rhagulp		17
Bakara	3,823	9,636	Purnia		1,32
Bilaspur	8		Satparga		40
Chhota Nagpur	7,860	7,167	Cuttack	12	16
Deoria		2	Puri	2	
Hazaribagh		21	Rasool	6	
Patna	2	3	Tripartite States	22,27	17,59
Gya		16	Ilam	7	2
Shahdol		7,088	Ilam	19	1,842
Muzaffarpur		2	Ilam	4,838	2,14
Raipur		11,62	Muzaffarpur		30
Chhapra		1,065	Tributary States	6,14	7,274

Gonda a *thar* or sept of Man-gars in Darjiling

Gondh a sub caste of Binds in Benar

Gondli a kind of grain a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Gondrai a tree a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Gonduk a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Gongbá a section of Murmi in Darjiling

Gonr a sub caste of Kindus in Behar a section of the Lijlut and Khundhi kalwars in Behar a stone cutter and maker of stone plates and household utensils

Gonrhi a title of Mallahs in Behar

Gonrhi *Gonrhi Mallh Machhua* a fishing and cultivating caste of Behar who claim descent from Nishad or Nishad a mythical boatman who is said to have ferried Rani Chandra across the Ganges at Allahabad. The fact that the word Nishad which is used in the Rig Veda as a general name for the non-Aryan races should appear in the traditions of the Gonrhi a personal synonym suggests the conjecture that the caste may be descended from one of the aboriginal tribes whom the Aryans found in possession of the Ganges Valley. This view

derives some support from the physical appearance of the caste, which approaches to the non Aryan type. The internal structure of the group throws no light on its origin unless we may attach weight to the fact that one of the sub castes bears the name of Kolh. The other sub castes are Banpar Chab or Chabi Dhoar Kurin Parbatti Kurin Khunaut or Khulaut and Semari. All of these are strictly endogamous except the Kolh and Kurin sub castes which admit of intermarriage with each other though not with members of other sub castes. Some members of the Chab sub caste deny that they have any connection with the Gonrhi. The section names, which are shown in the Appendix are in common use as titles among many other castes in Behar. Their importance bearing on marriage is not easy to ascertain. Gonrhis are not as a class intelligent enough to be able to explain their own customs very clearly nor have they a sufficiently strong organization to secure uniformity of practice in different parts of the country. Thus according to some accounts the Chab Dhoar and Kolh regulate their marriages solely by the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees and the Khunaut sub caste have no exogamous sections while within the Parbatti Kurin sub caste only a special group known as Jithot observes the rule of exogamy in respect of its section names. The rest of the sub castes regard these names as titles having no special significance. The Kurin have no section names and affect to know nothing about the regular custom of exogamy but they do not allow a man to marry a woman who lives in the same village as himself. The Banpar and Semari sub-castes on the other hand appear to have distinct sections and also count prohibited degrees down to six or as some say seven generations in the descending line. In determining whom a man may marry regard is paid not merely to his own section but to the section to which his mother and his paternal and maternal grandmothers belonged.

Gonrhis marry their daughters as infants or as adults according to their means. Infant marriage is deemed the more respectable but no special caste attaches to a family because one of the daughters attains the age of puberty before being married. The marriage ceremony is of the standard type. Polygamy is permitted only to the extent that a man may take a second wife if his first wife is barren or suffers from an incurable disease. A widow may marry again by the *sagas* form of which *sindurdan* constitutes the binding portion. She may marry her late husband's younger brother but is not compelled to do so. Divorce is permitted with the consent of the panchayat on the ground of misconduct or incompatibility of temper. Divorced wives can marry again. Some hold however that a woman taken in adultery is debarred from this privilege and I gather that divorce is generally regarded with disfavour by the respectable members of the caste.

Most Gonrhis are Vaishnava Hindus but a few members of the Saurapattya sect of sun worshippers are found among them. They employ Maithil Brahmins for the worship of the greater gods, but these priests are not usually

recognised as equals by other members of the sacred order. They have a large number of minor gods and many of them belong to the Pānōh Pīriya creed—an obscure but widely spread cult which appears to have arisen from the contact of Islam with the animistic beliefs of its aboriginal converts. Some again worship a water god called Koila Baba described as an old grey bearded person who as *G ngajī ka B ldar* the navy of our lady the Ganges saps and swallows up whatever opposes the sacred stream. Before casting a new net or starting on a commercial venture offerings of molasses and seven kinds of grain kneaded into balls are offered to him and at the end of the ceremony one of the balls is placed on the edge of the water another on the bow of the boat. Another rite common to many if not to all fisher castes is the Bārwarā or Barahī Puja when a subscription is made and in the absence of a Brāhman a pig is sacrificed in a garden or on a patch of waste land outside the village. Jai Singh Amar Singh Chand Singh Diyāl Singh Kewal Mīrang Bandī Goraiyā and a river named Kamalāpī are also regularly worshipped. Jai Singh who is also a favourite deity of the Tiyaṛ caste is said to have been a Gonrhī of Ujjain who had a large timber trade in the Sunderbuns. On one occasion the Rājā of the Sunderbuns imprisoned 700 Gonrhīs in consequence of a dispute about the price of wood. Jai Singh slew the Rājā and released the prisoners and has ever since been honoured with daily worship. Goats sweetmeats wheaten cakes *pan supari* and flowers are offered to him at regular intervals and no Gonrhī will light a pipe or embark on a fishing excursion without first invoking the name of Jai Singh. Once a year in the month of Śrawan a flag is set up in honour of Hanumān on a bamboo pole in the courtyard and offerings of sweetmeats and fruits are presented to the god. These offerings are received by the Brahmins who officiate as priests while the articles of food given to the minor gods are eaten by the members of the caste. The dead are burned usually on the brink of a river and the ashes thrown into the stream. In Supul the practice is to burn in a mango grove. *Sādadh* is performed on the thirteenth day after death.

The social status of the Gonrhī caste appears to vary in different parts of the country and does not admit of very precise definition. All that can be said is that they rank below Barhīs Kumhars and Laherīs and that although Brahmins do not ordinarily take water from their hands this rule is not observed everywhere. Their own practice in the matter of diet inclines towards laxity as they eat scaleless as well as scaly fish pork water tortoises and field rats and indulge freely in strong drink. There are however many Bhakats among them who abstain from liquor and from all kinds of animal food and are held in respect by reason of their abstinence. The caste will take water and sweetmeats from Kewat Dhānuks and Gangotās but will not eat cooked food prepared by members of those castes. They believe boating and fishing to be their original and characteristic occupation but many of them are engaged in agriculture as tenure holders occupancys or non occupancys raiyats and landless day labourers.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Gonrhıs in 1872 and 1881 —

D ISTRİCT	1872	1881	D ISTRİCT	1872	1881
B rdw	1 687	454	Ch ttar ng	524	81
B k ra	1 333	2 463	Naakhali	106	
B bh m	44	3 1 7	T pperah	2	720
M d p	91 895	1 444	P	7 7	21 1
H ghl		647	Gy	1 13	45
H w h	1 44	6 7	Sh habad	1 269	7 92
24 Parganas	2 30	99	T h t { Da bh ga		
Nady	13 2 7	10 79	{ M ff pur	163 36	11 228
Kh lna		33 7	S	36 905	22 573
Jessore	12 129	10 766	C l mparan	6 5	64,249
M rshadabad	7 22	30	M ghy	27 437	31 4
l i j p	75	1 989	Bhag lpur	43 080	908
Raj nahy	1 8	1714	P h	39 1	46 633
Ba gp		66	M ld h	1 46	13
Bogra	2 7	1 39	al l rganas	2 6	66 897
P b	7 30	5 844	C ta k	8 7	10 983
D l g		549	i		364
J l i g ri	24	3	B laco	7	21 33
K h B ha		961	T b tary State		1 717
Dacca	567	2 0	H a bagh	406	7 49
F ridp	5 496	2 026	I h laga	7 250	12 518
B k ka j			Sun t l m		3 897
M m ns h	10 11	22 31	M thuz	1 71	55

Gonria a sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Gop or Ghosh a sub-caste of Goálás in Bengal

Gopa a synonym for Goálá a title and a section of the Kanaujia and Goria sub castes of Goalas in Behar

Gopal a synonym for Goálá

Gopálghatakı a mel or hyper gamous sub group of Rarhi Brahmans in Bengal

Gopál Karıkar a sub caste of Sutradhars in Murshedabad

Gop Goala a synonym for Goálá

Gopyan a sect of Vaishnavas a synonym for Sadgop

Gopurbba a gain of the Bharadwaja g tra of Uttar Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Gorahat a small class of Bhuiyás in the south of Chota Nagpur who make a living by washing for gold in the sands of the rivers

Goraheri a synonym for Gareri in Behar

Goraı a title of Kaibarttas

Gorait a title of the headmen of the Dom caste in Bhagalpur who have under them servants called Chhardars, to execute or communicate their orders to vil lages a watchman and messenger in Behar usually of the Dosadh caste

Gorait Korait Baıkar a non Aryan caste of musicians comh, makers, and cotton carders found in the south west of the Lohardaga district, and perhaps in Hazaribagh. It may be inferred from the totemistic character

Origin.

of their sections a list of which is given in Appendix I that they are an offshoot from one of the aboriginal races while the variant Korait rather suggests that they may be connected with the Kora caste. Resemblances between names however are but blind guides in questions of tribal affinity and I doubt whether we can safely do more than surmise that Korait may probably have been the original name of the caste which was corrupted into Gorait from its similarity in sound to the familiar title of the village messenger and watchman. Their specialised and comparatively degraded avocations and the fact that they are not employed as village messengers exclude the supposition that the converse process can have been at work and that the bond of a common occupation may have formed a number of Gorait properly so called into an endogenous group bearing that name. Indeed although nearly every village in Behar and Chota Nagpur has its Gorait the profession owing perhaps to its members being so scattered shows no tendency to war is hardening into a caste.

Gorait marry their daughters both as infants and as adults but the former practice is deemed the more respectable and is followed by all who can afford it. After the bride has been selected the parents of the bridegroom go to her parents house to see her. On this occasion a feast is given by the bride's people at which the liquor—an essential element in all non-Aryan rejoicings—is provided by the father of the bridegroom and four annas eight annas or one rupee is presented to the bride as *muk dekhi* or fee for the privilege of seeing her face. On the next day the girl's parents visit the boy and are entertained wholly at his father's expense. Lastly if both parties are satisfied with this mutual inspection the boy's people go to the bride's house and present to her a new *sari*, a he-goat and Rs 3 to buy ornaments with. These constitute the bride price (*dal*).

On the day before the wedding the bridegroom's party march in procession to the bride's house and stop there for the night. Next morning the fathers of the bride and bridegroom shake hands and embrace one another (*samdhi milan*). Then in the presence of some elders of the caste the headman of the village and the priest of the rural gods (*pahn*) who are received with great ceremony the marriage is completed by the bride and bridegroom smearing vermilion on each other's foreheads (*si durdan*) while the elders solemnly exhort them to work hard eat drink and prosper and not get divorced. This meagre ceremony takes place in a bamboo marriage shed (*marhua*) erected in the courtyard. Brahmins are not called in and the village barber takes no part in the ceremony. On the evening of the same day the bridegroom's party take the bride and bridegroom both seated in the same palanquin to the latter's house where *si durdan* is again performed. On that night the bridegroom if he has attained puberty sleeps with the bride. After three days the couple go to the bride's house and stay there nine days returning finally to their own home on the tenth day.

Polygamy is permitted and there is no rule limiting the number of wives. A widow may marry again and her choice is not fettered

by the obligation to marry her late husband's younger brother. The ritual used at the marriage differs from that in use at the marriage of a virgin in that no *marhwa* is constructed and the money portion of the bride price is only Re 1. *Sinduria* is performed in the presence of the widow's relative but there is no marriage procession and the bride is taken home without any display. According to some authorities if the widow elects to live on with her brother-in-law it is sufficient to announce this intention to the relatives and no ceremony of any kind is required.

A divorce (*chhota khuri*) may be granted by the caste council (*panchayat*) if the wife is proved to be unchaste or if she frequently runs away to her father's house without the permission of her husband. Proceedings may also be initiated by the wife on the ground that her husband is too old for her or is an habitual drunkard. Divorced women may marry again by *saijai*.

Goraitis profess to be Hindus but they have not yet attained to the dignity of employing Brahmans. They worship Devi Mái and a tribal spirit call

Purubia to whom a goat is sacrificed once a year. In cases of illness an exorcist (*mati barga*) is called in to detect the demon or witch who is giving trouble. If this personage ascribes the visitation to the wrath of the tribal god the *pihn* is sent for and a goat pig sheep or fowl sacrificed. Those who can afford to do so burn the dead but the bodies of the poor are buried with the head to the north. No regular *sralih* is performed. On the tenth day after death the nearest relative of the deceased gets himself shaved and gives a feast to the friends of the family.

In point of social status Goraitis rank with Iohras and Ghasis and no respectable people will take water from their hands. They eat beef pork and field

rats and indulge freely in spirituous and fermented liquors. As has been already stated they find employment as hired musicians at weddings and various kinds of festivities as makers of bamboo combs and carders of cotton. Some are employed in agriculture as non-occupancy rayats or agricultural labourers (*Dhangars*) engaged by the year for a lump sum of Rs 5 paid down at the time of hiring one *lat* and a half (about 38 seers) of paddy per month and four yards of cloth at the end of the year.

In 1881 there were 61 Goraitis in Hazaribagh 386 in Lohardaga and 43 in Singhbhum. There was no separate entry for Goraitis in 1872.

Goraksa a section of Jugis

Gorangi a title of mendicant Vaishnavas apparently a variant of Gaurangi

Gorea a sub-section of the Bharadwaja section of Utkal Brahmans in Orissa

Gorhark a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Goria red earth a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Goria or *Dahara* a sub-caste of Goalas in Behar who hold the title of Mandar and belong to the

Prem Ghuno *gotra* They make butter and sell milk and curds
Also a sub-caste of Dhobas in Manbhum and of Chamars in Behar who will not make shoes and disown the title Muchi

Goriar a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Goro a sub caste of Khatwes in Behar a sub caste of Goals in Chota Nagpur

Gorsár, a sub caste of Dhobis in Behar

Goru cow a totemistic section of Juggannáthi Kumhárs in Orissa

Gosáin *Gosrami* *Gonsi* *Gonsia* a master of his pupils a religious mendicant a title of a class of Brahmans the original disciples of Chaitanya who are spiritual guides of the worshippers of Vishnu In Bengal the term is usually applied to Jugs and the Grihi or Grihastha Vaishnavas who are allowed to marry and follow secular pursuits It is also used as a common title just as Banarji Bhat tacharji etc Socially it denotes a class of people who manufacture and sell threads corresponding to Jugs A synonym for Bairagi

Gosainji a synonym for Brahman

Gosáinpanthi a sect of religious mendicants

Gosti a *thar* or sept of Gurus in Darjiling

Goswálambí a *gan* of the Bharadwaja *gotra* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Gotama Gautama a section of Brahmans

Gotanya a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Gothar a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Gothi a *thar* or sept of Gurus in Darjiling

Gothwal a section of Goals in the North Western Province and Behar

Gotramasi a section of Bárus in Bengal

Gotsobhni a *mul* or section of the Numuli or Majraut sub caste of Goals in Behar

Govariya a hypergamous group of Tiyars found in Bhagulpur

Govindpuria a sub caste of Telis in Bengal and of Iohars in the Santal Parganas

Gowe a section of Babhans in Behar

Gozar a title of Dhobis in Behar

Grahapípra Planet Brahman a title of Acharji Brahmans

Grahachárji *Grihacharja* Teacher of the Planet a title of Acharji Brahmans

Grandan a section of Maimis in Darjiling

Granja a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Grihasodhani a *gan* of the Bátsya *gotra* of Uttar Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Gr hasth a synonym for Bághan a functional group of Jugs in Bengal composed of

four families—Dhanāi Mandal Jnanbar Bhagan Bhājan and Iaban

Grihi householders a sept of M l Iaharias in the Santal Iarganas

Gua areca nut a subsept of the Hemrom sept of Santals a totemist sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Guabari a mul or section of the Nukmula or Mjruut subcast of Gwalis in Behar

Guaburi the highest thar or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling whose members in the absence of a Brahman are called in to perform the ceremony of *nuarmi* that is the purification of a woman with a child. They are also employed for the ceremonies of marriage and funerals

Gudar a group of the Ao har sect of Saiva ascetics founded in

Guzerat by a Dasnāmi mendicant named Brahmagiri See Aoghar

Guha a title of Kāyasths in Bengal

Guha Gonhhi a sub caste of Bamiyas

Gui a title of Dakshin Rārhi Kayasths of Mayarās Tāntas and of Kūbagtas in Bengal

Gujjar or Godaga a sub caste of Ahirs or Gwalas in Behar who are cow doctors

Gujrati or Gurjara a territorial division of the Jānchā Dravira Brahmins who live in the south of the Vindhya range in (Gujarashtra) the country of the Gujarati language. Persons bearing this title are found in Behar they claim to have originally come from Gujarat and are usually engaged in trade. In Patna they are said to make pickles

Gulgo a sept of the Bhum tribe in Manbhum

Gulgulūā a wandering non Aryan tribe who live by hunting teaching monkeys to dance selling indigenous drugs begging and petty thieving. Their origin is obscure but it seems likely that they are a branch of the Bediyas. I have been unable to obtain any trustworthy information regarding the internal structure of the caste. Some Gulgulūās in Gya assured me that they had three sub castes—Bantari Pachpania and Sukwar—and I mention this statement in case it may be of use to other inquirers. My informants seemed to be stupid and ignorant men and I doubt whether their evidence was worth much. They have a legend that Rukmini the reputed ancestress of the Easi caste had a son called Mohababa who in his turn had seven sons Gaiduha Byadhi Irsuli Maghāyā Iurk (the Mahomedan Easi) Gulchri and Gulgulūā. These seven sons challenged each other to jump off the top of a palmyra tree (*tar*). Gulchri (the squirrel) jumped first and landed unhurt. Irsulūā who went second was killed on the spot whereupon Mohababa seeing that Gulchri had led the others into trouble smote him with his hand and cursed him to be reckoned among the inferior animals and to be fortunate only in this that he should jump from great heights and come to no harm. This is the reason why the squirrel is a good jumper and bears the marks of five fingers on his back. The

story goes on in a somewhat inconsequent fashion to say that the next to leave the family was Gulgulíá who observed that his brothers after serving their customers with *miri* always washed the cup however low the caste of the man who had drunk from it. This struck the youngest brother—in folklore it is usually the *youngest* brother who takes a line for himself—as showing a great want of self respect and he at once decided to throw over his family and adopt a wandering life. His descendants are true to the traditions of their mythical eponym and during the dry season at least have no fixed habitations. In the rains they build themselves a sort of *tente d'abri* about eight feet long by six feet wide of two bamboo uprights and a ridge pole covered in with a tilt of *sirki* matting (*Saccha um sara Roxb*) which reaches to the ground on either side. The whole thing can be struck and carried off at a moment's notice if the owner and his family want to change their quarters in a hurry—a common chance with a tribe of predatory instincts whom the police are ever ready to credit with every petty theft that baffles their slender detective ability. Such huts or rather tents are usually found on the outskirts of large villages and the Gulgulias though they will never admit that they have a fixed residence anywhere do in fact usually return if not to the same village at least to the same neighbourhood for the rainy season when frequent shifting even of the most portable habitation is apt to cause much discomfort especially to people who keep no beasts of burden and carry their house themselves.

Gulgulias affect to practise infant marriage but admit that poverty often leads to a girl's marriage being deferred until she has passed the age of puberty.

Marriage

As is the case with gypsies in other parts of the world their women have a certain reputation for chastity and sexual indiscretions are said to be rare. When anything of the kind occurs the woman in fault is turned out of the caste and the man with whom she has gone wrong is fined Rs. 10 or so by the chief of the panchayat. This official is elected by an assembly of the local representatives of the caste and holds office until displaced by the same authority. The marriage ceremony is a meagre copy of the ritual followed by low caste Hindus. The functions of priest are usually performed by two men selected at the time from the family of the bride and bridegroom but sometimes the village barber is called in to officiate. A bride price of from four to six maunds of rice and Rs. 3 in cash is usually paid. Polygamy is allowed but is rarely resorted to owing to the extreme poverty of the caste. A widow may marry again and it often happens that she marries her deceased husband's younger brother. To him in any case belongs the custody of her children by her late husband but in some cases it would appear that the panchayat of the caste exercises the right of allotting the children to the widow in the event of her marrying an outsider.

The religion of the Gulgulias appears to be a form of the animism which characterises the aboriginal races. They

Religion

worship a host of spiritual powers whose attributes are ill defined and who are not conceived as wearing any

bodily form This at least may be inferred from the fact that they make no images, and that Baktáwar the tutelary deity of the Patna Gulgulíás is represented by a small mound of hardened clay set up in an earthen plate Among their objects of worship we find also Jagdamái or Devi Rám Thákur Baren Setti Goráya Bandi Parameswari and Dak In Hazaribagh they worship Dánu in the form of a stone daubed with five streaks of red lead and set up outside the house The offerings made to these deities consist usually of rice milk fruit and sweetmeats which are afterwards eaten by the worshippers

In disposing of the dead they have the curious practice of pouring some country spirit into the dead man's mouth and killing a fowl so that the spirit may be satisfied and may not come back to trouble his relatives with bad dreams The corpse is then burned and the ashes thrown into a tank

Although the squirrel is the reputed ancestor of the caste Gulgulíás are so far from regarding the animal as sacred that its flesh forms their favourite food Spearing squirrels with a series of seven reeds (*narsar*) which fit one into the other like the joints of a fishing rod is a pursuit at which they are specially expert and some say that the name Gulgulíá is derived from a peculiar noise sounding like *jul jul* which they make in order to attract the squirrel's attention while they are gradually bringing the *narsar* within stabbing distance Another theory is that they are called Gulgulíás the chatterers because they use a peculiar *jatois* or thieves slang understood only among themselves The *narsar* is

also used for spearing birds Gulgulíás never cultivate themselves but they are in the habit of gleaning what is left on the ground after the crops are cut Begging pilfering and exhibiting goats and monkeys are their chief means of livelihood They buy monkeys from the Biháris whom they affect to look down upon for their promiscuous habits in the matter of food Gulgulíás themselves profess to abstain from beef but they eat pork field rats a variety of snails and animals and the leavings of all Hindí castes except the Dhobí Dom Musáhar Hari and Chamar Their women sell drugs and profess to cure a variety of small ailments such as arach tooth ache rheumatism and the like It is rumoured that they also know remedies for barrenness and will supply medicine which facilitate parturition and bring about abortion

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Gulgulíás in 1881 There is no separate entry of them in 1872 —

Patna	254	Surah	125
Gya	99	Mazbigh	436
Darbhaiga	113	Silhan	12
Monghyr	77	Mblan	92

Gulí a sub caste of Baglís | the men cultivate while the women catch and sell fish
in Western Bengal among Phom

Gumi a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Gumiá a sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Gun Guna a title of Kayasths in Bengal

Gundi a section of Kaibartas in Orissa

Gundki a kind of wood a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Gundli a section of Mahlis in Chota Nagpur

Gundri a bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Gungambhir a section of Kanaujia Lohars in Behar

Gunj a kind of fruit a totemistic sept of Lohars in Chota Nagpur

Gunsaiyá a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Gunwariá a section of Rajputs in Bhagalpur to which the Raja of Sonbaisa belongs

Gupta a title of Dikshin Rishi and Bangiya Kayasths and of Siddha Baidyas in Bengal

Gupta Rai or *Rai Gupta* a title of Budyas in Bengal

Gur a *jain* of the Kasyapa *gotra* of Kirat Brahmans in Bengal a title of Tambulis

Gurung *Gurungá Gurungá* one of the best of the fighting tribes of Nepal divided into two endogamous sub castes and a number of septs shown in Appendix I Gurungs marry their daughters as adults and like most Nepalese castes allow great license in the matter of divorce on repayment of the bride price to the woman's father Divorced women may marry again by the full ceremony a privilege denied to the widow who may live with a man especially

Gura Gain a *thar* of the Dhanjaya *gotra* of Nepali Brahmans

Guráh a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Gurani a *mul* or section of the Tinnulia Malhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Guriá the confectioner caste in Orissa Also a sub caste of Mallahs in Behar

Guri Bawá a sub caste of Koras in Chota Nagpur

Gurjar Gaura a sub caste of Gaura Brahmans

Gurmachhan a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Gurni a vegetable a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Guro a sept of Tharus in Behar

Guroman a section of Mangars in Darjiling

Guru a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur who cannot eat beef

Gurum a synonym for Gurung in Darjiling

Gurumbo Gyurumbo a *ru* or sept of Djong Lhoris whose ancestor had emigrated from Bhotan

with her late husband's younger brother (but not the elder) as his concubine but cannot go through any ceremony. The caste was once Buddhist and is now Hindu. Bhim Sen the second of the Pandava brethren being their favourite deity. They still retain pronounced traces of the primitive animism which they professed before their conversion to Buddhism and worship the mountains and rivers offering flowers and grass to the former and food to the latter. This worship seems to be of a propitiatory kind and is celebrated more particularly for recovery from illness or relief from domestic calamity. Brahmins serve them as priests but if no Brahmin is available a member of the Guaburi tribe may take his place and may perform the ceremonies of marriage and disposal of the dead and *nuarmi* or purification after childbirth. All Gurungs bury their dead except members of the Urunti tribe who burn their dead on a hill top and throw the ashes in the air. At funerals a man of the Ieh lama tribe casts earth on the grave and recites magical formulae (*nintra*) supposed to put the soul of the dead man to rest. In other respects the ceremony is the same as that used by the Sunuwar tribe. Gurungs abstain from food of pork or vermin but eat the flesh of the buffalo and wild pigs and the domestic fowl. The four castes—Chattri or Khas, Gurung, Mangar and Sunuwar—are classed together as *mukhya* or chief. With members of the other castes included in this group a Gurung will not formally intermarry but if one of them runs away with his daughter he will accept the bride price of Rs 140 or some definite fraction of that amount. A woman thus married cannot cook rice or dal for her husband but may make bread or *cham*. If a Gurung steals a wife from one of the other castes in this manner her children will be admitted into the Gurung caste but once admitted they may not eat rice cooked by their mother. If he marries a girl of the Kiranti group her children are not reckoned as Gurung.

Guru Tashi the blessed guru or sept of the Tongdu sub-tribe of Dejong. Lhazis of white Guru Lama was guide.

Guta a title of Dakshin Barhi Kayasth in Bengal.

Gyangma a tribe or sept of the Mangars in Darjiling.

Gyásáin a section of the Amashta Kayasths in Behar.

Gyon sah pá the new monastery or sept of the Bhotia or gyese sub-tribe of Dejong. Lhazis or Bhotias of the south.

H

Habibpur Phupidi a *mul* or section of the Naomula or Majraut sub-caste of Goálas in Behar

Habin a tree a totemistic sept of Munda in Chota Nagpur

Hádá a section of Goálas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Hadauriár a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Hadkwál a section of Goálas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Hadung black tree ant a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Háfiz a reciter of the Koran

Hah po a *ru* or sept of Dejong Lhoris whose ancestor had emigrated from North Bhotan

Haiboru Lángi a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Haidibuthá a *thar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Haio a *war* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Hyam a synonym for Bhandári

Hajám,¹ *Nai Nau Naua* the barber caste of Behar popularly supposed to have been specially created by
 Origin. Viswakarma for the convenience of Mahadeva

There are seven sub castes—Awadhíá Kanaujá or Biahut Tirhutíá, Sribástab or Bastar Magahiyá Bangalí and Turk Nauwá Of these the Awadhíá claim to have come from Oudh the Kanaujá from Kanauj the Tirhutíá are located on the north and the Magahiyá on the south of the Ganges the Bangalí are immigrants from Bengal into the border districts of Behar and the Turk Nauwa are Muhammadans The sections

Internal structure of the Awadhíá and Kanaujá sub castes are shown in Appendix I Most of them are of the territorial type The former observe a highly complex system of exogamy which forbids marriage into the sections to which the following relatives belong —(1) father (2) paternal grand mother (3) paternal great grand mothers (4) paternal great great grand mothers (5) mother (6) maternal grand mother (7) maternal great grand mothers In applying these rules to a particular case the double method of reckoning explained in the article on Bais is resorted to so that if one of the bridegroom's paternal great great grand mothers should have belonged to the same section as one of the bride's great grand mothers the marriage will be disallowed although the bride and bridegroom themselves belong to different sections The other sub castes appear either to have no sections or to have borrowed a few

¹ Mr N. Field calls this Habubpur Nápt and says that Hajam is confined to the Muhammadan barbers This however is not the case in Behar

of the Brahmanical *gotras*. All observe the standard formula for determining prohibited degrees calculated to seven or in the case of the Awadhia to four generations in the descending line.

With rare exceptions Hájams marry their daughters as infants and ordinarily pay a small bridegroom price (*tilak*) varying with the means and relative status of the families. The ceremony is of the standard type *sindur dan* being considered the essential and binding portion. Polygamy is permitted if the first wife be barren but even in this case a man may not have more than two wives. He may marry his wife's younger sister during the former's life time but not an elder sister. In all the sub castes except the Bihari and Subabwadi widows may marry again and are restricted by no positive conditions in their selection of a second husband though it is considered right and proper for a widow to marry her deceased husband's younger brother if there is one. Divorce is not generally recognised by the Hájams of Behar. A faithless wife is turned adrift and ceases to be a member of the caste. In Palámau the Santal Jargana and parts of Darbhanga adultery by the wife and incompatibility of temper are admitted as grounds of divorce. A panchayat is summoned to decide the question and if cause is shown for a divorce a stick is solemnly snapped in two, a leaf torn or an earthen vessel broken in pieces to symbolise the rupture of the marriage bond. Divorced wives may marry again by the *tau* form.

The religion of the caste does not differ materially from the average Hinduism of the middle classes in Behar. Kanauria or Siotri Brahmins serve them as priests and are received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order. In addition to the minor god recognised throughout Behar the head of a Hájam household wishes Bannam or Gaiyan with offerings of castor oil, gits, molasses, sweets, betel leaves and *ganga*. Dharm Das said to have been a Hájam himself is also worshipped in similar fashion. The dead are burned and the ceremony of *radhi* is performed on the thirteenth day after death. Periodical libations (*tarpan*) are offered in the name of Anin for the benefit of deceased ancestors.

The social standing of the caste is respectable and Brahmins will take water from their hands. The *sat* themselves will eat *ka hchi* food prepared by Brahmins. Rajputs, Babhans and high caste Banias and will take *piki* articles from members of those castes from whom Brahmins will receive water. Their own rules regarding diet are the same as are followed by most orthodox Hindus but they are believed not to be very particular as to the use of spirituous liquors.

The importance of the place taken by the Hájam in the constitution of the Hindu village community and the religious sanctions on which many of his functions depend are well brought out by Mr Nesfield in the following remarks —

Every child after the age of six months or a year undergoes the ceremony of having its head for the first time touched with the

razor This is a ceremony of no little importance in the eyes of a Hindu and is called *chura karan*. It is performed in the presence of some deity or rather in that of his image who is believed henceforth to take the child under his special patronage. The cutting off of the birth hair is believed to remove the last trace of the congenital taint inherited from the maternal womb and hence the ceremony has the same significance as that of a baptismal or lustral rite. The custom of cutting off the birth hair has been widely practised among backward races elsewhere and is not at all confined to the natives of India. The germs of the barber caste may therefore have existed in times before the Aryan had appeared.

In funeral ceremonies the Nāpit plays an important part. He shaves the head and pares the nails of the dead preparatory to cremation. He shaves the head of the man who puts the first light to the pyre. Ten days afterwards he shaves the head of every member of the household. By this time after taking a final bath they are purified of the contagion of death.

In the celebration of marriage ceremonies he acts as the Brahman's assistant and to the lowest castes or tribes who cannot employ a Brahman he is himself the matrimonial priest. The important part he plays in marriage ceremonies has led to his becoming the match maker among all the respectable castes. It is he who hunts out the boy, finds out whether his clan or caste is marriageable with that of the girl, settles the price to be paid on both sides, takes the horses, sees to the Brahman to be compared so as to see if the stars are favourable, carries the presents from one house to the other and so forth. His function as match maker is not an unimportant one in a state of society in which the rules of caste have imposed endless restrictions on the freedom of marriage.

Shaving is not the only service that he is expected to render to his constituents. He is the ear cleaner, nail cutter, cupper and blooder, etc. In short he performs any kind of operation on the body of man that requires a sharp knife, from shaving a beard to lancing a boil. He might therefore be fitly styled a barber surgeon. In this double capacity he is the exact counterpart of the barber surgeons of mediæval Europe, out of whom the modern medical profession has sprung. His wife acts as nurse to the mother and child for the last six days of the confinement. During the first six days they are in charge of the midwife—some woman of the less respected castes of Chamar, Dhanuk or others. She also pares the nails of the new-born child and receives a fee for doing so. In Behar the Hajam is sent round with invitations to weddings and funerals and announces the birth of a child to the relations in the neighbourhood. For this he gets a small fee which is higher in the case of a first-born child, especially if it be a son. The ordinary charge for shaving is one ^{pie} but the regular village barber gets a variety of periodical perquisites and does not charge by the job. Among these perquisites Mr Grierson mentions *kharwan* an armful of the crop given at harvest time, *hera* a smaller bundle and *puri* three handfuls. Many Hajams besides practising their

hereditary functions are also cultivators themselves but none of them appear to have risen above the status of occupancy rayats. In some parts of the country they hold tenures granted to them rent free or at a quit rent by the local zamindars as remuneration for their professional services. In the Chota Nagpur estate such tenures go by the name of *thitana* a term which includes the holdings bestowed upon table servants gold and silversmiths grooms *holars* or mace bearers palanquin bearer *khaki* or mendicants and prostitutes. While actually in attendance on the Rajá all these people usually received a small daily allowance in addition to the proceeds of their tenures. These lands are not alienable by the holder and are believed to be liable to resumption when service is no longer required. In the Lachet estate in Manbhum these petty *chikaran* are usually rent free but in a few they are subject to a very small quit rent or *muji h jima*.

The Turk nauw or Muhammadan barber is not so intimately associated with religious offices as his Hindu namesake and holds a far lower social position. His services are not indispensable and he is therefore less independent and wary than the Hindu barber is. He is regularly supposed to be Musmans (*Bajunia*) used formerly to be selected from among Muhammadan barber but of late the two classes have been gradually separating. Like barber in other countries they dabble in medicine and surgery consequently they are often styled *Bhedis* from their skill in extracting worms from decayed teeth and *Mas Kata* from circumcising boys. In many parts of the country they are also the *Abdi* who sell bull but any Muslim peasant will eat their livers. When not otherwise employed they cultivate the soil. Their women sell *rimra* or magical formulae against toothache earache and neuralgic pains and prepare liniments to cure rheumatism and other internal disorders.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Hajams in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
B h m		3	(1) i ra	22	31846
2 i as			M i y	87	87
D jp			B i	2711	327
Ra		13	I i	1	1874
I j			I i	2338	763
F jp			H i	16	33658
I t	2570	291	I h m d a n	14	180
Gy	37	7	I i	175	276
Sh h bad	208	21	M i	154	25
T h t { W ff p	5953	4	T b t a y s t ten	113	2946
D b i a n g a					

Hajeri a kind of tree or bush a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hajam Thákur a title of barbers in Behar

Hajrá Házrá (i) in Bengal a title of Káibartias (ii) in Behar a title of Dosadhs used in practice as a synonym for the caste

Hakím a Mahomedan physician

Hakkak a maker of glass beads a lapidary an occupation usually followed by Mahomedans

Haladhar a title of Chású dhobas and Kaibarttas in Bengal

Halálkhor (*halal* lawful and *kho din* to eat) one to whom all food is lawful hence a sweeper A class of Mahomedan mehtars also a class of musicians a synonym for Mehtar Khakrob and Bhangí

Háldár a title of Srotriya Brahmans Kayasths Banias and Telis a title of honour amongst the lower castes such as Kaibarttas Kapalis Chandils Chásúdhobás Mals and some Mahomedans in Bengal

Háldar Parámánik a sub caste of Nápts in the 24 Parganas

Haldíá a sub caste of Telis in Orissa and Chota Nagpur characterised by their practice of yoking a pair of bullocks in their oil presses

Hália Bála a hypergamous group of Kaibarttas in Bakarganj

Haha Das a synonym for and a sub caste of Kaibarttas

Hálá Mahasthán or **Mastán** a sub caste of Utkal Brahmans in Orissa

Halík a sub caste of Kaibarttas in Maldah

Halkhorí a class of musicians who sing and play on pipes

Haludboná a group of the Ekilas Telis in Bengal

Hálu a *gana* or sub section of Saptasatí Brahmans in Bengal

Halukar a variant for Halwai

Hálwa a functional group of Jugis in Bengal

Halwái Mithya the confectioner caste of Behar often confounded with the Kíndu who is properly a grain parcher though he also deals in sweet meats The two castes however are entirely distinct and do not intermarry with one another The name Halwai is derived from *halwa* a sweetmeat made of flour clarified butter and sugar coloured with saffron and flavoured with almond raisins and pistachio nuts

The sub castes and sections of Halwais are shown in Appendix I. They give no clue to the origin of the caste which is clearly a functional group composed of members of respectable middle class castes who adopted the profession of sweetmeat-making The sections which are very numerous seem to be of the territorial type and bear no traces of either totemism or eponymy The rule of exogamy is carefully observed A man may not marry a woman of his own section or of the sections to which his mother and his paternal grand mother belong These sections moreover are taken into account on both sides so that if the proposed bride's mother belonged to the same section as the bridegroom's paternal grand mother no marriage can take place although the parties themselves belong to different sections Prohibited degrees are reckoned by the standard formula calculated to seven generations in the ascending line

As a general rule Halwais marry their daughters as infants but

they do not take an extreme view of the necessity of doing so and no slur attaches to a man who from poverty or any other reason is unable to get his daughter married before she attains the age of puberty. In fact some Halwais of the Kanaujiá sub caste have assured me that they do not think it right to get their daughters married under eleven or twelve years of age. The marriage ceremony in vogue does not differ materially from that used by other Behar castes of about the same social standing. *Sindurdan* or the smearing of vermillion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair is deemed to be the landing portion of the ritual. Polygamy is permitted when the first wife is barren but in no case may a man have more than two wives. A widow may marry again by the *sagas* form. She is free to choose any one she will for her second husband provided that the prohibited degrees are observed and she is not required to marry her late husband's younger brother or cousin as is the custom in some castes. In practice however it often happens that she does marry the next brother as he in any case can claim the custody of the children she may have had by her first husband. A very singular custom is observed when a bachelor marries a widow. The ceremony takes place as is the usual practice in the widow's house but before going there the bridegroom is formally married in his own house to a sword or a piece of iron which he bedaubes with vermillion as if it were his bride. With this may be compared the usage common among the Kándu caste of marrying to a sword a daughter who by reason of some physical defect is not considered likely to find a husband. The theory seems to be that the full marriage ceremony is a sort of sacrament which must be partaken of by every one at least once in life. On the question of divorce there is some difference of practice among the sub castes. The Kanaujiá and Kachimi Madhesia do not recognise the authority of the pancháyat as between husband and wife and if a woman proves faithless turn her out of the house witho it further ceremony. In the Magahiya and Iurhiya-Madhesia sub castes a charge of unchastity on the part of the wife or of persistent ill treatment on the part of the husband is laid before the pancháyat or caste council who after taking evidence and hearing what both parties have to say may dissolve the marriage either party being at liberty to marry again.

The majority of the caste are Vaishnavas and comparatively few adherents of other sects are found among them. For religious and ceremonial purposes they employ Maithil Brahmans who are received on equal terms by all other members of the sacred order except by those who regard it as unworthy of a Brahman to serve any man as priests. The minor god Ghanináth is worshipped on Saturdays with offerings of rice fruit and sweetmeats which are afterwards eaten by the members of the household. At marriages a fee of one anna is paid by the bride and two annas by the bridegroom for the worship of this deity. The members of the caste also hold in honour Bandi Goraiya and other minor gods of Behar and many of them are adherents of the Panch

Foriya sect Halwais burn their dead and perform the ceremony of *śāddh* on the thirty first day after death

The social standing of the Halwai is respectable and Brahmans will take water from his hands. His art says Mr Nisfi will implies rather an advanced stage of culture and hence his rank in the social scale is a high one. There is no caste in India which is too pure to eat what a confectioner has made. In marriage betrothals it is he who supplies a large part of the feast and at all times and seasons the sweetmeat is a favourite viand to a Hindu requiring temporary refreshment. There is a kind of bread called *puri* which contains no suary element but yet it is specially prepared by men of the most honourable caste. It consists of wheat dough fried in melted butter and is taken as a substitute for the *chapati* or wheaton pancake by travellers and others who happen to be unable to have their bread cooked at their own fire. With the exception of Brahmans there is no class of men in India which declines to eat a buttered pancake prepared by the Halwai and considering the immense amount of fuss (involving even forfeiture of caste) which is attached to the domestic fire place this says much for the respect in which the Halwai is held. As in the case of the British caste which makes leaf plates for all classes of the community considerations of general convenience have no doubt contributed something to the social respectability of the confectioner caste. The rules of the caste regulating their own diet are much the same as those followed by the Hindus of about the same standing. None of them will eat the leavings of the higher castes even if the Brahmins who are with them as priests and members of the Malhesia sub caste prohibit them from wine. Only a small proportion of the caste have taken to agriculture and those are mostly cupiney rajyats. Men of the Magahi and Benares

sub castes are often servants or petty shopkeepers and many Magahi Halwais combine grain parching with the charitable business of their caste. The Mahomedan Halwai is found in most districts of Bengal and is entirely distinct class and there is no reason to suppose that they are recruited by conversion from among the ranks of the Hindu confectioners. According to Dr Wise the art of preserving fruits in sugar or vinegar is unknown to the Hindu and all the preserves procurable in the bazar of Calcutta are made by the Musalman Halwai who however delight by too many spices and by excess of sugar the natural flavour of the fruit. The Halwai prepares jams of mango coconut ginger and lemon and candies oranges citrons and *bel* fruit. The pickle (*hoo*) consumed in large quantities by all Muhammadans are of three kinds prepared with vinegar mustard oil or salt. The Halwai likewise makes his own vinegar with sugar molasses and water and with it preserves vegetables and fruits of all kinds. Mangoes and limes are however often preserved in mustard oil to which pounded mustard seed has been added. Jaraka or fruit in brine is highly recommended as an aid to digestion when eaten as dessert. Arab pedlars bring the best to Bengal but in Dacca the aromatic lime known

as high : from the fineness of its mind is usually preserved in this way

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Halwais in 1872 and 1881 —

	1	1881	1	CT	1872	1881
R d		9	P t		97	10 148
R k			C		1	1 164
B i m			T h tad			4 35
M i i			T i { D i i au			23
H i						3
H i						7
N			(i l au			2
J		1	M i l		1	1 180
M i tad			H i l		2	2 17
J			M i l		7	5
R j l		1	M i l ar		12	7
R i			k		1	6
V					1	3
J i l g					1040	1 044
K i R i		1			7	9
J		2	H i l		2 70	22 7
R k		77				3 11
M					6	14
Ch					9	2 5
					103	7

Hamdabadi a son of So nars in Bihar

Han nest of ants a totemic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Handi a section of the Ithamajti sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Handi earthen vessel a sub sept of the Murmu sept of Santals

Hangam the kings office a sept of the Mikchli sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling

Hanjai kutuna fruit a totemic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hanre a bird a totemic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hanriao a mul or section of the Limbua Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Haps swan a totemic sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Hansa wild goose or wana a totemic sept of Mundas and Chols in Chota Nagpur a section of Kharwars in Jels or

Hansa a section of the Mignhaya Ithamajti and Tirhutia sub castes of Doms in Behar

Hansadaha Paramanik a sub caste of Napits in the 21 Jargamas

Hansarishi a Brahminical section of Khatris in Bengal

Hansarwar duck a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Hansda Hasdak or Hasdagia a totemic sept of the Blumajuris Kharwars Koras Hs Kurm K rwas Santals and Mahilis in Chota Nagpur the members of which will not touch kill or eat a wild goose

Hansi a title of Tantis in Bengal and a section of Majraut Goals in Behar

Hansi Tánti a sub caste of Tántis in Orissa

Hansnemba a sept of the Panthar sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling

Hánsotá a section of the Pachamyá sub caste of Doms in Behar

Hánthi elephant a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hanuman monkey a totemistic sept of Mundas and Chiks in Chota Nagpur a section of Sonáfs in Behar

Har a *gán* of the Kásyapa *gotra* of Rárhí Brahmans in Bengal

Hár plough a totemistic sept of Korwas in Chota Nagpur a section of the Tírhutiyá sub caste of Doms in Behar

Hará a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Harabans a sept of the Sur abánsi sub-tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Harariá, a section of Bábhans in Behar

Harbang a sept of Tipperahs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Harbans a sept of Chamárs and Doms in Chota Nagpur the members of which cannot wear bones in any shape

Harchanpuriá a section of the Banodhia and Jaiswár Kalwárs in Behar

Hardá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Hardi turmeric a totemistic sept of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Hardiál a section of Báis Sonárs in Behar

Hardwar a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hardwár a section of the Biyáhut and Kharidáshá Kalwárs a *mul* or section of the Ayodhiá basí sub caste of Sonárs in Behar

Hargambaí a section of the Amashta sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Hargamiá, a section of Awadhíá Hajams in Behar

Hargurra bone a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hári a synonym for Korá used inaccurately by outsiders only a synonym for Bhuinmáli a sub-caste of Ghásis in Chota Nagpur a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur whose ancestors are said not to have washed their mouths after eating a section of the Dhapra sub caste of Doms in Behar

Hári, Mihlar Har Santán a menial and scavenger caste of Bengal Proper which Dr Wise identifies with the Bhuinmáli and regards as the remnant of a Hinduised aboriginal tribe which was driven into Bengal by the Aryans or the persecuting Muhamnadans. This conjecture is borne out by the physical features of the caste and by the fact that

wherever we can trace the affinities of the menial castes we find them to have been largely recruited if not entirely drawn from the ranks of the aboriginal races. The internal structure of the Hári

caste throws no light upon its origin as at the present day there are no sections and marriage is regulated solely by counting prohibited degrees. The sub-castes are the following—Bara bhágiyá or Kaora paik Madhya bhágiyá or Madhaukul Khore or Khoriyá Siuli Mihtar Bangali Maghayá Kafaiyá Purandwár. Of these the Mihtar sub-caste alone are employed in removing night soil the Bara bhágiyá serve as chaukidars musicians and palik bearers the Khore keep pigs the Siuli tap date palms for their juice and the rest cultivate. Some authorities include Ghasi among the sub-castes of Hári but I have preferred to treat them as a separate caste.

Háris admit both infant and adult marriage but the former practice is deemed the more respectable and all parents endeavour to get their daughters married before the age of puberty. Adult marriage however still holds its ground and sexual intercourse before marriage is said to be more or less tolerated. Their marriage ceremony presents some curious features which seem to be survivals of non-Aryan usage. After the bride price has been settled and a lucky day fixed for the marriage the parties meet in the bride's house. The bride and bridegroom are seated opposite to each other each on the thigh of the father or nearest male relative of a full age. They then change places the bride sitting on the lap of the bridegroom's father and the bridegroom on that of the bride's father. This is repeated five times. After that the right hand little finger of the bridegroom's sister's husband is pricked and a drop or two of blood allowed to fall on a few threads of jute which are rolled up into a tiny pellet. This the bridegroom holds in his hand while the bride attempts to snatch it from him. Her success in the attempt is deemed to be of good omen for the happiness of the marriage. Last of all the bridegroom smears vermilion on the forehead of the bride. Polygamy is permitted but is rarely resorted to in practice as few Háris can afford to maintain more than one wife. There seems to be no definite rule on the subject and the caste inclines rather to the practice of the aboriginal races than to the more civilised restriction which allows a second wife to be taken only in the event of the first being barren. Some however favour this latter view and hold that even if offspring fail a man may in no case have more than three wives. A widow may marry again by the ceremony called *chumauna* or *nikah* of which the binding portion is the exchange of garlands of flowers but she is not permitted to marry her husband's younger brother. No reason is assigned for thus prohibiting an alliance which is usually regarded with special favour by the castes which permit widow marriage. But it may represent an advance towards the entire abolition of widow marriage—a step which has already been taken by the Bhunmál Háris of Eastern Bengal. Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the panchayat of the caste. In some districts a leaf is torn in two

to symbolise separation Divorced wives may marry again by the *sak* form

Although Haris profess to be Hindus and worship Kālī and other of the standard gods in a more or less meagre fashion it seems probable that they have embraced Hinduism at a comparatively recent date In Hughli indeed they employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes but these Brahmans are looked down upon by other members of the sacred order and are generally regarded as only a little less degraded than Haris themselves In other districts they have priests of their own caste who bear the pretentious title of Pandit The dead are usually burnt and the ashes thrown into the nearest river A pig is sacrificed on the tenth day after death to appease the spirit of the departed the flesh being eaten by the relatives On this occasion the nephew (sister's son) of the deceased person officiates as priest

Their social rank is of the lowest No one will eat with a Hari or take water from his hands and members of the caste are not permitted to enter the courtyard of the great temples Some of them hold land as occupancy or non occupancy riyats and many find employment as agricultural day labourers Tapping date trees making bamboo combs playing musical instruments at weddings and festivals carrying palanquins serving as syces and scavenging are among their characteristic occupations but the removal of night soil is confined to the Mihtar sub caste Their women often act as midwives They are troubled by few scruples regarding diet Fowls pork field rats scaly or scaleless fish and the leavings of other castes are freely eaten while in districts where the aboriginal races are numerous Haris will even indulge in beef Their partiality for strong drink is notorious

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Hari caste in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
Brdw	31 18	23 99	Chittagong	6 9	55 0
Bkara	2 3	6 77	Nkhil	571	99
Bbhm	22 2	24 7	Hillista		
Mdp	20 915	32 4	Ft	1 34	1 549
Hghl		22		1 21	1 35
Hwrah	44 700		Shahab d	3 303	2 9 7
24-l g na	70 637	52	Tht M ff p	8 063	14
Nady	6 859	6 53	D bl ag		833
Kh l		3 0	Sra	3 33	3 93
Jso	2 981	4 340	Cl paran		3 401
Mrah d bad	18 95	2 71	M ly		3 0
Djp	36 681	32 383	Rhag lp	3 7	3
Raj l by	3 998	4 7 3	P iah	38 39	50
Lagp	8 51	7 872	M ld h	1 7	1 36
Bgra	6 839	7 618	S tal P rga as	6	1 14
P b	3 1	2 39	C ta k	3 91	08
Darj g	988	1 664	P iah	6 739	7 84
Jlpur	4 868	8 410	B l ro	3 31	4
K h Behar		2 09	T b y States	15	12 097
Dwop	4 554	2 789	H bugh	1 71	5 09
F dp	1 528	2 886	Loh rdash	2 02	1
B karanj	6 406	374	S g h m	1 260	1 7
M manyunh	5 021	6 395	M bh m	11 140	13 314
Tipperah	760	1 651	Trih try States	18	27

Hári or *Bangáh* a sub caste of Doms in Behar who are probably immigrants from Bengal

Hariambá a section of Babhans in Behar

Hariáme Rakhwári a *mul* of the Bátsya section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Hariáme Sibá a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Hariáme Balirájpur a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Hariáme Katmá a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Hariáme A'hil a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Harichandan Khandait a sub caste of Khandaits in Puri

Harihobans a sept of the Suryabansi Rajputs in Behar

Hari Majumdári a *mel* or hypergamous sub group of Rarhi Brahmins in Bengal

Harin deer a totemistic sept of Chiks and Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hárita an eponymous section of Babhans in Behar a section of the Srotriya sub caste of Utkal Brahmins

Hariyán or *Jehariyá* a sub caste of Mauliks in Chota Nagpur

Hariyana a sub caste of Gauara Brahmins

Harkar a sub caste of Doms in South Behar who are scavengers

Harkar *Harkal* a sub caste of Haris in Bengal

Harnátar a section of the Biyahut and Kharidahá Kalwárs in Behar

Haroha a *thar* or sept of Sarkis in Darjiling

Harpattí plough owner a group of Maghaya Telis in Behar

Harrá myrabolam a totemistic sept of Korwas in Chota Nagpur

Hār Santan a synonym for Hari

Harsariá a section of Lohárs in Behar

Hartakiá a section of Bábhans in Behar

Hasa earth a sept of Goálás in Chota Nagpur

Hasada a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur *see* Hansdá

Hasanpuriá, a section of Lohárs in Behar

Hasará a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hasdajiá a synonym for Hansdá *q v*

Hassa ara a kind of vegetable a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hastaddá, a totemistic section of Turis in Chota Nagpur signifying an eel

Hastgárm a *kul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Hastuar a sept of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Hastwár a totemistic section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur

and Orissa who will not touch a tortoise

Hát a section of Goálás in Behar a sub sept of the Saren sept of Santals

Háth a *pangat* or section of Bânsphor Doms and of Dosadhs in Behar

Háthi elephant a totemistic sept of Khariás and Kharwars and a section of Kumhars in Chota Nagpur a title of Ban gaja Kayasths a section of Sunris in Behar

Háthi or *Hatti* elephant a totemistic sept of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Háthiakán a section of the Sâtmulia Maghrya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Hathia Kandhá a section of Koranch Kandus in Behar

Hathian a territorial section of Barhus in Behar

Háthsukha a section of Mad hesiá Kándus in Behar

Hátí elephant a title of Khadáits in Orissa

Hátriá a sub caste of Bhum máhs found in Noakhali

Hatisalaba elephant a totemistic sept of Juangs in Orissa

Hátser a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Mudhsia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Hatuá a sub caste of Bhân gáris in Orissa

Háturi a *gan* or sub section of Saptasati Brahmans in Bengal

Háturiá Baidya a doctor who attends markets or according to Dr Wise a quack a meddlesome fellow

Hatuwalí a *thar* or sept of Khambus in Dargilng

Hátwál a title of Bagdis and Haris in Bengal

Hausakar a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hawáigar a maker of fire works always a Mahomedan often called Golsáz and in Behar Atash baz In Bengal the Hindu malakar makes a few simple fire works for weddings but this is never his exclusive business

Házará a title of Káyasth Kubartta Sadgop Chasadhoba Kapali and Hari castes in Bengal of Dosadhs in Behar a section of Kewats

Hazará Samáj a sub caste of Dhobas in Central Bengal

Hazarí a *pangat* or section of Dosadhs and Kadars in Behar

Hazarí pánre a section of the Bishhut and Khandaha Kalwars in Behar

Heding a bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hej a hypergamous group of the Barendra Kayasths in Bengal

Hekoria tomato a totemistic sept of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Hele Kaibartta or **Helo** a sub caste of Kaibarttas in Bengal

Hern a title of Dakshin Barhi and Bangaja Kayasths

Hernbaran a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Hembowar ancestor a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hemphá a sept of Lumbus in Darjiling

Hemram a kind of fish a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hemramia betel palm a totemistic section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Hemremina a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Hemriárk a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Hemrom a kind of fish a totemistic sept of Birhors and Lohars in Chota Nagpur

Hemrom Hembaram betel palm a sept of Santals

Hemronu ash a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hemron a totemistic sept of Bhumij and Mahuli the members of which may not eat the horse

Henduár a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa the members of which do not observe the *Jita parab* and celebrate marriage in the open and not in a house

Heride a bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hermaniá a sub caste of Tehs in Behar

Hersiriá a *mul* or section of the Kumar Kalla sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Herung a bird a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hes a title of Dakshin Barhi and Bargya Kayasths

Hesa a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Hiapela a sub caste of Tehs in Chota Nagpur

Hi a *cunu h* a person of equivocal multifariousness to be reprehensible and usually wearing female attire and bearing the name of a man

Hindua a section of Tántis in Behar

Hinga a section of the Oswal Banyas in Bengal

Hingu an exogamous section of Bulyas in Bengal

Hirni a *mul* or section of the Kmaujia sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Horo Larka Kolh a non Aryan tribe of the district of Singbhum classed for linguistic purposes as Kolarian. The name *Horo* seems to be merely a contracted form of the word *horoman* which is used by the cognate tribes of Munda and Santal as their national designation.¹ The two latter tribes it should be noted are not called *horo* by outsiders and a Santal will as often as not describe himself by the title of *Mánjhi*. In the case of the *Horo* the tribal name of the original stock whence Hos, Mundas and Santals are sprung, has obtained popular recognition in a slightly altered form as the distinctive name of the branch which inhabits Singbhum and which may now be regarded as a separate tribe. For intermarriage between Hos and Mundas or Santals though not absolutely forbidden

N t t t G m m t k l e r K U S p h C t l o l 188 J l l g h u
Sagea S t t d C l l e d M u d K l h s C l t u N j l L e t k r y t
J u E t h o l g i o m 320

by custom is certainly uncommon, and may be expected soon to fall into disuse. The internal structure of the tribe is shown in Appendix I. They have no sub-tribes but the septs are very numerous and many of them appear to be totémistic. Six of the sept names are common to them and to the Santáls. The rule of exogamy is strictly observed and a man may on no account marry a woman of his sept. With this exception their views on the subject of prohibited degrees appear to be lax and I understand that marriages with near relatives on the mother's side are tolerated provided that a man does not marry his aunt, his first cousin or his niece. For the rest I have nothing to add to the passages quoted below from Colonel Dalton's classical account of the Ho tribe which so far as I can ascertain is substantially correct at the present day. Owing to the use in the Census returns of the general name Kol to denote Mundas, Hos and Oraons it has been found impossible to draw up any statistical table showing the number of Hos in 1872 and 1881. In the former year 15032 Kols were registered in Singbhum while in 1881 the number of Kols in that district is given as 187721 to which may be added 155 returned under various sept names. If then we might assume that all persons registered in Singbhum as Kols were really Hos the figures would stand thus 18215032, 1881 188260. But Oraons and Mundas are also found in Singbhum and it is impossible to separate them from the total set down for Kols. I have therefore thought it best not to attempt to construct any statistical table showing the distribution of the tribe. It is less necessary to do so as there are probably not many Hos outside of Singbhum. The tribe are fairly fortunate in their relations to the land and presumably for this reason are not accustomed like the Mundas and Oraons to leave their homes during the cold weather to assist in gathering in the rice harvest of Bengal proper.

The Hos appear to have no traditions of origin or migrations that throw much light on their history. They generally admit that they are of the same family as the Mundas and that they came from Chota Nagpur. The Oraons sometimes say that the exodus of the Hos was caused by their invasion but I cannot believe that the Hos could ever have given way to so inferior a race and the tradition usually received is that the Oraons made friends with the Mundas and were allowed to occupy peaceably the north western corner of the plateau where the latter apparently have never taken root. The Hos are the only branch of the Kols that have preserved a national appellation. The Mundas of Chutiá Nagpur are sometimes called Kokpit or Konkpá Mundas and that may be a national word but Ho Hore or Hore means in their own language man and they are not the only people that apply to themselves exclusively the word used in their language to distinguish human being from brutes. They probably left Chutiá Nagpur before their brethren there had assumed the Sanskrit word Munda as their distinctive name taking with them their old constitution of confederate village communities under hereditary headmen which system they have

retained to the present day. But they did not find in Singbhum an unoccupied country. It is admitted on all sides that one part of it was in possession of the Bhuiyās and another held by the people who have left many monuments of their ingenuity and piety in the adjoining district of Manbhum and who were certainly the earliest Aryan settlers in this part of India—the Sarāwās or Jains. The former were driven from their possessions in what is now the Kolhān and fell back into Lārahāt. What became of the Jains we know not. They have left their marks in Dhalbhum and the eastern and north-eastern quarters of the district and it is not improbable that the Sudras Gōalas and Kurmis now settled in Lārahāt Kharsawān Srukālā and Dhalbhum may be remnants of the colonies they founded. But it is also probable that many were absorbed into the family that conquered them and this may account for the greater beauty of the Hōs as compared with other Kōls and for their having in use a number of common vocables of Sanskrit origin though they insulated themselves as much as possible despised the Hindus and for a long time had little or no intercourse with them.

I propose to select the Hōs as the branch of the people whom their jealous isolation for so many years their independence their long occupation of one territory and their contempt for all other classes that came in contact with them especially the Hindus probably furnish the best illustration not of the Mundaris in their wildest state but of what if left to themselves and permanently isolated they were likely to become. Even at the present day the exclusiveness of the Hōs is remarkable. They will not allow aliens to hold lands near their villages and indeed if it were left to them no strangers would be permitted to settle in the Kolhān. Now there are settlements of Gōalas Kurmis and others but though such settlements are under the authority of the Kol *manā* of the *jur* the Kōls hold little communication with them and jealously watch and circumscribe the spread of their cultivation. They argue that they are themselves rapidly increasing and the waste lands should all be reserved for their progeny. The only persons of alien race they tolerate and so far as suits their own convenience associate with are the few Tāntīs (weavers) Gōalās (herdsmen) potters and blacksmiths who ply their respective trades for the benefit of the community but these people who are in all probability remnants of the Aryan colonies that the Hōs subjugated must learn their language and generally conform to their customs. The old Hōs will not conform to theirs. It is only the rising generation that takes kindly to the acquisition of another language. The Hōs have a tradition concerning the creation of the world and the origin of the human race which is given in Colonel Dickell's account of the tribe published in volume ix of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* I. 1. 1. Oṭo Bōlām and Sing Bonga were self-created they made the earth with rocks and water and they clothed it with grass and trees and then created animals—first those that man domesticate and afterwards wild beasts. When all was thus prepared for the abode of man a boy and girl were created and Sing Bonga placed them in a cave at the bottom of a great ravine.

and finding them to be too innocent to give hope of progeny he instructed them in the art of making *illi* rice beer which excites the passions and thus the world became peopled. When the first parents had produced twelve boys and twelve girls Sing Bonga prepared a feast of the flesh of buffaloes bullocks goats sheep pigs fowls and vegetables and making the brothers and sisters pair off told each pair to take what they most relished and depart. Then the first and second pair took bullocks and buffaloes flesh and they originated the Kols (Hos) and the Bhumij (Matkum) the next took of the vegetables only and are the progenitors of the Bráhmans and Kshatriyas others took goats and fish and from them are the Sudras. One pair took the shell fish and became Bhuiás two pairs took pigs and became Santáls. One pair got nothing seeing which the first pairs gave them of their superfluity and from the pair thus provided spring the Ghásis who toil not but live by preying on others. The Hos have now assigned to the English the honour of descent from one of the first two pairs—the elder. The only incident in the above tradition that reminds one of the more highly elaborated Santal account is the divine authority for the use of strong drinks.

The Hos of Singbhum and the Mundáris of the southern *parganas* of the Lohardaga district are physically a much finer people than the Bhumij the Santáls or any other of the Kolarians. The males average five feet five or six inches in height the women five feet two. The average height of a number of the Jung tribe I found to be—for males less than five feet and for women four feet eight. In features the Hos exhibit much variety and I think in a great many families there is considerable admixture of Aryan blood. Many have high noses and oval faces and young girls are sometimes met with who have delicate and regular features finely chiselled straight noses and perfectly formed mouths and chins. The eyes however are seldom so large so bright and gazelle like as those of pure Hindu maidens but I have met strongly marked Mongolian features and some are dark and coarse like the Santáls. In colour they vary greatly—28 29 and 30 of Brossac's table the copper tints are the commonest ones. Eyes dark brown (about 2 of Brossac) hair black straight or wavy and rather fine worn long by males and females but the former shave the forehead. Both men and women are noticeable for their fine erect carriage and long free stride. The hands and feet are large but well formed. The men care little about their personal appearance. It requires a great deal of education to reconcile them to the encumbrance of clothing and even those who are wealthy move about all but naked as proudly as if they were clad in purple and fine linen. The women in an unsophisticated state are equally averse to superfluity of clothing. In remote villages they may still be seen with only a rig between the legs fastened before and behind to a string round the waist. This is called a *botoi*. The national dress is however a long strip of cloth worn as a girdle round the loins knotted behind.

and the ends brought between the legs and fastened to the girdle in front but in the principal group of villages about Chaibasa the young women dress themselves decently and gracefully. The style of wearing the hair is peculiar collected in a knot artificially enlarged not in the centre of the back of the head but touching the back of the right ear. Flowers are much used in the *coiffure*. The neck ornaments most in vogue a year or two ago were very small black beads but in this one small item of their simple toilette fashion changes and the beads most prized one year are looked on with repugnance the next. As with the Santals very massive bracelets and armlets are worn and anklets of bell metal. It is a singular sight to see the young women at the markets subjecting themselves to the torture of being fitted with a pair of these anklets. They are made so that they can just with great violence be forced on. The operation is performed by the manufacturers who put moistened leather on the heel and instep to prevent excoriation. The girl clinging to and resting on one of her companions, cries bitterly at the violence inflicted on her and the operation is a long one but when it is over she admires her decorated foot and instep and smiles through her tears. The Ho women have adopted as their distinctive mark or *godna* an arrow which they regard as their national emblem. A Ho unable to write if asked to attach his mark or sign manual to a document does so by making a rude representation of an arrow. The Munda women use the same marks as the Juangs and the Kharias. The Lurkas are lightly assessed and cultivating their own lands never join any of the numerous band of labourers emigrating to the tea districts. They care not to work for hire and never if they can avoid it carry loads. The use of the block wheel dray is universal among them and all the carrying necessary in their agricultural operations is done by it.

Childbirth. After the birth of a child both mother and father are considered unclean for eight days during which period the other members of the family are sent out of the house and the husband has to cook for his wife. If it be a difficult case of parturition the malignancy of some spirit of evil is supposed to be at work and after divination to ascertain his name a sacrifice is made to appease him. At the expiration of the eight days the banished members of the family return friends are invited to a feast and the child is ceremoniously named. The name of the grandfather is usually given to the first born son but not without an ordeal to ascertain if it will prove fortunate. As the name is mentioned a grain of *urid* (pulse) is thrown into a vessel with water the name is adopted if it floats rejected if it sinks.

Owing to the high price placed on daughters by their fathers the large number of adult unmarried girls seen in every considerable village in the Koinan is a very peculiar feature in the social state of the community. In no other country in India are spinners found so advanced in years. In many of the best families grey-headed old maids may be seen whose charms were insufficient to warrant the large

addition to the usual price called *pan* imposed in consideration of the high connection that the union would confer. The *pan* is calculated and for the most part paid in cattle indicating that the custom dates from a time when there was no current coin and fathers of *mankis* dignity demand from forty to fifty head of cattle for each of their girls. Dr. Hayes finding that in consequence of this practice the number of marriages was annually diminishing and immoral intimacy between the sexes increasing convened in 1868 a meeting of representative men for the express purpose of discussing this question and after a long debate it was unanimously agreed that a reduction should be made. It was resolved that in future *pan* was not to exceed ten head of cattle and that if one pair of oxen one cow and seven rupees were given it should be received as an equivalent for the ten head. For the poorer classes it was fixed at seven rupees. Even thus modified the *pan* in Singbhum is higher than it is in Chutia Nagpur for the multitude. The *mankis* and headmen of the latter country conforming to the Hindu customs have given up exacting it. In olden times young men counteracted the machinations of avaricious parents against the course of true love by forcibly carrying off the girl and still at times evade extortion by running away with her. Then the parents have to submit to such terms as arbitrators think fair. This abduction it was necessary to put a stop to and elopements are not considered respectable so until the conference just had a tendency to rise rather than fall. The old generation of *manlis* vehemently opposed any reduction. The second generation since the accession of the British are now in the ascendant and they entertained more enlightened views but notwithstanding the compact I have not yet heard of a marriage in high life in which the reduced *pan* has been accepted. It is certainly not from any yearning for celibacy that the marriage of Singbhum maidens is so long postponed. The girls will tell you frankly that they do all they can to please the young men and I have often heard them pathetically bewailing their want of success. They make themselves as attractive as they can flirt in the most demonstrative manner and are not too coy to receive in public attentions from those they admire. They may be often seen in well assorted pairs returning from market with arms interlaced and looking at each other as lovingly as if they were so many groups of Cupids and Psyche but with all this the *men will not propose*. Tell a maiden you think her nice looking she is sure to reply Oh yes I am but what is the use of it? the young men of my acquaintance don't see it. Even when a youth has fully made up his mind to marry it may happen that fate is against the happiness of the young couple bad omens are seen that cause the match to be postponed or broken off or *paja* cannot or will not pay the price demanded. When a young man has made his choice he communicates the fact to his parents and a deputation of the friends of the family is sent to the girl's house to ascertain all that should be known regarding her family age appearance and means. If the information obtained and the result of the inspection be satisfactory and the omens observed on the road have been propitious an

offering is made on the part of the young man and if it be received the deputation are invited to stay and are feasted. The report of the deputation being favourable a day is fixed for a meeting between the parents and the terrible question of the *pan* discussed. At this point many matches are broken off in consequence of greed on one side or stinginess on the other. The amount agreed on has to be paid before the day can be fixed for the marriage and when delivery of the cattle is made a pot of beer has to be given from the bride's side for each animal. At last if all this is not over the appointed day arrives and the bride is escorted to the village for her intended by all her young female friends with music and dancing. The young men and girls of the village and those invited from neighbouring villages form a cortege for the bridegroom. They go out and meet the bride's party and after dancing in the grove in which the bride and bridegroom take part mounted on the hips of two of their female friends they enter the village together where there is a great feast a great consumption of the *ic beer* and much merriment and singing. Ceremony there is none but the turning point in the rite is when the bride and groom pledge each other. A cup of beer is given to each the groom pours some of the contents of his cup into the bride's up and she returns the compliment. When the liquor thus blended they become of one *ku* that is the bride is admitted into her husband's tribe and they become one. This has I believe succeeded an older custom of drinking from the same cup. After remaining with her husband for three days only it is the correct thing for the wife to run away from him and tell all her friends that she loves him not a day will see him no more. This is perhaps reparation to the dignity of the sex injured by the bride's going to the bridegroom's house to be married instead of being sought for and taken as a wife from her own. So it is correct for the husband to show great anxiety for the loss of his wife and diligently seek her and when he finds her he carries her off by main force. I have seen a young wife thus found and claimed and borne away screaming and struggling in the arms of her husband from the midst of a crowded *bar*. No interference on these occasions and no one assists. If the husband cannot manage the business himself he must leave her alone. After this little escapade the wife at once settles down as usual her place as the well-contented mistress of the household and as a rule in no country in the world are wives better treated. Dr Hayes says — A Koller Ho makes a regular companion of his wife. She is consulted in all difficulties and receives the fullest consideration due to her sex. Indeed it is not uncommon in the Kollun to see husbands so subject to the influence of their wives that they may be regarded as henpecked. In times of infidelity in wives are very rare. I never heard of one but I suppose such things occur as there is a regulated penalty. The unfaithful wife is disgraced and the seducer must pay to the husband the entire value of the *pan*.

The Hos are fair marksmen with the bow and arrow and great sportsmen. From childhood they practise archery every lad herding cattle or watching

crops makes this his whole pastime and skill is attained even in knocking over small birds with blunt arrows. They also keep hawks and the country in the vicinity of their villages is generally destitute of game. In the months intervening between the harvest home and the rains they frequently go in large parties to distant jungles and with them as with the Santáls there is every year in May a great meet for sport in which people of all classes of the neighbourhood and surrounding villages take part. From the setting in of the rains to the harvest the time of the people is fairly employed in cultivation to which they pay great attention. The women have their full share of labour in the fields indeed the only agricultural work they are exempted from is ploughing. They work from early morn till noon then comes the mid day meal after which their time is pretty much at their own disposal. The young people then make themselves tidy stroll about the village or visit neighbouring villages and the old people sitting on the gravestones indulge in deep potations of rice beer and smoke or gossip or sleep. Amongst the amusements of the Hos I must not omit to mention *pegtop*. They are roughly made of blocks of hard wood but their mode of spinning and playing them one on another is the same as with us. Pegtopping has been noticed as an amusement of the Khásias of Assam. Their agricultural implements consist of the ordinary wooden plough tipped with iron a harrow the *kodali* or large hoe a sickle the *tangi* or battle axe which is used for all purposes the block wheeled dray and an implement with which to remove earth in altering the levels of land to prepare it for irrigation and rice cultivation. The latter consists of a broad piece of board firmly attached to a pole and yoke so that its edge touches the ground at an angle as it is drawn by oxen or buffaloes attached to it. The Hos make these agricultural implements themselves every man is to some extent a carpenter handy with his adze and clever in simple contrivances. The Kols plough with cows as well as oxen but it is to be recollected that they make no other use of the animal as they never touch milk. Buffaloes are preferred to bullocks as plough cattle. They have a rude kind of oil press in every village. The Mundaris and Larkas raise three crops of rice—the early or *goa* the autumnal or *bad* and the late or *bera* crop. Indian corn and the millets *marua* and *gondh* are also cultivated as early crops. Wheat gram mustard seed and sesamum they have also taken to as cold weather and spring crops. Tobacco and cotton they have long cultivated but not in sufficient quantities even for their own consumption. They have no notion of weaving and if left to their own resources for clothing would probably resume their leaves but every village has one or two families of Tantis or weavers who are now almost undistinguishable from the Hos. The villagers make over their cotton to the weavers and pay for the loom labour in cotton or grain.

The Hos are a purely agricultural people and their festivals are all connected with that pursuit. In describing these festivals I avail myself of information on the subject kindly collated for me by W Ritchie Esq District

Superintendent of Police Singbhum The chief requisite for festivities of all kinds is the preparation of an ample quantity of the home made beer called *u/*. It is made from rice which is boiled and allowed to ferment till it is sufficiently intoxicating its proper preparation is considered one of the most useful accomplishments that a young daimel can possess. The Hos keep seven festivals in the year the first or principal is called the *Majh jaiab* or *D sauli Bonga*. This is held in the month of Magh or January when the granaries are full of grain and the people to use their own expression full of devilry. They have a strange notion that at this period men and women are so overcharged with vicious propensities that it is absolutely necessary to let off steam by allowing for a time full vent to the passions. The festival therefore becomes a Saturnale during which servants forget their duty to their masters children their reverence for parents men their respect for women and women all notions of modesty delicacy and gentleness—they become raging Bacchantes. It opens with a sacrifice to Desauli of three fowls—a cock and two hens one of which must be black—offered with some flowers of the *pala* tree (*Butea frondosa*) bread made from rice flour and sesamum seeds. The sacrifice and offerings are made by the village priest if there be one or if not by any elder of the village who possesses the necessary legal authority. He prays that during the year they are about to enter on they and their children may be preserved from all misfortune and sickness and that they may have reasonable rain and good crops. Prayer is also made in some places for the souls of the departed. At this period an evil spirit is supposed to infest the locality and to get rid of it the men women and children go in procession round and through every part of the village with sticks in their hands as if beating for game singing a wild chant and vociferating violently till they feel assured that the bad spirit must have fled—and they make noise enough to frighten a legion. The religious ceremonies over the people give themselves up to feasting drinking immoderately of rice beer till they are in the state of wild ebriety most suitable for the process of letting off steam. The Ho population of the villages forming the environs of Chabisa are at other seasons quiet and reserved in manner and in their demeanour towards women gentle and decorous. Even in the flirtations I have spoken of they never transcend the bounds of decency. The girls though full of spirits and somewhat saucy have innate notions of propriety that make them modest in demeanour though devoid of all prudery and of the obscene abuse so frequently heard from the lips of common women in Bengal they appear to have no knowledge. They are delicately sensitive under harsh language of any kind and never use it to others and since their adoption of clothing they are careful to drape themselves decently as well as gracefully. But they throw all this aside during the Magh feast. Their natures appear to undergo a temporary change. Sons and daughters revile their parents in gross language and parents their children men and women become almost like animals in the indulgence of their amorous propensities. They enact all that was ever portrayed

by prurient artists in a Bacchanalian festival or Pandean orgy and as the light of the sun they adore and the presence of numerous spectators seem to be no restraint on their indulgence it cannot be expected that chastity is preserved when the shades of night fall on such a scene of licentiousness and debauchery. This festival is not kept at one period in all the villages. The time during which it is held in different villages of a circle extends over a period of a month or six weeks and under a preconcerted arrangement the festival commences at each village on a different date and lasts three or four days so the inhabitants of each may take part in a long succession of these orgies. As the utmost liberty is given to girls the parents never attempting to exercise any restraint the girls of one village sometimes pair off with the young men of another and absent themselves for days *Liaisons* thus prolonged generally end in marriages. The ordinary Ho dance is similar to the *rasa* dances of the Santals—an amorous but not a very rapid or lively movement but the Magh dance is like a *grande galoche*—a very joyous frisky harum scarum scamper of boys and girls through the village and from one village to another. The Mundáris keep this festival in much the same manner as the Hos but one day is fixed for its commencement everywhere—the full of the moon in Magh—and there is less commingling of the boys and girls from different villages. The resemblance to a Saturnale is very complete as at this festival the farm labourers are feasted by their masters and allowed the utmost freedom of speech in addressing them. It is the festival of the harvest home—the termination of one year's toil and a slight respite from it before they commence again. At this feast the Mundáris dance the *jyura* remarkable for the very pretty and peculiar manner in which the lines of performers interlace their arms behind their backs. The next in the order of festivals is what is called *Bah Bonga* by the Hos corresponding to the *Sarhul* of the Mundáris. *Bah* means flower and the festival takes place when the *sal* tree is in full bloom in March or April—a favourite season with many tribes for it is then that the death of Gautáma is commemorated. With the Hos and Mundáris it is held in honour of the founders of the village and the tutelary deity or spirit called Darhá by the Oraons. The boys and girls collect basketsful of the flowers make garlands of them weave them in their hair and decorate their houses with them. Each house makes an offering of these flowers and sacrifices a cock. The people dance for a couple of days and nights incessantly and refresh themselves meanwhile with beer but in the Kolhan it is the quiet style of dance and there are no open breaches of decorum. The dance on this occasion of the Mundáris is called the *bahn*. The boys and girls poussette to each other clapping their hands and prouetting so as to cause *dos a dos* concussions which are the source of much mirth. The selection of the *sal* flowers as the offering to the founders of the village is appropriate as there are few villages that do not occupy ground once covered by *sal* forest and at this period new ground if there be any is cleared for cultivation. The third festival is the *Damurai* which is celebrated in May or at the time of the sowing of the first rice crop.

It is held in honour of the ancestral shades and other spirits who if unpropitiated would prevent the seed from germinating. A black goat and a cock are sacrificed. The fourth festival is the *Hird Bonja* in June the Mundaris call it *Harih*. It is to propitiate Desauli and Jähr Burhi for a blessing on the crops. In the Mundari villages every householder plants a branch of the *th lua* in his field and contributes to the general offering which is made by the priest in the sacred grove a fowl a pitcher of beer and a handful of rice. In Singbhum a black goat is offered. This is followed by the *Bah tauh Bonja* which takes place in July. Each cultivator sacrifices a fowl and after some mysterious rites a wing is stripped off and inserted in the cleft of a bamboo and stuck up in the rice field and dungheap. If this is omitted it is supposed that the rice will not come to maturity. It appears more like a charm than a sacrifice. This corresponds with the *karam* in the Kol villages of Chutia Nágpur where the *hoya* is danced. The women in this dance follow the men and change their positions and attitudes in obedience to signals from them. When the movement called *hoya* is asked for the women all kneel and pat the ground with their hands in time to the music as if coaxing the earth to be fruitful. On the day appointed a branch of the *karam* tree is cut and planted in the *ákhra* or dancing place. This festival is kept by Hindus in Chutia Nágpur

fruits of the harvest to Sing Bonga. it is celebrated in August when the *gora* rice ripens and till the sacrifice is complete the new rice must not be eaten. The offering in addition to the rice is a white cock. This is a thanks offering to the Creator and Preserver. It is called *Jum nama* and considered of great importance. To eat new rice without thus thanking God is regarded as impious. The seventh festival is the *Kalam Bo qa* when an offering of a fowl is made to Desauli on the removal of the rice straw from the threshing floor *kalam* to be stacked. The *jahns* or priests of the Kol villages in Chutia Nágpur have another festival for the performance of which they are in possession of some rent free land called *dalikatars*. The sacrifices are every second year a fowl every third year a ram every fourth year a buffalo to Marang Buru and the main object is to induce him to send seasonable rain. The above are all general festivals but the Hos on their individual account make many sacrifices to the gods. In cases of sickness and calamity they commence by sacrificing what is small and of little value but if the desired change is retarded they go on until the patient dies or their live stock is entirely exhausted.

All disease in men or animals is attributed to one of two causes — the wrath of some evil spirit who has to be appeased or to the spell of some witch or sorcerer who should be destroyed or driven out of the land. In the latter case a *okha* or witch finder is employed to divine who has cast the spell and various modes of divination are resorted to. One of the most common is the test by the stone and *pala*. The latter is a large wooden cup shaped like a half coconut used as a measure for grain. It is placed under a flat stone as a pivot for the stone to turn on. A

boy is then seated on the stone supporting himself by his hands and the names of all the people in the neighbourhood are slowly pronounced and as each name is uttered a few grains of rice are thrown at the boy. When they come to the name of the witch or wizard the stone turns and the boy rolls off. This no doubt is the effect of the boy's falling into a state of coma and losing the power of supporting himself with his hands. In former times the person denounced and all his family were put to death in the belief that witches breed witches and sorcerers. The taint is in the blood. When during the Mutiny Singbhum district was left for a short time without officers a terrible raid was made against all who for years had been suspected of dealings with the evil one and the most atrocious murders were committed. Young men were told off for the duty by the elders neither sex nor age were spared. When order was restored these crimes were brought to light and the actual perpetrators condignly punished and since then we have not only had no recurrence of witch murders but the superstition itself is dying out in the Kolhán. In other districts accusations of witchcraft are still frequently made and the persons denounced are subjected to much ill usage if they escape with their lives. Some of the *sokhas* instead of divining the name of the person who has cast the evil eye on the suffering patient profess to summon their own familiar spirits who impart to them the needed information. The *sokha* throws some rice on a winnowing sieve and places a light in front of it. He then mutters incantations and rubs the rice watching the flame and when this flickers it is owing to the presence of the familiar and the *sokha* to whom alone the spirit is visible pretends to receive from it the revelation which he communicates to the inquirer to the effect that the sufferer is afflicted by the familiar of some rival *sokha* or sorcerer or witch whom he names. The villagers then cause the attendance of the person denounced who is brought into the presence of the sufferer and ordered to haul out his evil spirit. It is useless for him to plead that he has no such spirit this only leads to his being unmercifully beaten. His best line of defence is to admit what is laid to his charge and to act as if he really were master of the situation. Some change for the better in the patient may take place which is ascribed to his delivery from the familiar and the sorcerer is allowed to depart. But if there is no amelioration in the condition of the sick person the chastisement of the sorcerer is continued till he can bear no more and not unfrequently he dies under the ill treatment he is subjected to or from its effects. A milder method is when the person denounced is required to offer sacrifices of animals to appease or drive away the possessing devil this he dare not refuse to do. And if the sickness thereupon ceases it is of course concluded that the devil has departed but if it continue the sorcerer is turned out of his home and driven from the village if nothing worse is done to him. It must not be supposed that these superstitions are confined to the Kols they are common to all classes of the population of this province. I have elsewhere noticed their prevalence in the Southern Tributary Mahals and the alleged existence of secret witch schools where damsels of true Aryan blood

are instructed in the black art and perfected in it by practice on forest trees. Even Brahmans are sometimes accused. I find in a report by Major Roughsedge written in 1918 an account of a Brahman lady who was denounced as a witch and tried and having escaped in the ordeal by water she was found to be a witch and deprived of her nose. The *sokha* does not always do unclean fellow being; he sometimes gives out that the family *bl* / is displeased and has caused the sickness. And in such cases a most extensive propitiatory offering is demanded which the master of the house provides and of which the *sokha* gets the lion's share. I find an instance of the oracle giving out that Desai the village *bhui* had caused the trouble but on further inquiry it was ascertained that a spiteful old woman had on this occasion demoralised the honourable and respectable guardian of the village. And though he was propitiated the hag was made to suffer very severely for her malignancy. It will be seen that it is not only women that are accused of having dealings with the imps of darkness. Persons of the opposite sex as frequently denounced nor are the female victims invariably of the orthodox old hag type. In a recent case eight women were denounced by a *sokha* as witches who had introduced epidemic cholera into the village and caused a terrible mortality and among these were some very young girls. They were ill treated until they admitted all that was imputed to them and agreed to point out and remove the pell they had prepared. They pretended to search for dead birds which it was said they had deposited as charms but nothing was produced and one of the poor creature falling further ill was destroyed herself by jumping into a well. In Singbhum the wild Kharrias are looked upon as the most expert seers and the people though they not unfrequently seek their aid hold them in great awe.

The funeral ceremonies of the Hos are deserving of special notice as they show great reverence for the dead and the variety and singularity of the rites performed may materially aid us in tracing the connection of the people we are describing. In my account of the Kharrias I have already drawn attention to the similarity between their funeral ceremonies and those of the Hos. The funeral rites of the Hos and Garos have also many points of resemblance. On the death of a respectable Ho a very substantial coffin is constructed and placed on faggots of firewood. The body carefully washed and anointed with oil and turmeric is reverently laid in the coffin all the clothes or garments and agricultural implements that the deceased was in the habit of using are placed with it and also any money that he had about him when he died. Then the lid of the coffin is put on and faggots placed around and above it and the whole is burned. The cremation takes place in front of the house of the deceased. Next morning water is thrown on the ashes search made for bones and a few of the larger fragments are carefully preserved whilst the remainder with the ashes are buried. The selected bones are placed in a vessel of earthenware—we may call it an urn—and hung up in the apartment of the chief mourner generally the mother or widow that she may have them

continually in view and occasionally weep over them. Thus they remain till the very extensive arrangements necessary for their final disposal are effected. A large tombstone has to be procured, and it is sometimes so ponderous that the men of several villages are employed to move it. Some wealthy men, knowing that their successors may not have the same influence that they possess, select during their lifetime a suitable monument to commemorate their worth and have it moved to a happy position to be used when they die. When required for use it is brought to the family burial place, which with the Hosses like the house and near a deep round hole is dug for the reception of the body. When all is ready a funeral party collects in front of the deceased's house—three or four men with very deep-toned drums and a group of about eight young girls. The chief mourner carries a tray carrying the bones exposed on a decorated tray and a priest follows him. The chief mourner with the tray leads the girls form in two rows, those in front carrying empty and partly broken pitchers and battered brass vessels, and the men with drums bring up the rear. The procession advances with a very ghastly din, moving most slowly and solemnly as a funeral in times of peace. The drum is not straight-forward but mysteriously gliding—now here, now left, now marking time all in the same manner. The chief mourner carries the tray, usually a high one, but at regular intervals she slowly lowers it and a high-toned girl also gently lowers and mournfully replaces the pitchers and brass vessels and looking up for the moment with eyes full of tears seem to say, "Ah, see, they are empty." In this manner the remains are taken to the house of the friend or relative of the deceased within a circle of a few miles and are buried in the village. As the procession approaches with the same mournful like manner described the music and the girls, having been placed on the ground at the entrance, kneel down and mourn, shedding tears and remain a short time in affection to the deceased friend. The bones are also placed to all his favourite haunts—to the field, the garden, the tree he planted, to the tank he excavated, to the tree under the shade of which he worked with his people, to the dance or dancing arena where he made merry with them—and each part which is hallowed by reminiscences of the deceased draw forth fresh tears from the mourners. In truth, there is a reality in their sadness that would put to shame the efforts of our undertakers and the ghastly gravity of the best mutes, as if it is far less noisy and more serious than the Irish keening. When this part of the ceremony is completed the procession returns to the village and, now gyrating round the great slab, gradually approaches its goal. At last it stops, a quantity of rice cooked and uncooked and other food is now set out on the grave and the charred fragments of bone transferred from the tray to a new earthen vessel placed over it. The hole is then filled up and covered with the large slab which effectually closes it against desecration. The slab however does not rest on the ground, but on smaller stones, which raise it a little. With the

asked the Kols if their custom of casting money food and faiment on the funeral pyre is at all connected with the idea of the resurrection of the body or if they thought the dead would benefit by the gifts bestowed. They have always answered in the negative and gave me the same explanation of the origin and object of the custom that I received from the Chulikata Mishmis of Upper Assam namely that they are unwilling to derive any immediate benefit from the death of a member of their family they wish for no such consolation in their grief. So they commit to the flames all his personal effects the clothes and vessels he had used the weapons he carried and the money he had about him. But new things that have not been used are not treated as things that he appropriated and they are not destroyed and it often happens that respectable old Hos abstain from wearing new garments that they become possessed of to save them from being wasted at the funeral. When the interment of the bones is accomplished the event is made known far and wide by explosions that sound like discharges from heavy guns. This is sometimes done through the agency of gunpowder but more frequently by the application of heat and cold to fragments of schistose rock causing them to split with loud noises.

In summing up the character of the people I have been describing it is necessary to separate the Hos from their cognates. The circumstances under which the character of the former has been developed are different and they are in my opinion physically and morally superior to the Mundas Bhumijs and Santals. They appear to me to possess a susceptibility of improvement not found in the other tribes. They have been directly under our government for about thirty seven years and coming to us as unsophisticated savages we have endeavoured to civilise them without allowing them to be contaminated. Whilst they still retain those traits which favourably distinguish the aborigines of India from Asiatics of higher civilisation—a manner free from servility but never rude a love or at least the practice of truth a feeling of self respect rendering them keenly sensitive under rebuke—they have become less suspicious less revengeful less bloodthirsty less contumacious and in all respects more amenable to the laws and the advice of their officers. They are still very impulsive easily excited to rash headstrong action and apt to resent imposition or oppression without reflection but the retaliation which often extends to a death blow is done on the spur of the moment and openly secret assassination being a crime almost unthought of by them. As a fair illustration of their mode of action when violently incensed I give the following.—A Bengali trader accustomed to carry matters with a very high hand among his compatriots in the Jungle Mahals demanded payment of a sum of money due to him by a Ho and not receiving it proceeded to sequester and drive off a pair of bullocks the property of his debtor. The Ho on this took to his arms let fly an arrow which brought down the money lender whose head he then cut off went with it in his hand straight to the Deputy Commissioner and explaining to that officer exactly what had occurred requested that he might be condemned for the crime.

without more ado! Murders are not now more frequent in the Kolhan than in other districts latterly less so but when one does take place the perpetrator is seldom at any trouble to conceal himself or his crime. The pluck of the Hos displayed in their first encounter with our troops in former wars I have often seen exemplified on minor occasions. In competitive games they go to work with a will and a strenuous exertion of their full force unusual in natives of India. Once at the Jambhikpur there was a race of carriages often used by travellers in Chota Nagpur drawn and propelled by men. One of these came from Singhbhum and had a team of Hos. A collision took place early in the race and the arm of one of the Hosi team was badly fractured. He fell backened by his fall but he still held on to the shaft of the carriage and champing only clinging like the rest went round the course. The extraordinary sensitiveness of both men and women is sometimes very judiciously reflected in the analysis of the numerous affairs in which they are concerned. A harsh word to a woman never provokes a retort but it causes in her a permanent ill feeling which she would a second time care to prevent. If a man is mathematically anything that he has been subjected to is felt to the very marrow of his bones. A trifling quarrel may lead to a serious quarrel and a woman attempting to punish her husband would not justify the deed by her conduct. In 1801 a return from Singhbhum showed that in the year 1800 there had been 180 men and women murdered and in that district I have already spoken of them as both husband and wife but in all the relations of life their manner to all others is gentle and kind. I never saw girls quarrelling and never heard them quarrel or any unkind things of each other and they are very docile and obedient to their husbands. They are very harsh to women. The only exception I know is when they believe a woman to be a witch. In such a case they have no consideration. They have no fear of the evil eye, to express the higher emotions but they feel them all the same.

Hoduar a bird a tot mistick
set of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Holoffwar a sub caste of
Sunris in Manbhum

Hom a title of Bangaja Khyas
asths

Homjah a sept of Mundas
in Chota Nagpur

Homodimchha a thero sept
of Khambus in Darjiling

Homwar a section of Khambus
in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Homyagain a // of the
Dharmajaya // of Nalhati Biah
man

Hondagiri a section of the
Dharmajaya sub caste of Chamars in
Behar

Hone hoga a sept of Hos in
Singhbhum

Hong a kind with long tail
a totmistick sept of Mundas in
Chota Nagpur

Honti a sept of Chonds in
Chota Nagpur

Hopthen a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Hor a title of Dakshin Rárhí and Bangaja K yasths

Horia a bu h a totemic sept of Mun las in Chota Nagpur

Horo r l tree ant a totemic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Horo hon a synonym for Munda in Chota Nagpur

Horongpachha a thar or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Hosainpuria a section of the Banohia and Jaiswar Kalwars in Behar

Hota a section of Utkal or Orissa Brahmins

Hrisi or *I i hi* a synonym for Muchi in Bengal

Hroimajusa a sept of Maghs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Hudda a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Hudinwal a section of G l in the North Western Province and Belar

Hui a title of Dakshin Rárhí and Bangaja K yasths

Hukpáh a sept of Lambus in Darjiling

Hularbaha a flower a totemic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hundar well a totemic sept of Munda in Chota Nagpur

Huni mouc a totemic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Hunjar a section of Tantis and Lins in Chota Nagpur

Hunni a synonym for Sunri

Hupachongbang h who was ill and prospered a sept of the Hedab sub tribe of Lambus in Darjiling

Huru Jaddy bird a totemic sept of Binjuas in Chota Nagpur

Huru a sept of Korwas in Chota Nagpur

Husoi a sept of Tipperahs in the Hill Tract of Chittagong

Hutar a flower a totemic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

I

Icha a sept of the Tharwanta
sub-tribe of Chama in the
Ira s of Chama in

Ichapocha a sept of the
in the hills of the Chama in

Ichbaria a sept of the
S in the M in the Chama in
handu in the Chama in

Ichermah a sept of the
in the Darj in the Chama in

Idri a sept of the Chama in the
Darj in the Chama in the Darj in

Ikahan a sept of the Chama in the
Kav in the Darj in the Chama in

Ikteh a sept of the Lamia in the
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Ilamhang a sept of the Lamia in the
in the Darj in the Chama in

Imli a sept of the Lamia in the
sept of the Lamia in the Darj in

Imsong a sept of the Lamia in the
Darj in the Chama in the Darj in

Inde a sept of the Khar in the
Myar in the Darj in the Chama in

Indra a sept of the Khar in the
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Indrabara a sept of the Khar in the
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J

Jabagrām, a *gain* or sub-section of Saptasatī Brahmans in Bengal

Jābzī a section of Brahmans

Jābaliā a section of Bhojpuria Halwais in Behar

Jachandar appraiser a title of Jugis and Tantis in Bengal dating back to the time when the East India Company traded in Indian woven goods

Jadab-Madhab a section of the Mahmudabaz sub caste of Napits in Bengal

Jādab-Ray a hypergamous group of Kaibarttas in Bakarganj

Jadan a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Jādu a section of the Magahiya sub caste of Doms in Behar of Goalās in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Jadua *Jaduah* (*jidu* magic) a sub caste of Kraunchdwipi Brahmans in Behar who practise fortune-telling

Jadubansī a sub-tribe of Rajputs (*Sher* i p 123) The Ahir Jaiks of Chota Nagpur also call themselves Jādubansī Rajputs A sub caste of Goalās in Behar and the North Western Provinces

Jadwāl a section of Goalās in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Jádwar a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Jagaha a sept of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Jagá a *gain* or sub section of Saptasatī Brahmans in Bengal

Jagannáthī or Uriya Kumhár a sub caste of Kumhars in Orissa

Jagat a sept of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Jagatpur a *mul* or section of the Namulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalās in Behar

Jagda Jagdar a sept of Mundas

Jagmanra a section of the Bihahut and Kharidaha Halwai in Behar

Jago tamarind a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Jagsaria a sept of Buhors in Chota Nagpur

Jaharī a title of Lohars derived from their sharpening weapons the gloss of which is called *jīhar*

Jāhnavī a section of the Ganga caste in Behar

Jahur a sub sept of the Hemrom sept of Santals

Jaia Pubia a sub caste of Utkal Brahmans in Orissa

Jaibele a sub caste of Sunari in Western Bengal

Jailak a *mul* or section of the Namulia or Majraut sub caste of Goalās in Behar

Jaimini a section of Brahmans

Jainagaria a section of Awadhia Majrauts in Behar

Jaintimasi a section of the Birui caste in Bengal

Jaintpur a section the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kailwars in Behar

Jaipur a *mul* or section of the Ayodhya sub caste of Hajjams in Behar

Jaipuria a section of Amashtia Kyshtia and a *mul* or section of the Banahia sub caste of Kailwars in Bihar a sept of Gondas a Chota Nagpur

Jaisi (i) in Pehar a synonym for Jyotir / (ii) in Dujhm and Npl a sub caste of Brahmins in Bihar or probably Jaitirahman who have immutated with Jlam while still all the full of Uti and I dhans by women of their own caste of Ujjahya or Jusi Brahman by love women

Jais Jotkhi or **Jotsi** a sub caste with Kunchdwaji Brahmins in Bihar

Jai Singh a section of Tiyaars in Bihar

Jaiswar *Jaisara Jssouara Jishi Jicua Jucur* a name of a sub caste of Jaitirahman of the Buniya Barua Kurma Janti Dhanuks Kul Chunra etc. Sir H. Ellis thinks the name may imply that the Jaitirahman is an originally from Jais a large manuscript town in Orissa. The name is very widely diffused and it is impossible to say for certain to what name it shall refer in which of the many sub castes of the Jaiswarly caste. Chandra particularly for Jaiswar is a designation which appears to

associate or identify them with the more respectable Kurmi

Jaitar a sept of the Suryabansi sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Jaitharia a section of Babhans in Behar

Jaiwar a hypergamous group of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Jajaki a class of up country Brahmins who met in Bengal in search of employment as priests.

Jaji a section of Babhans in Behar

Jajim a section of Babhans in Bihar

Jajnabalkya a section of Brahman

Jajpuria a sub caste of Utkal Brahmins in Orissa

Jaji Bharam a *mul* of the Sirdia section of Maithil Brahmins in Bihar

Jajuware Udaipur a *mul* of the Sirdia section of Maithil Brahmins in Bihar

Jajuwar Jamuni a *mul* of the Sirdia section of Maithil Brahmins in Bihar

Jajuware Pachahi a *mul* of the Sirdia section of Maithil Brahmins in Bihar

Jakhalpuria a section of Lohars and Sarmars in Behar

Jalaiwar Jale a *mul* of the Batiya section of Maithil Brahmins in Bihar

Jalaiwar Maranchi a *mul* of the Jaitirahman section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Jalaiwar Ganraul a *mul* of the Jaitirahman section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Jalaiwār Mālī a title of the Jal Chhatrī a title of Surabasa section of Malī in Bihar as

Jalai'pur a section of Malī in Bihar or section of Bahmans of Malī in Bihar

Jalasinghi a section of Goria

Jalbanuār net a term used in Bihar for the Kharī caste of Chita Nagpur and the members of which are in touch with a net

Jaliya a title of Malos in Eastern Bengal

Jaliyā, Jalya, Jī, Ja, Jīva, Jīva a general name in use

Origin. through Bengal proper as the popular designation of all classes of people who are engaged in boating or fishing. The etymology of the word is uncertain some derive it from *ja* a net others from *jāl* water. Strictly speaking it is not a caste name but is applied indifferently to Malī, Tiwar, Kaibartta, Bauri, Bagdis, Rajbanis and Mahomedans. In Noakhali, however, the term seems to have developed into the designation of a caste divided into four or dogamous groups—Chatgaon Jaliya, Bhulua Jaliyā, Jhalo Jaliya, and Kaibartta Jaliya. The last named group consists doubtless of fishing Kaibartta but distinguished from the cultivating members of that caste who Jhalo may perhaps be a synonym for Malī. The other groups seem to be peculiar to Noakhali.

Dr. Wise who had special opportunities of observing the fishing castes, describes them as remarkable for physical type, strength and independent bearing. The finest examples of Bengali manhood are found among them, and their muscular figures astonish those accustomed to the feeble and effeminate inhabitants of towns. The physique of the Dacca fishermen is more robust than that of the same class on the Hughli, a fact noticed by Bishop Haller fifty years ago.

No one belonging to a fisher caste will fish with a rod and line or use a harpoon as the Shikaris do. Bengal fishermen use the seine, drift, trawl, bag and cast nets. The Kaibartta however will not employ an Uthar or Bar net which are favourites with the Tiwar and Malo.

Nets are made of hemp never of cotton and they are steeped in gub (*Diospyros glauca*) poulticed and allowed to ferment by which means their colour becomes dark brown becoming after immersion in water almost black. Boats are either made of shola or piece of bamboo but dried gourds are occasionally preferred. Sinkers are made of baked clay or iron.

The following are the common nets in use among Bengali fishermen—

1. *Jhaki* or *kakhepa* is the circular cast net¹ met with in all Eastern countries. It is usually six or seven cubits in diameter

¹ It is called *gaccho* of Italian fishermen.

and is either thrown from the bank of a stream or from a boat. The circumference is drawn up in o loops or rather pulled and weighted with iron. It is filled on the left for arm while the edge and the central string are held by the right hand. By a sudden and forcible swing of the body the net is thrown lights on the surface of the water forming a complete circle. On its touching the bottom the fisher slowly draws it towards him by the string just mentioned and as he does so the heavily weighted edge comes together and no fish can escape. The outcast Bagdi in Central Bengal sings the net round his head before casting it but no respectable fisherman would dishonour his calling by so doing.

2 The *thai* and *gulti* are magnified cast nets differing only in size and in the dimensions of the meshes. They are shot from a boat pulled broadside to a stream with the net folded on the edge. One man holds the centre rope while two others gradually unfold and drop it overboard. As the boat lifts the net falls in a circle and is then slowly drawn up. One of the nets is oftentimes forty feet in diameter and a long boat like the *jalka* is required to shoot it from.

3 The *guli* is a small trawl net used for catching *hila*. The lower lip of the net is weighted and after being shot the boat draws it to the stream. When a fish passing over the lower lip of the net touches a rope held by the fisherman is attracted and felt to strike the back of the net it is suddenly raised and the fish secured.

4 The *thi* is a fixed bag net worked on the same principle.

5 *Chith* is a large drift net supported by gourd or bamboo float and in the water it hangs as a curtain like the herring net the fish being caught by the gills.

6 *Bris* is a large creel or trap net often thirty feet in depth and even hundred and fifty in length. Several nets are usually joined together to form this train of float or lifts of nets. The upper deck or bark is built of bamboo while the lower or foot is weighted with iron. It is the favourite net with the Mulos on the Meghna but owing to its great length it has to be shot from two boats fastened together and when drawn the two wings or creels are slowly brought ashore.

7 *Beat r hani* is a fixed net set either from the side of a boat balanced by an outrigger or fixed to posts on the banks of rivers. The net is attached to two bamboo which meet at an acute angle in the boat but branching off until separate about fifty or twenty feet. One man stands in the boat and lowers the net into the water while another sits at the stern working a paddle with his leg until a certain distance has been passed over when the net which is set slowly dragged is slowly raised. This net is fancied by Myar and Muls who at the first dawn of day may be seen fishing with it off bathing ghats and around steamers and vessels on the hill and mid stream. Small fry are usually caught with it but when fixed on the margin of a river where there is a backwater or an eddy large and weighty fish are often netted.

8 *Kona* is a large bag net used at the outlets of rivers and streams. The sides are fixed and the mouth faces the current. The lower lip rests on the bottom while the upper remains open and at in or else the former is raised and the fish taken out.

Bengali fishermen are familiar with the habits of fish and much might be learned from them on a branch of natural history strangely neglected in India. Night is the favourite time for fishing, quiet being necessary for success, and a full moon or sunset and sunrise are favourable times for shooting nets. The first of a spring tide is also a period when fish move.

It is a curious coincidence that the English fisherman when looking for a place to shoot his large drift or herring net raps with a piece of wood the planks of his boat close to the water line. The Malay squally aware of the fact that brisk undulation of water frightens fish causing them to move, and as the net is being drawn a man beats the side of the boat with an oar by which means the draught is increased.

During the month of mourning for a parent no fisherman is fully permitted to have any dealing in fish unless he gets a special dispensation from the puritans.

All fishermen object to sell the skate (*sagus*) and will not retail in any way but while the *lingua* (*Limelod* 112 u) *garua* (*Silurus* 112 c) and *gar* (*I* 112 u) *garua* (*Silurus* 112 c) Neither will they catch or sell crab nor fish the putka or bladder fish. Many of the fisheries of India have the Muhammadan version to fish without scales and few will utter or even handle the *sin* (*Sin* 112 o) feels how ever they sometimes cook it owing to the rich and healthy properties of the fish it is not a favourite article of food. Muhammadans of the Hindu hold never eat unclean animals as the crab consequently the only Bengali Muhammadans who use them as food are the indigenous residents of Chittagong.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Jaliyas in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
Ba	1 513	5 77	D	44	7
B		3 0	l	1 37	3 7
B			k		4
M	21 43	2 3	l	6	40 7 3
I			k	2 48	28
I	1	7	k	1 60	43
2	2	1 4	M	38 9	94 7
N	2 9	3	T	7	1
K		2	h	9 284	1 2
J		31	h	8	8 12
J		48	H		1
J	1	3	H		123
R		7 1	H	34	
H	1 1	47	J	9	
R		2	M	2 648	1 205
P		39 0			

The *T* *t* *d* *r* *t* It n t s a d w h l f t o t o f t h w r
and f l t l f w t a L k e t h *I* *K* a h c of the N l e t e r v e s a s a p l y
thing for fisher child n

Jauud an executioner a hang man a term which appears as a caste designation in the schedules of the Census of 1881. The persons who so described themselves were probably Doms

Jálo a title of Málos in Eastern Bengal

Jaluá a group of the Rajbans sub caste of Kochhs in Northern Bengal

Jalwá a title of Málos in Eastern Bengal

Jalwar net a sept of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Jámadagni pátra a section of Utkal or Orissa Brahmans

Jámadagnya a section of Brahmans and Kayasths in Bengal

Jamadár a section of the Chaubhan sub caste of Nuniyas in Behar

Jamadar sergeant in a native regiment a police officer a cashier and sometimes a sweeper who is so called by his fellow servants in derision he being the lowest servant in the household

Jamalpurí a section of Sonárs in Behar

Jamar Katyál a *thar* of the Bharadwaja *gotra* of Nepali Brahmans

Jamátya a sept of the Tipperah tribe in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Jambar a section of the Oswal Baníyas

Jamgot a totemistic section of Nuniyas in Behar

Jamraian a section of Bábháris in Behar

Jámrukhi a *gain* of the Batsya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Jamtuti a kind of grain or vegetable a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Jamuáon a section of the Bihahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Jamuár a *pur* or section of Sáladwipi Brahmans and of the Amashta sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Jámulu a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Jáná Jena a sub caste of Aguris in Bengal a title of Chasas and Khandaits in Orissa and of Goálás and Kaibarttas in Bengal

Janagadhiá a section of Awadhia Hajams in Behar

Janakpurí a sub caste of Telis and Chamárs in Behar a section of Sonars in Behar

Janamíar a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Janarashi a section of Tántis in Bengal

Jándar a title of Kewats in Behar

Janeri (*Janco*?) wearer of the *janeo* or sacred thread a title of Brahmans and Rajputs

Jangatras sawbone a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Jangh Jangla a native of the jungles. The word is used in a special sense in connection with inland emigration to denote non-Aryan coolies from Chota Nagpur whose immunity from

few renders them the most valuable class of labourers for Assam.

Jánjdiá a section of Goálas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Janku Samrai a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Janwar a section of Bahags and Mahesris in Behar

Jarangaít a section of Lohars in Behar

Járdar a title of Hajams

Jarhbait a territorial section of Bunds in Behar

Jariár a totemistic section of Turis in Chota Nagpur signifying a lizard

Jarigamba *jari* tree a totemistic sept of Jungs in Orissa

Jár Kumi a section of Kums in Darjiling

Jaru a section of Awadhi Hajjams in Behar

Jaru a totemistic sept of the Blumij tribe in Munbhum

Jaruhar a tribe of Kuris in Behar who do permit widows to remarry

Jas a title of Dakshin Parhi and Bangaj Kayasths

Jasatbár a sept of Surajbansi Rajputs in Behar

Jasiam a section of Lohars in Behar

Jasogrami a *gan* of the Sábarna *got* of Barendra Brahmans in Benal

Jaswar a caste of Dhaknuks, Khandu, Kahars, Kurms

and Tehs in Behar see **Jáis** war

Jat a sub caste of Goilas in Behar whose sections are Gadhuwal, Chitonia etc. They hold the title of Chaudhri Singh and Marar

Jath a class of Mahomedan hermits in Behar a religious group of Jugs in Bengal

Jatham a sub caste of Dhobis in Behar

Jathot a division of the Iarbatti Kuris sub caste of Gonru in Behar who are distinguished from the rest of the sub castes by treating as exogamous groups the divisions which the others regard merely as titles having no bearing on marriage

Játhot a sub caste of Kewats in Behar

Jati Karmakár a sub caste of Kamars in Noakhali

Jati Madak a sub caste of Madhun pits in Bengal

Játi Mech a sub tribe of Meches in the Darjiling Terai

Jat Patni a sub caste of Patnis in Bengal

Jatrama a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Jatria a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Jattia *Jetti* a class of wandering mendicants from the North Western Provinces

Játukarna a section of the Dakshinatyá Bardik Brahmans in Bengal and of Uthal Brahmans in Orissa

Jzum a section of Awadhi Hajjams in Behar

Jaunpuri a sub-caste of Teli in Behar who sell oil but do not manufacture it also of Chamars

Jaunpuri Kamlapati a sub-caste of Lami in Behar

Jawalia a *mul* or section of the Limmulia Madhesia sub-caste of Halwais in Behar

Jayi a sub-section of the Bharadwaja section of Utkal Brahmaas in Orissa

Jebel a *mul* or section of the Chhamuli Madhesia sub-caste of Halwais in Behar

Jedhria a *kul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Jeruhet a section of Maghaya Kumhars in Behar

Jeseriet a *mul* or section of the Satmulia or Kihnaut sub-caste of Goalas in Behar

Jeshkucha a *thar* or sept of Sunuwars in Darjiling

Jesiwar a section of Babhans in Behar

Jespucha a *thar* or sept of Sunuwars in Darjiling

Jeswar a sub-caste of Banias of Chamars in Behar who are said to have come from the North West Provinces and work as servants, syces and labourers. See Jaiswar

Jethaut a sub-caste of Kairattas and Gars in Behar

Jethautia, a *mul* or section of the Gomul or Goria sub-caste of Goalas in Behar

Jethkar a sub-caste of Gargota in Behar

Jethman a title of the Sangtarash sub-caste of Gornhus in Behar

Jethular a section of Babhans in Behar

Jethuria, a section of Babhans in Behar

Jewel a section of Madhesia Halwais in Behar

Jewni a section of Chandals who catch and sell fish

Jha Ujha or *Ojhá* a title of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Jhadadia a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Jhagdolia a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Jhagreb a *thar* or sept of the Barah Guru sub-tribe of Gurungs in Darjiling

Jhaj a *mul* or section of the Nannua or Majra sub-caste of Goalas in Behar

Jhamal Jhampati a *gotra* of the Pharalwaja *gotra* of Bareudra Bahmans in Bengal

Jhandaha a *mul* or section of the Binulia sub-caste of Kairattas in Behar

Jhangar a variant for Dhangar

Jhangdi a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Jhankai or **Jani** a title of
Kandhs in Orissa

Jhankri a quack doctor in
Nepal

Jhapabasriár a section of
Furmis in Chota Nagpur and
Orissa

Jhári a *thar* or sept of Man
gals in Darjuling

Jhárona a synonym for
Mehtar or sweeper

Jharuá a sub tribe of Savars
in Orissa

Jháruá a sub caste of Utkal
Brahmans in Orissa

Jharúkar a broom maker a
title applied roughly to several of
the low castes

Jhat a or *Jhetia* a sub-caste
of Bauri, Koras and Lohars in
Western Bengal

Jhatideka a section of Kur
mis in Chota Nagpur and
Orissa

Jhauáit a territorial section
of Binds in Behar

Jhinia a section of Pátnis

Jhora *Khaki* a small caste of Chota Nagpur beloved by Colonel Dalton to be a sub tribe of Conds Babu Rukhl Das Halidar thought they were Kaibarttas who had made their way up the valley of the Brahmani and settled in Chota Nagpur. He mentions in support of this hypothesis the fact that the Jhora Malik of parganas Biru and Kesulpur in Lohardaga bears the title Behara which is used by the Kaibarttas in Bengal. But the title Behara is common among the Dravidian tribes of Orissa and there is no need to go so far as the Kaibarttas to explain it. The Malik in question calls himself a Gangabans Rajput and all landholding Jhoras claim similar rank. The Beharas of Biru were bound to supply diamonds to the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur and several villages are said to have been granted to them on these terms. In the south of Lohardaga and in the Tributary States Jhoras earn a miserable and uncertain livelihood by washing gold in the beds of the streams. Their appliances are primitive to a degree—a scraper in the form of a flattened iron hook set in a wooden handle and a shallow wooden dish about two feet long and eighteen inches wide. The scraper is used to collect what an Australian would call pay dirt from the chinks and corners of the rocks in the bed of the stream and this dirt is then manipulated with water by dexterously rocking the dish this way and that until the smallest particles of foreign matter have been separated and there remains only a fine deposit of black sand in which tiny specks of gold are seen to sparkle. The use of mercury being unknown the very small and invisible gold is of course lost. As regards the earnings of the Jhoras the evidence is necessarily somewhat uncertain. Colonel Haughton was told in 1854 that a vigorous man often earned as much as twelve annas in a day a sum enormously exceeding the daily wages of unskilled labour which cannot then have been more than an anna. Mr Robinson found that men whom he paid at the latter rate got

for him from three to four annas worth of gold and it may be taken for granted that men working for themselves would earn more than this. Colonel Dalton on the other hand speaks of gold washing as a very poor business at which a man could not expect to earn more than a bellyful (*p t tha*) as the Jhoras simply put it. Doubtless the amount varies considerably in different localities and the Jhoras themselves would be disposed to underrate it for fear the local Raja might begin to take an interest in the subject. They are moreover indolent class of people and are believed to be not entirely free from superstitious prejudice against trusting too much to their own exertion.

The Jhoras of Lichard have three sections - Kasyapa Krishna treya and Nag and they observe the rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own section. In the matter of prohibited degrees supplementing the rule of exogamy their practice is unusually lax for they allow a man to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle or his paternal aunt a departure from the ordinary rules which strikes one as curious. In religion they are Hindus employing Brahmins as priests and burning their dead in the usual way except in the case of lepers women who die in childbirth persons who die of small pox or leprosy and infants who die before the ceremony of Karnubdh or wearing the ear lobes is performed. The Jhoras also marry their daughters as infants in a corollary with orthodox Hindu usage the gold washing class adhere to the adult marriage characteristic of the Dravidian tribes while untouched by Hindu influence.

Jhora a title of Kewats or fishermen in Behar

Jhumurwāla a class of Mahomedan musicians

Jhuri dried bushes a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Jira a river fish a sept of Mundas and Ians in Chota Nagpur

Jiarwar a section of the Satmahli Mahrya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Jihu a bird a sub sept of the Hansda sept of Santals

Jijicha a *thar* or sept of Sunuwars in Darjiling

Jildgar a book binder an occupation followed almost exclusively by Mahomedans

Jimba a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Jimta a title and synonym for Khambu in Darjiling

Jimel a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Jingba a *rai* or sept of Sherpa Lhotias of Nepal

Jirābasti a *rai* or section of the Chhimuli Mahesia sub caste of Hulwas in Behar

Jirel a *thar* or sept of Sunuwars in Darjiling

Jirhul a kind of wild flower a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Jitiapipar a fruit a totem
istic sept of Mundas in Chota
Nagpur

Jnánbar a name of a family
of Grihasth Jugis in Bengal

Jog a hyperamorous group
of Maithil Brahmans in
Behar

Jogi a section of Rautias a
sub sept of the Saren sept
of Santáls a synonym for
Bairagi

Jogidás a sub caste of Sunris
in Maldah

Jolahá a synonym for Jolha

Jolhá Jolahu Julíha Monun the Mahomedan weaver caste of
Bengal and Behar Dr Wise thinks that
Origin they belonged to a despised Hindu caste who
in a body became converts to Muhammadanism It would seem
however that the formation of a weaving caste within the ranks of
the Mahomedans may be accounted for without supposing that any
compact group was converted *en masse* The structure of the large
and heterogeneous aggregate known as the Tanti caste (see article
Tanti) suggests not that all Tantís derive their origin from a
distinct tribe devoted to the weaving trade but that separate
weaving castes were formed in different parts of the country out of
the materials which were at hand in each case The same thing
may well have happened among the Mahomedans while the low
esteem in which the profession of weaving is held would suffice
to cut off those adopting it from intermarriage with their co-
religionists

The customs of the Joláhas says Dr Wise are essentially Shiah
and are observed with the punctiliousness which
Man i t m often characterises converts of dubious social
position During the month of Muharram they do not comb their
hair chew betel or eat from vessels in which fish has been dressed
Besides on the fifth sixth and seventh days of that month they
wear the *ladith* and *kafni* badges of the martyred Imams In
former days the Joláhas were peculiar among Mahomedans in never
having the *Kabir* or marriage settlement drawn up in presence of
the Qazi but of late years the practice has been introduced and in
addition a *Mahr Namah* or deed of settlement is executed The
titles of Joláhas are Karigar Malik Mandal and Shikdar Their
headman is called Muatqbar

In Behar during the Muharram Jolhá women abstain from
chewing betel combing their hair using oil or vermilion and
putting spangles (*tí/h*) on the forehead They assume in short
the garb of widowhood and mourn for Hassan and Hossein as
the Greeks mourned for Adonis sleeping on the bare ground
and avoiding intercourse with their husbands They wear *b ddhs*
and *kafni* on the 8th of the month and on the night of the
8th they break their bangles attire themselves in green *sari*
and go forth with dishevelled hair chanting dirges for the murdered
Imams

The following extract from *Behar Peasant Life* shows how low a place the Jolaha occupies in popular estimation. The sayings quoted by Mr Grierson have very wide currency and are by no means confined to Behar —

The Musalman weaver or Jolha is the proverbial fool of Hindu stories and proverbs. He swims in the moonlight across fields of flowering linseed thinking the blue colour to be caused by water. He hears his family priest reading the Quran and bursts into tears to the gratification of the reader. When pressed to tell what part affected him most he says it was not that but the wagging beard of the old gentleman so much reminded him of a pet goat which had died. When forming one of a company of twelve he tries to count them and finding himself missing wants to perform his own funeral obsequies. He finds the rear peg of a plough and wants to set up farming on the strength of it. He gets into a boat at night and forgets to pull up the anchor. After rowing till dawn he finds himself where he started and concludes that the only explanation is that his native village could not bear to lose him and had followed him. If there are eight weavers and nine *hukkas* they fight for the odd one. Once on a time a crow carried off to the roof of the house some bread which a weaver had given his child. Before giving the child any more he took the precaution of removing the ladder. Like the English fool he always gets unmerited blows. For instance he once went to see a ram fight and got butted himself as the saying runs —

Karigah chhar tamasa jay
Nahak chot Jolaha khay

— He left his loom to see the fun and for no reason got a brushing.

Another story (told by Fallon) is that being told by a soothsayer that it was written in his fate that his nose would be cut off with an axe the weaver was incredulous and taking up an axe kept flourishing it saying *y n k i ba ta goi katbo yo ka ba ta hath katbon aur y n karla tal na*—if I do so I cut my leg and if I do so I cut my hand but unless I do so my nose— and his nose was off. A proverb—*Jolha janathi jau kat*—does a weaver know how to cut barley?—refers to a story (in Fallon) that a weaver unable to pay his debt was sent to cut barley by his creditor who thought to repay himself in this way. But instead of reaping the stupid fellow kept trying to untwist the tangled barley stems. Other proverbs at his expense are—*kua chali bas le Jolha chali jhas k*—the weaver went out to cut grass (at sunset) when even the crows were going home. *Jolha bhutaili thiti h t*—the weaver lost his way in the linseed field an allusion to the swimming exploit already recorded. His wife bears an equally bad character as in the proverb—*tahsali Jolhim bipak da shi noch*—a wilful weaver's wife will pull her own father's beard.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Jolhas in 1872 and 1881. It appears that some Jolhas are considered

to be Hindus who are insignificant in number and as such returned in the Census of the latter year as well as in certain districts of the former year

I	1872	1881	C D	1872	1881
B l w	48	47	F dp	603	319
B k		1	B k s l	87	4
I l	20	18	M	133	7
M l l	8		(t w g		50
H gl l		13	Gy	144	49
H w h	53		l h t { M ff rp		
P		6	{ D l h g	51	981
A l j	27	27	l m ra		1
K l l		27	M l y	77	24
M l l d	9	1	l l p	2085	2176
J l l y w	7	11	l l h		67
R l l y w	6	1	l l l	80	9
Ra p		4)	l l l	8	236
R			H l m h	984	
I l	773	76	I l l	27	13
J l l	7		M l l	4	
L w	104		I b y st t	20	112

Jonali a *pathi* or hyper-amicus subgroup of Bendi Brahmins in Bengal

Jonari an enigmatic division of Iahya Baidik Brahmins in Bengal

Jongan a section of Murmis in Dujing

Jonk Haper leech a totomistic sect of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Joraha a section of the Dhusa sub caste of Chamars in Behar

Joshi a group of the Adigaura sub caste of Gaura Brahmins in Behar

Josiam a section of Kamarkalla Sonars in Behar

Juang Pitua a non Aryan tribe of Keunghar and Dhenkanal in Orissa described by Colonel Dalton as linguistically grounds as Kolarian. Their language is said to approach more closely to the Kharia than to the other Kol dialects but it has borrowed largely from Uriya and also contains a number of words of uncertain origin.

They are says Colonel Dalton a small race like the Orans the males averaging less than five feet in height and the women not more than four feet eight inches. Their predominant physical characteristics appear to be great lateral projection of the zygomatic arches and general flatness of features, upright but narrow and low foreheads, prominent over a very large dental bone, pug noses with spreading nostrils, large mouths, thick lip, receding lower jaw and chin. The hair is dark and frizzly the prevailing colour being a reddish brown.

The opinion that the Juangs are closely related to the Mundas and the Kharias derives some support from the fact that the women tattoo their faces with the same marks as are used by these tribes—three strokes on the forehead just above the nose

and three on each temple. They swear on earth taken from an ant hill and on a tiger skin. The Kharias hold the ant hill sacred and the oath on the tiger's skin is in common use among Hos and Santals.

The Keunjhar Juangs claim to be the autochthones of the country, and trace their descent on the male side to a race of celestial beings who danced in the Guptasingi hills with the leaf clad daughters of men and took some of them to wife. The village of Gonasika which is considered the headquarters of the tribe was visited by Colonel Dilton about twenty years ago. He found there twenty five families of Juangs living in tiny huts measuring about six feet by eight very low and with very small doors. They were divided into two compartments—one used for stores and the other being the living room of the head of the house and his wife and daughters. The boys of each family slept in a large dormitory near the entrance of the village which also served as a lodging for guests. All the habits of the tribe were then of the most primitive character. Iron tools and smelters of iron were unknown and there was no word for iron in their language. The art of spinning and weaving were equally strange to them and like the Australian aborigine they had never attained to the simplest knowledge of pottery.

The females says Colonel Dilton had not amongst them a particle of clothing. Their covering for purposes of decency consisted of a girdle composed of several strips of bark from which they made skirts and blouses and cuttings of leaves. Although they were not so far advanced they told you that the An (*Donaldson to*) or my father with little and running them as to form a slit in the skin and cut off the required size. The iron was simply taken in the soil and not refined and the tool is complete. The girls were well liked and firmly formed. The men of the tribe and with little by costume of the tribe. The men were naturally nude though they would have made good studies if not for the skin.

The girls that form the tribe are made of burnt earthenware and they were very beautiful. They had a black face of black hair and ornaments in their ears and their wrists and feet. They were very beautiful and they got over their shyness and ventured to appear before me.

The men of the tribe told me that they were a tradition that they used to wear a garment made of bark of the *timba* tree used instead of leaves. They used to put on the belt a few years ago the women were dressed in their example by the tradition that they used to the *timba* river. The men of the tribe told me that they used to put on the belt a few years ago the women were dressed in their example by the tradition that they used to the *timba* river. The men of the tribe told me that they used to put on the belt a few years ago the women were dressed in their example by the tradition that they used to the *timba* river.

course that they must adhere to that costume for ever or die. In 1800 the curse was removed by Captain F. J. Johnstone, Superintendent of the Keunghur State, who had acquired great influence with the people and induced the women to dress themselves in cotton clothes.

The internal structure of the Juáng tribe is shown in Appendix I. There are no sub-tribes and the entire community forms a single endogamous group. The surnames are totemic, the names comprising the names of animals, trees and plants. A man may not marry a woman of his own section and must also observe certain rules regarding prohibited degrees which do not seem to be very precisely defined. I gather, however, that marriage with the descendants of the paternal uncle is prohibited if a certain number of generations, but that the rule is less strict concerning the descendants of a maternal uncle.

As a general rule Juangs give their daughters in marriage only after they are grown up and sexually mature. But marriage, though not expressly recognized, is nevertheless tolerated as a necessary incident of a young man's life. Of late years instances of infant marriage have occurred, but these were exceptional cases due to the desire of the bride's father to imitate Hindu usage. The marriage ceremony is simple. The bridegroom sends a party of his friends to fetch the girl and if his offer is accepted the wedding day is fixed and a bullock cart unhitched and delivered by way of bride-price. The bride is then brought to the bridegroom's house by her friends and here is housed in new lodgings and has a set of bridesmaids put on. Communion follows at once and the night is spent in feasting. In the morning the bridegroom himself, the bride, friends with a present of three measures of husked rice and the bridesmaids are the guests of a priest who is not ordinarily from the village *dehara* but from the village *dehara*. The bride is then given by the bridegroom rice and turmeric on the heels of the wedding party.

Polygamy is permitted and there appears to be no rule limiting the number of wives a man may have. No Juang, however, has been seen who has ventured on more than two at a time and even this is usually resorted to when the first wife proves barren or faithless. A widow may marry again and is expected, though not compelled, to marry her deceased husband's younger brother. In the event of her choice falling upon an outsider she is not allowed to marry until a year after her husband's death. No special ritual appears to be claimed for the marriage of a widow; the bridegroom merely gives her a new cloth and some bracelets and provides a fast for the elders of the caste. Divorce is permitted with the condition that *panchayat* for adultery disqualifies a woman from being taken back. The woman is simply taken back to her father's house and left there. In cases of special hardship where the wife is held not to have been a faithful husband, required to give a heifer or three or four rupes to the wife's family.

as compensation for his action in divorcing her Divorced wives may marry again by the same form as widows

The Juangs appear to be free from the belief in witchcraft which is the bane of the Kols and perniciously influences nearly all other classes in the Jungle and Tributary Maháls They have not like the Kharias the reputation of being deeply skilled in sorcery They have in their own language no terms for god for heaven or hell and so far as I can learn no idea of a future state They offer fowls to the sun when in distress and to the earth to give them its fruit in due season On these occasions an old man officiates as priest he is called Nagam The even tenor of their lives is unbroken by any obligatory religious ceremonies

My own enquiries lead me to doubt the accuracy of this account The Juangs of Keunghar worship a forest deity called Baram who stands at the head of their system and is regarded with great veneration Next to him come Thanpat, the patron of the village also known to the Savars Mámuli Kalapat Basuli and Basurati or mother earth Buffaloes goat fowls milk and sugar are offered to all of these and are afterwards partaken of by the worshippers No regular days seem to be set apart for sacrifice but offerings are made at such time and harvest and the forest gods are carefully propitiated when a plot of land is cleared for jungle and prepared for the plough In addition to the elemental or animistic deities the Hindu gods Siva Durgá and Balabhadra are beginning to be recognised in a scanty and infrequent fashion by the tribe Brahmins as yet have not been introduced and all religious functions are discharged by the *dharí* or village priest

Juangs burn their dead lying the corpse on the pyre with the head to the south The ashes are left at the place of cremation or are cast into a running stream A few days after death a meagre propitiatory ceremony is performed at which the maternal uncle of the deceased officiates as priest Offerings to departed ancestors are also made in October when the autumn rice crop is harvested

Agriculture is believed to be the original occupation of the tribe

They cultivate says Colonel Diltz in the rudest way destroying the forest trees by the deadly process of girdling them burning all they can of the timber when it dries and sowing in the ashes They thus raise a little early rice Indian corn pulses pumpkins sweet potatoes ginger and red pepper—seed all thrown into the ground it once to come up as it in They declare they subsist every year more on wild roots and fruits than on what they rear but I doubt if they are so badly off as they pretend to be The area of their cultivation appeared proportionate to their numbers They pay no rent being under obligation to serve the Raja repair his house and carry his burdens when required to do so in lieu of money payment and they spend no money in clothes it is difficult to understand therefore their not having a sufficiency of wholesome food unless it be that they spend all their substance in drink

They are no doubt addicted to ardent spirits and they are obliged to buy what they consume as they have not acquired the art of distilling or even of brewing rice beer which every Kol understands.

In regard to food they are not in the least particular eating all kinds of flesh including mice rats monkeys tigers bears snakes frogs and even offal and for them the jungles abound in spontaneously produced vegetables. In the midst of such food they possess all the instinct of the animal discerning at a glance what is nutritive and never mistaking a noxious for an edible fungus or root.

The Juangs do not look a warlike people but when urged to it by the Bhuiyas which lead they invariably follow they are sometimes terrible warriors. They use the bow and arrow but their favorite weapon is the primitive sling made out of a coil of cord. They take pebbles from the brook or stone as they find them. They have no idea of fabricating them to give more efficient projectiles.

The tribal dances of the Juang which seem to be totemic in character are thus described by Colonel Dutton —

In one figure the girl moves round in single file keeping the right hand on the right shoulder of the girl in front in another with both hands on her hips they wreath their arms and advance and retreat in line. In this movement the performance is a strong resemblance to one of the Kol dances. Then we had the bear dance. The girl advances and promptly advances with both so much inclined that their heads strike the ground thus they move not unlike bears and by a motion from the hands the bodies wriggle violently and the hundreds of green leaves slip up and down in a most ludicrous manner.

The pigeon dance followed the action of a love making pigeon when it struts pouts sticks out his breast and scrapes the ground with his wings was well imitated the hands of the girls did the duty as wings. Then came the tortoise dance in which the motions of these animals were ludicrously rendered and the quail dance in which they puffed and poked at the ground after the fashion of those birds. They concluded with the vulture dance a highly dramatic finale. On this man was made to lie on the ground and represent dead body. The girl in approaching it imitated the bird by holding up the bird's prey and using their hands as talons. They then pulled the corpse in a manner that made him usually utter his character and yell with pain. This cruel jest amused the spectators.

There is a ballet called the Cocks and Hen but this they could not be induced to exhibit. It was admitted that it was impossible to keep the leaves in proper position whilst they danced it. It was too much of a romp especially for a dry performance.

The social status of the tribe cannot be precisely defined. They are beyond the pale of Hinduism and no member of any recognised caste will eat or drink with them. Juangs themselves will take cooked food water

and sweetmeats from the Bhuiyás but a Bhuiyá will not take even water from a Juáng In course of time no doubt they will attain a higher social position and the first step in this direction has already been taken by their partial adoption of some of the Hindu gods

In 1872 the Juáangs numbered 9 398 in the Tributary States while in 1881 only 3 were returned in Cuttack and 606 in the Tributary States

Jubhingeh a thar or sept of	Jugi a sub caste of Tántis in
Khambus in Darjiling	Dengal

Jugi Jogi a weaving caste of Eastern Bengal many of whose members have of recent years been driven by the competition of English piece goods to betake themselves to agriculture lime burning goldsmiths work and the subordinate grades of Government service The origin of the caste is extremely obscure Buchanan thought it probable that they were either the priesthood of the country during the reign of the dynasty to which Gopi Chandra belonged or Sudras dedicated to a religious life but degraded by the great Saiva reformer Šankara Ācharya and that they came with the Pal Rájás from Western India In Rangpur he found the Jogis living by singing an interminable cyclic song in honour of Gopi Chandra This is all the information collected by that shrewd and trustworthy observer and since the beginning of the century no fresh facts have been added The Masya sub caste of Jugis give the following account of their origin In the Vrihad Yogini Tantra their chief religious work it is written that to Mahadeo were born eight passionless beings (Siddhas) who practised asceticism and passed their lives in religious meditation Their arrogance and pride however offended Mahadeo who exercising his power of Maya or illusion created eight female energies or Yoginis and sent them to tempt the Siddhas It was soon apparent that the virtue of the perfect ones was not so impregnable as they boasted and the issue of their amours were the ancestors of the modern Masya Jugis Another account is that a Sannyási Avadhuta or scholar of Benares who was an incarnation of Siva had two sons the elder by a Bráhmaṇ woman becoming the progenitor of the Ekádasi Jugis—the younger by a Vaisya woman of the Masya but it is probable that this legend has been invented to account for the fact that these two sub castes perform the obsequial rites at different periods

The Ekádasi Jugis when questioned about their descent refer to a Sanskrit work called Vriiddha Śatatapiya in which the Muní Śatatapa relates how the divine Rishi Narada was informed by Brahma that near Benares resided many Bráhmaṇ and Vaisya widows living by the manufacture of thread who had given birth to sons and daughters the offspring of Avadhutas or pupils of Náthas or ascetics The Rishi was further directed to proceed to Kasi and in consultation with the Avadhutas to decide what the caste of these children should be After much deliberation it was determined that the offspring of the Avadhutas and Brahmaṇ widows should belong to the Siva gotra while the issue of the

Vaisya widows should form a class called Nath the former like the Brahmins being impure for eleven days the latter like the Vaisya for thirty days. Both classes were required to read four Vedas to worship their Mantras or female ancestors at weddings to perform each household for itself the Nandi Suddha in the name of their father and to wear the sacred cord. It was further enacted that the dead should be buried the lips of the corpse being touched with milk by the son or grandson. It is from these Brahman widows that the modern Bk dasi Jugis claim to be descended and being of that lineage mourn for only eleven days although they have never assumed the Brahminical cord.

Turning from the ordinary local events to the history of the caste in more modern times we find that most Jugis in Eastern Bengal regard the family of Dalil Jazari in the Noakhali district as the head of their race and recall with some pride the fact that in the middle of last century Braja Ballabh Dalil a Jugi of this family was Dalil or broker his brother Ballabh Dalil being Jachandur or appraiser of the English factory of Churulia on the Meghna. The son of the former voluntarily found in British cloth to so great an extent that the Company in 1806 bestowed on him the title and rank of a Rajprataputram at the same time with a *talukdar* or rent free estate which still held by one of his descendants.

In the Moulvibanz district the Jugis are assuming the sacred thread and this pretension has given rise to numerous quarrels with the Muslims some of which have ended in protracted and vexatious litigation in the Criminal Courts.

On the evidence now available it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the manner in which the caste arose. It rests upon beyond the fact that they are generally looked down upon by Hindus and follow a designation to indicate a different lineage. Independent evidence of non Aryan descent is wholly wanting. There remain the alternatives of degradation or mixed descent both of which play a prominent part in the standard Jihian theory of the formation of castes. But here again we have no data to form a basis for serious discussion. For the present therefore the problem must be abandoned as insoluble.

The internal structure of the caste is stated in Appendix I and may be briefly described here. In Eastern Bengal we find two main sub castes—the **Masya** who perform the *saddha* thirty days (*masa*) after death and the **Ekadasī** who celebrate it after eleven (*ekadasa*) days. The former abound in the southern parts of Bikrampur Tipperah and Noakhali the latter in the north of Bikrampur and throughout the Dacca district generally. No intermarriages take place between them and each refuses to taste food cooked by the other although they drink from each other's water vessels. Besides these divisions arising from the observance of different funeral ceremonies there are others based upon differences of habitat and occupation. The cultivating members of the caste form a distinct group called **Halwa Jugi** and it is alleged that they were outcasted for abandoning the

tradition in pursuit of weaving. The lime burning Jugis of Tipperah are said to have incurred a similar condemnation. In Murshedabad in the other hand the Jugis who lived by weaving cotton cloth are said to have taken to agriculture without qualifying their original designation or modifying their position as the recognised main body of the caste while subcastes have been formed corresponding to the special pursuits which particular groups have adopted. Among these are the Rangrej Jugi who dye cotton thread, the Kambule Jugi who alk-bank it, and the Manihari Jugi who work in lac and weave ribbons. Others again prefer a division into the three groups Rarni, Bairdik and Barendra which seem to have been borrowed from the higher castes in the struggle for social precedence. In India in a fourth division—Khelinda—is added to these. In North India the hereditary territorial groupings appear to be recognised though the numerous divisions are given by Sundip Nath concerning Jugis who live on the island of Sumatra and Bhulua Nath concerning the mainland. Even smaller local divisions occur in some districts. From information that in Murshedabad there are more than a thousand in the community with the Jugis it thus appears while in the Rajahmundry Jugis form a *Samudra* Saraul marry only among themselves.

The Dharmaghare Jugis who are found in Western Bengal are held down upon by the Jugis of other parts of the country. They worship the *Siddha* Muni and other aboriginal deities, and their only relic of the wearing apparel in some form such as that of a *pheta* or turban. They leg from door to door carrying the effigies of these deities in their hand and singing songs in their honour.

They say that their original progenitor an ascetic after obtaining *the* success in *jee* married the daughter of Kasyapa, and had a son by her. When he died his son went to his grandfather Siva (who is reckoned the father of all those that become ascetics) and asked him advice as regards the disposal of his father's dead body. Siva thought it should be buried after the manner of ascetics but the widow wished it to be burned because she had feared he had been a *put* the other householder. So the son wishing to please both compromised matters by putting fire on the mouth of the corpse and then burying it. The more advanced among them affect to follow the Hindu system of the 10 *anayas* or *dasakarma* and to use the same books as the Brahmans such as the work of Bhāradvāja, but is followed by all Samvadi Brahmans. Some of them even attend *tal* or indigenous Sanskrit Colleges but they have to sit in the courtyard and are regarded more or less as intruders.

They say that they have only one *gotra* the Siva and four *parikaras*—Siva, Samahu, Sankara and Apnabati. But as marriage in the same *gotra* is prohibited they have devised a fiction by which the bride at the time of marriage becomes a member of the *Kanyasulk* gotra.

The sections of the caste are of a mixed character. Some have clearly been borrowed from the strict Brahmanical sects while others such as Matsyendra, Goaksha and Birbhairab seem to lend support to the conjecture hazarded above that the caste is in offshoot from some sect of ascetics. In some districts the three heterogeneous groups of Kul'n, Madhyala and Bangal appear to be

recognised while elsewhere there are only two Brahman Jugi and Dandi Jugi. In both cases the rule is said to be observed that a man of a higher group may marry a woman of a lower group but a certain loss of social position is entailed by doing so.

Jugis marry the daughters as infants and follow the standard Hindu ritual as a member of their own caste officiating as priest. Their practice as to exogamy and the reckoning of prohibited degrees is the same as that in vogue among the higher castes. A second wife may be taken if the first is barren or suffers from an incurable disease. Divorce is not formally recognized; a woman found guilty of unchastity is cast off by her husband and turned out of the community. Widows are not allowed to marry again.

The great majority of the caste worship Mahadeo or Siva but a few Vaishnavas are also found among them. The Masya Jugis have no Brahmins who minister to them but a spiritual leader Adhikari elected by the Purohitas referred to below is invested with a cord and styled Brahmin. In Tipperah and Noakhali the cord is still worn but in Dacca of late years it has been discarded. The Adhikari of the Masya Jugis in Dacca is Mathura Purnana of Bargaon in Bikrampur a very illiterate man who can with difficulty read and write Bengali. The post has been hereditary in his family for eight generations and now a days it is only in default of heirs that an election is held. It is a curious circumstance that the Adhikari bestows the *mantra* on the Brahmins of the Ekadasi and occasionally on Sannyasi Jugis although neither acknowledge any subjection to him. The Adhikari has no religious duties to perform as each household employs a Purohit to minister at its religious ceremonies. The Purohit is always a Jugi inducted by the Adhikari and subordinate to him. He is often a relative or marries a daughter of his master. The Adhikari again has his Purohit without whose ministrations neither he nor any member of his family can marry or be buried. The great festival of the Masya Jugis is the Sivaratri held on the fourteenth of the waning moon in Magh (January-February) but they observe many of the other Hindu festivals such as the Jumshtami and offer sacrifices beneath the *lat* tree to the village goddess Siddhesvari. In all religious services they use a twig of the Udumbara or Jagya dumur (*Ficus glomerata*) and regard with special reverence the tulasi bat pipal and tamala (*Diospyros cerisifolia*). They have *ethans* or residences at Brindaban Mathura and Gokula but their chief places of pilgrimage are Benares Gaya and Sitakund in Chittagong. The Ekadasi have Brahmins of their own called Varna Sarman and addressed as Mahatmas who trace their origin from the issue of a Srotriya Brahmin and a Jugi woman. In Bikrampur alone it is estimated there are at least a hundred of these Jugi Brahmins. The majority of this division of Jugis are worshippers of Krishna but a few who follow the Sakti ritual are to be met with. The Gosains who are followers of Nityananda admit Jugi into their communion but those of Advaita decline to have anything to do with them.

The Jugí Bráhmans are with few exceptions illiterate but a few gain a livelihood as Páthaks or readers of the epic poems Jugís are the Mahants of the Kap la Muni shrine in the Sunderbuns and officiate at the Varun festival in Phalgun

In the burial of their dead all Jugís observe the same ceremonies The grave (*samadhi* or *ahsan*) is circular about eight feet deep and at the bottom a niche is cut for the reception of the corpse The body after being washed with water from seven earthen jars is wrapped in new cloth the lips being touched with fire to distinguish the funeral from that of a *sannyasi* or ascetic and a *Mu'medan* A necklace made of the Tulasi plant is placed around the neck and in the right hand a rosary (*japa malá*) The right forearm with the thumb inverted is placed across the chest while the left with the thumb in a similar position rests on the lap the legs being crossed as in statues of Budha Over the left shoulder is hung a cloth bag with four strings in which four cowries are put The body being lowered into the grave and placed in the niche with the face towards the north east the grave is filled in and the relatives deposit on the top an earthen platter with balls of rice (*pinda*) plantains sugar ghi and areca nuts as well as a *huqqa* with its *chullam* (bowl) a small quantity of tobacco and a charcoal ball Finally from three to seven cowries are scattered on the ground as compensation to Vasumati or mother earth for the piece of earth occupied by the corpse Women are interred in the same way as men

The bag with its four cowries and the position of the body are noteworthy With the cowries the spirit pays the Cháran who ferries it across the Vaitarani river the Hindu Styx while the body is made to face the north east because in that corner of the world lies Kailása the Paradise of Siva

The mourning dress of the Jugís is a cotton garment called Jala Kaacha literally netted and manufactured by them and identical with that worn by other Hindus between the death of a relative and the *sraddha* In a corner of this raiment the Jugi ties a piece of iron suspending it over his shoulder On the eleventh day when the funeral obsequies are about to be performed the barber cutting off the iron gives it to the wearer who throws it into the water then bathes offers the *pinda* to the manes of the deceased and returns home

All Jugís believe that the spirits of good men are at death absorbed into the Deity while the bad reappear on earth in the form of some unclean animal but women however exemplary their conduct may have been in this world are not cheered by any assurance of a future state and in their case death involves annihilation

The social status of the caste is very low and they are everywhere reviled by the Hindus without any intelligible reason being given for the treatment to which they are subjected If questioned on the subject of the low position accorded to the Jugís some Hindus will reply that it is because they bury their dead while all orthodox people practise cremation Others again, will explain that the starch of

size they use in weaving is made of boiled rice (*mār*) while the Tantis use parched rice (*khai*) for this purpose. Whatever may be the reason there can be no doubt as to the existence of a very strong prejudice against the caste although the Jugis themselves whom Dr Wicak describes as a contented people affect to laugh at it. The belief in their impurity is carried to such a length that the Jugi has peculiar difficulties in having his children educated as no other boy will live with his son who is consequently obliged to hire lodgings for himself and engage servants of his own. If men of this caste enter the house of any of the clean castes all cooked food and any drinking water in the room are regarded as polluted and are thrown away. In spite of this the barber and washerman who serve the Śūdras work also for them. Jugis themselves moreover are not free from intolerance but they can hardly be blamed for this in a society where a nice sense of ceremonial impurity in other people is a faulty essential to social advancement. They will for example eat food cooked by a Śrotriya Brahman but not that prepared by any Barua Brahman or by a Śūdra, however pure. The Sannyasi Jugi eats with the weaving Jugi but a Bairagi will only touch food given by the Adhikari. Furthermore the Ekalasi Jugi will eat with the Sannyasi if he is a Brahman observing the śraddha on the eleventh day.

Until the last few years the Bengali Jugis were all weavers but now the cloth (*dhoti* and *gam ha*) manufactured by them is gradually being displaced by English piece goods and the Jugi finds it difficult to earn a livelihood by weaving. The Jugi uses a much more cumbrous loom than either the Panti or Julahi but employs the same comb or *shana* while his shuttle (*sh*) is peculiar to himself. The women are as expert weavers as the men the preparation of the warp being exclusively done by them.

The following table shows the number and distribution of Jugis in 1872 and 1881 —

D		I	1872	1881
Barua	7 M	Chitrag	3 1	27 3 1
Ba k		N k h i	33,038	7 879
B i j		Hill Tract		11
M d m j u r	7	I	16	1 448
H h i		Cy	6 44	2 59
H w r a i	0 0 0	S f i l i t	2 14	2 1 7
S i r y a n a s	1 3	T h t { M f i		1
N a d y	8	I { D l i g a	7 538	1
K i f		Sara	2 148	1 447
J r e	8 931	C h m p	2 441	4 4
M r e h d b a d	8 95	M h	7 6	3
I i i	7 7	B i u e l y	1 49	1 3
R a j i j	3 33	I	5 507	2 8
B a g p		M i l h		7
H k		I l r g n a s	3 4 3	1 49
I b		C i k	1 514	5 8 1
U t i		P	7 3	157
J l p g		I h a s	5 422	1 401
K u B h		I l y S t t a s	5 483	1 507
0 m a c a		H l u c h	2 067	1 553
F d p	1	L o h f a g a	3 718	9 99
S k	2	S g i l m	1 01	256
M s i h		M b i	2 567	2 069
T y p e r a h		T L t a y S t a t e s	898	315

Jugidiá a sub-caste of Dhobás in Noákháli

Jugi Muchi or *Kora* a sub caste of Muchis in Bengal

Juláhá a synonym for Jolha

Jungi a synonym for Jugi

Jurhá a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Juruár a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

urwalant a section of Awadhá Hajjás in Behar

Jutaut Bind a sub caste of Binds in Eastern Bengal

Juthasankhwár a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa.

Juthibariar a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Jutiwálá a dealer in boots and shoes These articles are made by the Chamar and Rishi and sold by all Sudras and even by degraded Brahmans The bulk of the trade however is in the hands of Mahomedans The business is reckoned highly respectable and in Eastern Bengal the Mahomedan jutiwalas are strict Farazis never opening their shops or selling a pair of shoes on a Friday

Jyotishi Josi an astronomer or astrologer In Bengal the term usually denotes the Acháryi Brahman who prepares horoscopes

K

Kabá: a section of Majraut
Goalas in Behar

Kabar a section of Rautias in
Chota Nagpur

Kafar: a synonym for Kunjra
in Behar

Kabar Taptwa a sub caste of
Tantwas or w v rs in Behar

Kabi ballabh a title or
popular designation of Baidyas
practising medicine used by
themselves

Kabi bhusan a title or popu-
lar designation of Baidyas
practising medicine used by
themselves

Kabi Indra a title or popular
designation of Baidyas practis-
ing medicine used by them-
selves

Kabir: a title of Bháts

Kabiraj a physician
a synonym for Baidya

Kabiraj a medical practitioner according to the Hindu system. The most respect among them says Dr Wile are generally Baidyas. Kabiraj usually assume bombastic titles such as Kabi ratna Kabi rajan Kabi chandra Kabi Indra Kabi bhushana Kabi ballabha and Baidya nidhi but the popular nickname for all doctors is Nari tepa or pulse feeler. Uneducated practitioners and quacks are known as Háthuria¹ or meddling fellows from *kath* the hand while a still more objectionable and dangerous character is the Talha Kabiraj who goes about with a list (talha) of prescriptions selling them at random and vaunting their virtues in curing all diseases. He is often a plucked student of the Calcutta College or a young man too poor to prosecute his studies until qualified for graduation.

Formerly medicine was taught in pathshalas or schools, the most famous being those of Bikrampur and Kanchrapara on the Hughli but at the present day each practitioner of any reputation has a *tollo* class of pupils to whom he translates and expounds the Sastras if the youths understand Sanskrit but if they do not he merely lectures on the principles and practice of Hindu medicine. A class generally consists of from ten to twelve young men of various Sudra caste and it is computed that about 12 per cent of the Dacca Kabirajs are sufficiently versed in Sanskrit to interpret it.

The two principal text books of the Bengal physicians are the *Madhava Nidhi* or commentary on the *Ayur veda* and the *Chakravartin*. The former written by a celebrated doctor *Madhava Kara* chiefly treat of the diagnosis of diseases while the latter named after the writer who was physician and steward of the court of Gaur is a later and less valued work. Each Kabiraj has a particular master and system but the greatest teacher *Dhanvantari* the physician of the gods is obeyed by all. In the *Brahma*

Vaivartha Purāna the names of fifteen great physicians are preserved but only the following are invoked by the modern doctor namely —

Dhanwantari		Kasi Raja
Divodasa		Nakula
Sahadeva		

The first three are often identified with one person the fourth and fifth are the twin sons of Surya the physicians of Svarga or heaven. On all occasions of anxiety Mahadeva or Vaidyanatha lord of physicians is also addressed in prayer.

The chief causes of the stagnation of Hindī medicine which has lasted from prehistoric times appear to be the discontinuance of the study of anatomy the belief that the medical Sastras being of divine origin are infallible and the selfishness of successive generations of physicians in concealing the results of their experience and observation. Kabirajs of the present day often blindly follow the teaching of the Ayur veda notwithstanding the opinion that the habits and constitution of the human race and the prevailing type of diseases have altered since the archaic days of their teachers.

The candid physician confesses that his brethren have not the magnanimity to divulge the merits of a drug which chance or experience taught them to value and although it is revealed to a son favourite pupil the secret is kept from the profession at large and consequently is often lost at the death of the discoverer.

The real Baidya always dispenses his own prescriptions but as this consumes much time and necessitates his limiting the number of his patients apprentices are employed in pounding and triturating drugs while the minute subdivision into powders is done by himself in a private recess of the house. Before beginning his work the Baidya observes a custom peculiar to physicians of his caste namely the worship of Vaidyanatha after which the medicine is divided into four parts one being offered to the Elements a second to a Brahman a third being retuned by the physician and a fourth sent to the patient. As a rule drugs are procured from the shop of the Ganthabank or Sansari but in olden days the physician had to go himself to the forest and collect whatever herb he wanted.

Consultations are usually held in difficult cases but the physician who is quite the Sastras most fluently and interminably is too often deemed the most learned and skillful doctor. Although the Sastras declare that physic given by the hands of a Baidya has an intrinsic virtue not possessed when it is administered by any other caste the populace have no such conviction and as soon as the treatment of a Baidya fails the patient has no hesitation in placing himself under any other doctor whatever his caste or colour who has acquired the reputation of curing his particular ailment.

The present state of Hindu medicine in Bengal is sketched in the following particulars obtained from the Kabirajs themselves.

Kabirajs believe that the human race has degenerated and that the constitutions of the present generation have changed and they cite as an instance the type of fever now prevalent which is more

acute and less tractable than the fevers described in the Sastras. In these works it is enjoined that for seven days no medicines are to be given to a patient and that he is to fast or only take liquid food but now as soon as a diagnosis is formed and a propitious hour found the first dose is given. The examination of the pulse is regarded of primary importance and many doctors are credited with being able to distinguish a disease by its character. The inspection of the urine is not considered as it is by the Hakim of much value for should a doctor touch the physician he becomes unclean and must at once bathe. When it is inspected the sample is always mixed with mustard oil and the density of the water estimated by the buoyancy of the oil.

Venesection is never performed at the present day as the type of the ordinary diseases contra indicates its use but cupping or leeches are occasionally ordered. In apoplexy and some forms of hysteria the actual cautery is still employed and the potential cautery (kshara) is used for destroying piles and in a fine state of division is made into an embrocation and applied over the enlarged spleen and liver.

In the Sastras enemata are recommended but whether owing to the clumsy syringes employed or to the strange aversion of all Eastern nations to their use Hindu physicians ceased to order them. Kabirajs however are beginning to follow the example of English doctors but much latent opposition is encountered.

Hindu physicians have arrived at the following conclusions regarding the most valued European drugs. Quinine in extensive use throughout Bengal is popularly regarded as a heroic remedy and as causing when injudiciously used the fever to tell permanently hold or to return after a short interval. The natives further believe that it drives the fever into the bones and that if once taken it prevents all other febrifuges from being of the least benefit. As a tonic however during convalescence from fever it is admitted by all to be invaluable and unequalled. In extreme cases of fever after violent delirium has set in a pill containing a small quantity of cobra poison (*bish bari*) mixed with other ingredients is administered by the Kabiraj. When a man is at the point of death and all other medicines have been tried bits of all the other pills are pounded together and mixed with honey or juice of the betel leaf and given as the last resource.

With educated practitioners the use of mercury has quite gone out of fashion and iodide of potassium taken its place but the victims of its abuse are still lamentably common and scarcely a hospital in Bengal is ever without several poor creatures permanently maimed or disfigured by it.

English or American sarsaparilla is not much esteemed as a *pat* or *pachan* of from thirty to sixty ingredients is considered a better alternative. The patient being given twenty one powders made of a jumble of herbs takes one daily and boils it in a seer of water until only a quarter remains then straining and putting aside the sediment he drinks the decoction. After the twenty one days have expired all the sediments are taken reboiled and the decoction drunk for eleven days longer. Finally the sediment is put

into boiling water and with it the patient takes a vapour bath (bhai r)

Cod liver oil is considered inferior as a nutrient tonic to divers pills and powders prepared by Kabirajs and in consumption an oil called *uchanlanadi* made of til oil and numerous herbs is pronounced more beneficial

Chikn b th prohibited in health is often prescribed in lingering diseases while the good effects of port wine and brandy in the treatment of low types of fever are acknowledged

Pills prepared at Lughli druggist are objected to as the magnesium junkle (over them interfere) it is thought with the action of the medicine consequently the Hindu pills rolled with the fingers and mixed with honey or the juice of the *belu* or *gan* (leaves) is preferred

Such are the notions and opinions of the better class of native physicians but the description would be incomplete if it omitted all allusion to the uneducated practitioner met with in every village of Bengal who secure an extensive and by no means unprofitable practice among classes unable to pay for better medical advice. He is often a superannuated barber or fisherman who has obtained from the strolling bairagi or faquir a receipt to cure all diseases. There is perhaps no single complaint which so often awakens the inventive talent which often as enlargement of the spleen and he who acquires notoriety as the possessor of a remedy is courted by all classes. A very nutritious diet of milk fish and vegetables is always ordered by these shrewd observers and is generally assigned by sceptics as the explanation of cures which they undoubtedly sometimes effect

An amateur doctor residing in the outskirts of Dacca earned a lasting reputation by using a vesicatory made with the root of the *Kalchitra* and applied over the spleen. He however acquired much of its efficacy to a secret invocation addressed in the act of applying the paste to Lakshmi Narayana. The Hindu medicine never relies as much on the virtues of a cup of water over which a mantra has been murmured as any Muhammadan peasant and the water of the Ganges water taken from a tidal river at the time of the tide or water in which the Gossain has bathed have each their crowd of admirers

In Bengal as in ancient Egypt and Greece certain crimes are still celebrated for the cure of intractable diseases. The most famous are those of Tarakesvara in Hughli sacred to Mahadeva of Vailymtha in the Santal Parganas and of Gondulpur in Hughli famous in cases of hydrophobia. The device followed at the last place is for the bitten person after fasting to defray the expense of a special service and to receive a piece of red broadcloth (Sultani banat) impregnated with the suif of a lamp wick and secreted in the heart of a plantain called *kathah lala*. As long as this charm is preserved and the patient abstains from eating this variety of plantain the effects of the bite are warded off. Another plan is for the patient to take a secret medicine probably cantharides pounded with 21 pepper corns before the 21st day. The effect of

this is to make the patient pass urine and mucus—the latter believed to be *kukur ka lacha* the dog's whelp leading to cure

Kabiraj a title of the head men of the Dom caste in Behar who have under them servants called *Chhauris* to execute or communicate their orders

Kabiranjani a title or popular designation of Baidyas practising medicine used by themselves

Kabir ratna a title or popular designation of Baidyas practising medicine used by themselves

Kabirdás *Kalirpanthi Kabir* a follower of the religious reformer

Kabir (1488–1512) who taught a monotheistic and tolerant form of Vaishnavism

Kableár a section of Kayasths in Behar

Kabra a section of Mahesris

Kach tortoise a totemistic sept of Bhuiyás in Chota Nagpur

Kach crab a totemistic section of the Paripal sub caste of Sunnis in Manbhum

Kachaisá a sub caste of Kurmis in Behar

Kacharu, a small caste of East in Bengal who claim to be an offshoot of the Kayasths and tell the following story to explain the separation—A rich and aspiring Kayasth determined on celebrating the worship of Kali in his own house contrary to the wishes of his brethren and performed the ceremony but was punished by being excommunicated. This is a most improbable story as the Kacharu caste is dispersed throughout Eastern Bengal being very numerous at Madinipur in Faridpur and it has a furolit of its own. The Sulra barber and washerman work for them although their water vessels are uncleans. It is far more probable that if they ever were Kayasths which is unlikely they are expelled like the Chhota bhagiya Jantis for adopting a new trade.

The caste has three gotas—Aliman Kasyapa and Parasara. Their patronymics are Datta Dás and De. The principal festival kept is in honour of Viswa-Karma in Bhadra (August–September).

In Dacca the Kacharu are gradually relinquishing their caste trade the manufacture of lac bracelets (*lacha*) in which Muhammadans also engage and are acting as traders, grocers and shopkeepers.

Kachá Simar a *mul* or section of the Satmaha or Kishnaut sub caste of Goals in Behar

Kachchhap (the tortoise) a totemistic section of Baidis, Bhars and Mals in Western Bengal

Kachchhuá a section of Cheros in Chota Nagpur

K chera a *mul* or section of the Kanauja sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Kachgawai a section of the Amashta sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Kach Gotra a section of the Banwar sub caste of Baniyas in Behar

Kachhati a *gam* of the Bhadraraja *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Káchhgót a totemistic section of Nunias in Behar

Kachhrá a section of the Karan sub caste of Káyasths in Behar

Kachhriya a sept^d of the Rautar sub tribe of Tharus in Behar

Kachiári a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Kachim tortoise a totemistic section of Kumhars in the Santál Parganas a section of Telis in Bengal

Káchimár a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Kachnaria a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kachoá a *mul* or section of the Thumá Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Kachra Mech a sub tribe of Meches in the Darjiling Terai

Kachu a title of Bangaja Kayasths in Bengal

Kachua Kachhua or **Kachchh** tortoise a section of Kanaujia Halwais in Behar The use of the word to distinguish an exogamous group may perhaps be regarded as a survival of totemism a *gotra* or section of Hindu Jolahas and Golas in Behar A sept or section of Chiks Lohars Goránts

Gonds Ghásis Oraons Mundas Turis Tantis Telis and of Doms in Chota Nagpur a sub sept of the Kisku sept of Santáls Asuras Binjhás Golas Bedias Bhuiyas Chamars and Kharwars in Chota Nagpur also of Khandaits in Orissa and of Kamars in Singhbhum and the Santal Parganas

Kachui, a sept of the Tungjainya sub tribe of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kachwá a tortoise the totem of a section of Oraon Dhangus settled for several generations in Behar a sept of Rajput in Behar

Kachwáha a sept of the Suryabansi sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Kádá a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Kadáchás a title of Kaibartas in Bengal

Kádál a *gain* of the Sandilya *gotra* of Barhi Brahmans in Bengal

Kadam naucl a *grandipola* a totemistic section of Khandaits in Orissa

Kadar a sub caste of Kadars

Kadir, Bhuiya a non Aryan caste of cultivators fishermen and day labourers in Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas probably a degraded offshoot from the Bhuiya tribe They are divided into two sub castes—Kadar and Naiya—the latter of which may possibly have been developed from among the priests of the forest gods who are usually called Laya or Naya in Western Bengal There is also a separate caste bearing the name Naiya, the members of which disown all connexion with the Kadir The first of the Kadir are shown in Appendix I Among them is found Likhari the characteristic eponym of the Musahars and the Northern Bhuiyas Most of the others have names familiar as titles

of the low castes in Behar. These have become exogamous groups among the Káders while at the same time the system has been greatly complicated by the fact that owing to supposed differences of descent and standing some of the groups only intermarry with certain other groups. In all cases the rule of exogamy is one-sided and alliances with near relatives not excluded by that rule are barred by the stellar formula *mam ra chi her q* etc. calculated in the descending line to seven generations on the father's side and three on that of the mother. The conclusion suggested by a careful examination of the history is that the Kádar caste was originally a branch of the Bhuiya but has since been recruited from other sources. The vagueness of the word Bhuiya would obviously rather lend itself to this process. Whatever may be the origin of the Kádars they are certainly a group of considerable antiquity for they are referred to in the account of the origin of the human race communicated to Lacoutant Shaw by the Mal Paharias in 1738.

Kádars marry their daughters as infants or as adults according to their means the former practice being deemed the more respectable. Their marriage ceremony is of the type common among low caste Hindus *simha lan* being the principal rite. The village barber officiates as priest. Polygamy is allowed in the sense that a man may take a second wife if he has no children by his first wife. Widows may marry again by the *ajai* form and are subject to no restrictions in their choice of a second husband except those arising from the prohibited degrees. The ceremony consists simply of the application of vermilion to the woman's forehead in the presence of her relatives. It deserves notice that the Kádar custom requires a *ajai* marriage to be performed in the open air and will not permit to take place within the house thus reversing the ordinary practice under which the marriage of a virgin is celebrated in the courtyard while the less reputable *ajai* ritual is relegated to the women's apartments at the back of the house. Divorce is freely permitted and divorced women may marry again.

Special interest attaches to the religion of the Kádars representing a comparatively early stage in the process of conversion to Brahmanism which the aboriginal races of Bengal are now undergoing. The real working religion of the caste is in fact pure animism of the type which still survives comparatively untouched by Hindu influences among the Santal, Munda and Oraon of Chota Nagpur. Like these the Kádars believe themselves to be compassed about by a host of invisible powers some of whom are thought to be the spirits of departed ancestors while others seem to embody nothing more definite than the vague sense of the mysterious and uncanny with which hills, streams, and lonely forests inspire the savage imagination. On these shadowy forms no images are made nor are they conceived of as wearing any bodily shape. A roughly moulded lump of clay set up in an open shed, a queer shaped stone bedaubed with vermilion—this is all the visible presentment that does duty for a god. Their names are legion and their attributes barely

known. No one can say precisely what functions are allotted to K'iru Dano Hardiya Dano Simia Dano Ihar Dano Mohandua Lulu Lardona and the rest. But so much is certain that to neglect their worship brings disasters upon the off and on death or disease in his household or murrain among his cattle and blight on his crops. In order to avert these ills but so far as I can gather without the hope of deriving any positive benefit from gods who are active only to do evil the Kadar sacrifices pigs fowls goats pigeons and offers ghi molasses and beads of Indian corn in the unsacred grove where his deities are believed to dwell. The priest is a man of the caste who combines the sacred functions with the evil barbaric to the Kadars of the village and neighbourhood. The offerings are eaten by the worshippers. For all this the Kadars if questioned about their religion will reply that they are Hindus and will talk vaguely about Irameswar Mahadeo and Vishnu as if they lived in the very odour of orthodoxy instead of being in fact they are wholly outside of the Brahmanical system. To talk about the Hindu gods is usually the first step towards that insensible identification of the externals of Hinduism which takes the place of the formal and open conversion which sterner and less adaptive creeds demand. The next thing is to set up Brahmans whose influence further by a variety of small forges gradually deposes the tribal gods and turns them into orthodox shapes and gives them places in the regular Pantheon as local manifestations of this or that well known principle or relegates them to a decent and inoffensive obscurity as household or village deities. Last of all if the tribe is an influential one and its leading men hold land they give themselves brevet rank as Rajputs.

Kadars burn their dead and bury the ashes at the place of cremation on the second day after death. On the thirteenth day a sort of propitiatory sacrifice is performed which is repeated after an interval of six months. No special offerings are made for the benefit of ancestors in general.

The social rank of the caste is very low if judged by the current standard of food. Doms and Haris are the only people who will take either food or water

from the hands of a Kadar and though he himself will eat with Khar and Ihar neither of these will return the compliment. K'ir eat beef pork fowl and field rats and indulge freely in strong drink. Concerning beef the Kadars on whose statements this article is mainly based were careful to explain that they only eat the flesh of cattle that had died a natural death. Thus they deal with reference to the popular belief that Kalars kill and eat cattle while grazing in the jungle. Most of the caste are agricultural day labourers and comparatively few have got land of their own or acquired occupancy rights.

Fishing and wood cutting are their other occupations. On certain occasions they worship the axe and sickle symbolically.

In 1823 there were 7120 Kadars in Bhagalpur while in 1857 they numbered in Gaya 13 Darbhanga 4 Saran 5 Bhagalpur 1170 and Santal Parganas 102.

Kádaraí **Kádare** a section of Bábhans in Behar

Kadayán **Kadí'n** a section of Goálas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kaet a synonym for **Kayasth**

Kaethoar **curry vegetable** a totemistic sept of Lohars

Kaghazí a paper maker an occupation carried on exclusively by Mahomedans

Kahal a synonym for **Kahar**

Kahar a sub caste of Tántis in Behar

Kahár a large cultivating and palanquin bearing caste of Behar many of whose members are employed as domestic servants by Natives and Europeans. The Brahmanical genealogists represent the **Kaha** as a mixed caste descended from a Brahman father and a Nishada or Chandál mother but it seems more likely that they are a remnant of one of the primitive races who occupied the valley of the Ganges before the incursion of the Aryans. In one sense indeed the **Kahars** may perhaps be regarded as a mixed caste since their ranks have probably been recruited by members of other castes who adopted the same profession while their employment as domestic servant in high caste families may well have led to some infusion of Aryan blood. Like the Bauris and Búdis of Bengal they admit into their community Brahmans Rajputs Kayasths and Kurmis and children of **Kahar** women by men of those castes on condition of performing certain religious ceremonies and giving a feast to the heads of the caste. Instances of men born in a higher caste applying for enrolment as **Kahars** are probably rare and occur only when the applicant has been turned out of his own caste for an intrigue with a **Kahar** woman. Still the mere existence of the rule seems to show that such things do happen sometimes and in any case the admission of the children of **Kahar** women by men of the higher castes must have had some effect on the type. The physical appearance of the caste rather bears out the view that they are of mixed descent. Their features often approach the Aryans but they generally have darker complexions than are met with among the higher castes. Mr Nesfield renders the name **Kahar** a water carrier and considers the caste to be sprung from fishing tribes such as the Gondhs, the Turaha or Dhuria and the Dhimar. He adds that **Kahar** is ambiguous as a caste designation and is applied specifically to that caste which has entirely and for any generations continually withdrawn from the occupation of fishing, boatmen etc. and which now exclusively devotes itself to domestic service. Another and I think more plausible explanation is given by Sir Graves Haughton (Bengali Sanskrit Dictionary) who suggests that the word may be a corruption of *karth + thar* meaning a man who bears burdens on the shoulder.

The **Kahars** themselves claim descent from Purusudha king of Magadha and have attributed to him the origin of their name.

Las y h k i tel le Kewatj th t A s s Mlom
s d i th s s s

Bhagawan it is said had a beautiful garden on the Giriyak hill near Rajgir in Cya which in a year of unusual drought was nearly destroyed. He therefore promised the hand of his daughter and half his kingdom to any one who should water the garden plentifully with Ganges water in a single night. Chandriwat the husband of the Kahars undertook the task. He built the long embankment called the A urabanli to bring the waters of the L iwan (Anga) to the foot of the hill and from the reservoir thus formed his tribe men watered the garden with a series of swing lifts (*lan*). When Bhagawan saw the work was done he repented of his promise to give his daughter to a man of low degree and caused the cock to crow before dawn at the same time taunting the Kahars with having failed in their undertaking. Deceit by this ruse and fearing that Bhagawan would slay them for attempting to win his daughter for their chief the Kahars fled in haste and when morning broke next a man was there to claim fulfilment of the promise. The flight was so hurried that they carried with them the implement used for watering the garden. Those who took the bamboo were called Kahars those who took the ropes were called Magahiyas. Rahmans while two other classes got the names of Dhuruk and Rurur for some reason which the story does not tell. It is added that Bhagawan rewarded the Kahars to the extent of giving them three and a half sars of food grain (*or*) per man and thus or its money value is the price they paid for their flight.

The following sub-castes of Kahars are found in Behar —

It is to be noted that the following sub-castes are found in Behar —
Rawani or Ramani, Dhuria, Dhimar, Kharwara, Turha, Jaswar, Garhuk or

Garauwa, Bisaria and Magahiyas. The origin of the groups is obscure and the distinctions between them seem to be very imperfectly understood. Some say that in former days there were no sub-castes at all and that the entire caste had its headquarters at Ramanpur near Gaya. The chief however married two wives who quarrelled so violently that he was compelled to remove one of them to Jaspur. His descendants formed the Jaswar sub-caste while the members of the family who remained at Ramanpur were known as Ramanis or Rawanis. The Dhurias are boatmen and fishermen and also collect the *ughara* or water chestnut (*Tigra Bipinova*, Roxb). The Dhimars carry palanquins, catch fish, make nets and are employed as field labourers and coolies. The Kharwara say they came from Khairagarh and may possibly be Kharwa who have taken to carrying palanquins. The Turha believed also in fish and vegetables to be their original occupation but they cultivate and carry palanquins like the other sub-caste.

Among the Rawani Khar of the Santal Parganas we find the

totemistic sections Nag and Kasyapa while the same sub-caste in Behar have a local section called L iwanpur. For the most part however the caste appears to have lost its sections and marriage is regulated by the standard fixity of inter-caste prohibited degrees calculated by the number of generations in the female line. Some however say that the L iwanpur eat rice as far as any relation can be

traced. Girls are usually married in infancy but this is not absolutely indispensable and no disgrace attaches to a family which is unable on account of poverty to get its daughters married before the age of puberty. The marriage ceremony is of the standard type and appears not to differ materially from that described by Mr Grierson in *Bihar District Life*. Polygamy is allowed but the number of wives a man may have is limited to three. A widow may marry again by the *siya* form and is not compelled to marry her deceased husband's younger brother though this is considered very proper for her to do so. When a widow marries an outsider he is expected to pay a bride price of Rs. 2 to her relatives and a fee of Re. 1 to the headman of the caste. Divorce is permitted on the ground of adultery with the sanction of the panchayat and divorced wives may marry again. If a woman is convicted of an intrigue with a man of a lower caste who would not be eligible for admission into the Kahar community she is at once excommunicated. But if her paramour is a Brahman Rajput Kayasth or Kurmi the offence may be condoned by giving a feast to the panchayat. This is a strong and well-organised body on which every head of a family is bound to serve when summoned. It is presided over by a *sarfar* whose office is hereditary. Under him again is a *chharidar* or staff bearer charged with the duty of calling the panchayat together and seeing its orders carried out.

So far as the worship of the greater gods is concerned the religion of the Kahars is much the same as that of other caste of similar social standing. Most of them are worshippers of Siva or the Saktis and the proportion of Vaishnavas among them is very small. Members of the Rawna sub-caste observe a peculiar worship in honour of Ganesha on the seventh day of the waxing moon of Kartik (October-November) when accompanied by Brahmans they proceed to a wood and make offerings of vegetable fruits and sweetmeats under an *al* tree (*Ehllanthus mitchellii*) but never sacrifice any animal. A feast is then given to the Brahmans after which the Kahars drink spirits to excess. The entertainment of Brahmans on this day is accounted as meritorious as the gift of five cows on any other occasion. In addition to *Dul Kurta* *Bundi* *Cheya* *Dhruam Raj* *Sokh* *Sundh* and *Ram Phakur* whose worship is common throughout Bihar the cast pay special reverence to a deified Kahar called *Dumubir* before whose effigy rudely daubed in red and black paint goats are sacrificed and betel leaves, sweetmeats and various kinds of cake offered at marriage, during harvest time and when illness or disaster threatens the household. As a rule these are performed only by the members of the family who should offer among themselves. In Bhujpur however the Mathur Brahman who is invited to perform the ritual is recalled in to sacrifice to *Dumubir* and a half of the offerings is then perquisite. Monday, Wednesday and Fridays of the days set apart for the worship of *Dumubir*. Through out Bihar the status of the Brahmans who work for Kahars as priests appears to be a comparatively

degraded one and they are not received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order. The *jun* of the caste is often a Bairagi or Nanak hahi ascetic. Kaliai lura then laid a l perform the ceremony of *siddh* on the thirty first day after the death of a hahar buried near the burning place under a small platform of mud on the top of which a tulsi tree is planted.

Agriculture, palanquin bearing and revenue are the occupations of the higher castes. At the present day Mr. Neill holds that the Kaliai is an offshoot from the higher castes. He lays stress on the fact that his primary function is that of drawing and bringing water for the bath or the tillage and the like. His labour is employed for various other uses such as taking care of cloth, sewing the rooms, kneading the dough for preparing toiling, carrying the palanquin, etc. It is however equally probable that the functions of the caste were developed in an order of that laid down by Mr. Neill. The people who were engaged to perform the respectable duty of bringing drinking water for the higher castes would hardly take the minutely manual occupation of carrying palanquins. Moreover the higher castes have always been regarded as specially unlearned and their functions would be those which are for a duty closely connected with the caste system as that of giving water for the bath is. On the other hand when the members of a particular caste had not been established as palanquin bearers then they would always be exempted from the ground of mere convenience to put them to the high duties of personal service. The fact of a man being engaged in a journey has always been recognised as a sufficient reason for the exemption of the rule regarding the prohibition of work. It is not unlikely that while travelling a man would have to look after his personal wants and have no time to attend to the accounts of the landholders. In Chota Nagpur also the Kaliai are aware that they had maintained their caste out of Bhuiya Rajvar and the like even in the time of the British when they were put to by having to travel with men from whose hands they could not take water without losing caste.

Kaliai engaged in personal service consider themselves superior to those who merely carry palanquins. The soil and demand a higher bride price when they give their daughters to them in marriage. Cultivating Kaliai are rarely found occupying any higher position than that of a pany raiyats while many of them are landless day labourers paid in cash or kind.

Socially the caste ranks with Kurmis and Coal and Ishmans will take water and certain kinds of sweetmeat from their hands. Traces of their lowly origin may perhaps be seen in the fact that many of them will eat fowls and vegetables and all that the Bhakti or a caste members of the caste indulge in to drink. Mr. Sherring says that some of them are not so but this does not appear to be the case in Chota Nagpur. In spite of this comparative laxity of diet they observe some curious

prohibitions of their own. Thus a Kahar engaged in personal service with a Brahman Rajput Babhan Kayasth or Agarwal will only eat his master's leavings so long as he is himself unmarried. They are also particular to explain that their women may not wear nose rings or have their foreheads tattooed.

It was stated in the first paragraph of this article that the Kahars are properly a Bihari caste. A certain number of them however regularly seek employment outside the province and some of them become regularly domiciled. The following particulars regarding the outlying branches of the caste are taken from Dr. Wilson's notes —

The Kahars being the most docile and industrious of workmen is in much request throughout India and of late years he has been in great demand as a coolie for the tea gardens of Assam, Kachar and Chittagong. A few also come yearly from Chhatisgarh being employed in the city of Dacca as coolies, porters and domestic servants but they always return home as soon as a little money has been saved.

Kahars domiciled in Bengal and known as Doliyas are proscribed by their Hindu neighbours and having ceased to observe the peculiar customs of the caste they have adopted those of the despised Bengali Sudras. The Doliya is met with along the old post road between Dacca and Calcutta and the Mungeri on the Padma river twenty-five houses are occupied by them while in Faridpur still larger settlements occur. In Mungeri travelling long no longer the custom in the country the Doliya has become cultivators, domestic servants and shopkeepers in cities. The Rawani Kahar is an eager and indefatigable sportsman but the Doliya is content to catch fish in traps and is very busy hunting and snaring game. In one respect the Doliya is a Hindu, his dieting is to him as to the Hindu, he eats the same food as the Hindu but he rejects pork which is still a favourite article of food with his Hindu neighbours. The Doliyas rejected by the Hindus and by the Bengali Sudras have a Brahman of their own and all belong to a gotra called Aliman. The majority are Saiva worshippers but a few are Vaishnavas.

In Bengal the Hindi name Mahari is applied to any palanquin bearers not Kahars and in Dacca bearers either belong to the Mitra Sena subdivision of the Bhuiyari caste or to the Kandho branch of the Chandál. A few Muhammadan palanquin bearers called Doliyas or Sawari Walas may occasionally be picked up but their numbers are yearly diminishing.

Last century the title Kahar was at Patna the distinctive appellation of a Hindu slave as Maula Zaid was of a Muhammadan and the tradition in 1774 was that the Kahar slavery took its rise when the Muhammadans first invaded Northern India. S. Buchan observes that the Rawanis have been entirely reduced to slavery and does not say one of them pretend to a free birth but many produce

their liberty by the inability of their masters to maintain them and many more are allowed to do as they please for a subsistence

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Kahárs in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	District	1872	1881
B dw	1 156	1 74	Chitt g g	7	2 063
B k ra	3 4	7	N kh l	1 148	1 776
B l l	3 3	2 71	H l l Tracts	50	
M t	1 13	3	P t	74 72	8 863
H l l	4	1	C	106 788	118 644
H l h	4	1	l t bad	5 064	71 948
l t as	1 491	2 21	l h t { M ff rp	32 3	39 44
N t	2 93	1	{ D l hanga	31 566	1 0 0
K l l		3	S	22 21	4 28
J	6	4 7	l p	4 7	9 202
M t t d	3 4 6	7	M l	2 27	31 348
I j j	7 9	3 1	H l l	9 758	8 117
Raj l hy	5	1	l	2 741	3 147
R g	7 7	3	M l h	12 918	16 345
D	2 1		l l ga as		478
P l	37	2	C t k		8
I j l		4	I		196
I l l	17	1 77	H l		10
K l B h		1 7	r l		26 674
D	14 6	1	H l l ucl	22	33 83
f d		3	I l l	17	29
B k g j	1 7	4 1	M l l	1	6 84
M	1	4 7	T l	680	346
T rah	17	1	T l y States		

Kahhál an oculist a profession followed by both Hindus and Mahomedans. In Darbhanga there are schools of ophthalmic surgery and Hindu oculist from that district travel about Behar in the cold season when operations can be most safely undertaken. Many oculists belong to the Khatri caste. In Eastern Bengal similar schools exist but they are in the hands of Mahomedans.

Kahinoar a *mul* or section of the Fimmalia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar.

Kahraur a sept of the Chandrabansi division of Rajputs in Behar.

Kah tsho-bo a *mul* or sept of Dejong Lhoris in Darjuling the members of which are of a low mixed origin.

Kahu crow a sub sept of the Besri sept of Santals.

Kaiare a *mul* of the Bátisya section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar.

Kaibartta a sub caste of Ke wats in Bengal.

Kaibartta *Kaibartta Da Chara Da Hila Da Para ar Das Dhna a Khyc* a large fishing and cultivating caste of Bengal proper taking rank below the Nivāsika or group of nine castes from whose hands a Brahman may take water.

No serious attempt can be made to trace the origin of the Kaibartta. The physical characters of the caste are not marked enough to throw any certain light on their descent while their exogamous divisions having been obviously borrowed from the Brahman contribute in no way to the solution of the question. All that can be said is that they are one of

the characteristic castes of the deltaic districts of Bengal that the nucleus of the group was probably Dravidian but that their original cast of feature may have been to some extent refined by a slight infusion of Aryan blood. The type as it stands at present is distinctly an intermediate one equally removed from the extreme types of Aryan and Dravidian races found in Bengal.

There seem to be good grounds for the belief that the Kaibarttas were among the earliest inhabitants of Bengal and occupied a commanding position. Many centuries ago five separate princedoms—Jamralipta or Iamluk, Bahsita, Turka, Suja-nuta and Kutabpur—are said to have been founded by them in the Midnapur district and it is perhaps not unreasonable to infer from this tradition that that part of the country must have been one of the earliest seats of the tribe. The fact that none of them are now found occupying the position of large landholders is readily accounted for by the extinction of some families and the transformation of others into pseudo Rajputs.

(Concerning the etymology of the name Kaibartta there has been considerable difference of opinion. Some derive it from *ka* water and *bat* livelihood but Lassen says that the use of *ka* in this sense is extremely unusual in early Sanskrit and that the true derivation is *Kivritta* a corruption of *Kimvarta* meaning a person following a low or degrading occupation. This he adds would be in keeping with the pedigree assigned to the caste in Manu where the Kaibartta also known as Margava or Dasa is said to have been begotten by a Nishada father and an Ayogavi mother and to subsist by his labour in boats. On the other hand the Brahma Vaivartta Purana gives the Kaibartta a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother a far more distinguished parentage for the Ayogavi being born from a Sudra father and a Vaisya mother is classed as *pratiloma* begotten against the hair or in the inverse order of the precedence of the castes.

In another place† Lassen mentions a story told by an obscure Greek writer Ctesias in his book *On the Indians* how the people of the village Kytios fill their goats upon fish and goes on to say seeing that in popular speech the name of the mixed caste Kaibartta to whom the business of boating and fishing has been allotted must become *Kivatta* and the *ka* would drop out in Greek this village doubtless situated on the sea or on a river must have derived its name from the fact that it was inhabited by Kaibartas. Whatever may be thought of this as a specimen of a kind of conjecture of which Indian antiquarian research furnishes too many examples the passage seems to deserve quotation partly for the curious and characteristic story which it contains and partly for the opinion which it expresses that Kewat and Kaibartta are merely two names for the same tribe or at any rate for the same occupation. Kaibartta the Sanskrit or Prakrit form has been preserved in Bengal and is still in general use as the name of the caste in question while the shorter form Kewat has become current in Behar.

* *Ind. Alt.* 770

† *Ind. Alt.* iii 342

The simplest explanation of the relation between the Kaibartta and the Kewat appears then to be that both belonged to one and the same tribe but that the branch which settled in Behar gradually became endogamous and adopted a Hindi name so that the two groups are now virtually distinct castes and have been so treated in this book. Numerous instances could be cited in which endogamous groups originally formed within the body of an existing caste have in course of time severed their connexion with the parent group and come to be accepted as distinct castes. As is usual in such cases the two groups stand or affirm to stand on a different social level and the group bearing a Sanskritised name arrogates to itself some sort of undefined superiority. In Orissa on the other hand the two names are current side by side but Kaibartta is used by members of the caste while only outsiders have the bad taste to talk of Kewat.

In the case of the Kewat and Kaibartta several legends have arisen to account for the separation of the two branches which deserve notice for the light they throw upon the growth of this sort of folklore. One of them tells how in Bengal there was a powerful tribe called Kewat whom Ballal Sen raised to the grade of pure Sudras conferring on them the title of Kaibartta in return for their undertaking to abandon their original profession of fishing. The Kanaujia Brahmins however refused to officiate for them on their promotion and the Vysoкта Brahmins were appointed to be their priests. Now these Brahmins are either the descendants of or as another story has it were appointed by Vyasa himself the son of a fisher girl Matyuganila by Larasia Muni. The Kaibarttas of Bengal claim the same parentage and allege that at the great assembly of the caste before Ballal Sen they urged their right as the descendants of the Muni Vyasa to be included among the Nabasakha. But Ballal Sen refused to listen to their plea and allotted them one of the most degraded priest. At the present day the Brahmins who serve the Kaibartta are generally despised that no clean Sudra will touch anything cooked by them and in reality they rank beneath the Suira.

A variety of legends are current in the Midnapur district concerning the origin of the Vysoкта Brahmins who serve the Kaibarttas as priests. They are said to be descended from Barhu a sage who composed heterodox Puranas and was cursed by Brahma with the curse that he and his descendants should be priests to men of the Sudra caste. In consequence of this curse the Vysoktas were told off to serve the Kaibarttas the children of Bidur on the banks of the Sarayu river.

Another story tells how the Kaibarttas rendered a great service to Ballal Sen and were told to name their reward. They asked the King to compel the local Brahmins to serve them as priests but the Brahmins refused to obey and the King in order to keep his promise vowed that the first man he saw in the morning should be made the Kaibarttas priest. Next morning early when the King looked out the first man he saw was his own sweeper sweeping out the courtyard. This was not quite what the Kaibarttas meant but the

King's vow had to be kept so the sweeper was invested with the sacred thread and sent to minister to the Kaibarttas

A third legend says that after the Kaibarttas had settled in Midnapur a certain Kaibartta merchant dug a big tank in Parganá Kasijora. To consecrate this tank a Brahman had to be got who could kindle the sacred fire by the breath of his mouth. The Vyasokta were unequal to this feat but a Drávida Brahman performed it. His caste brethren expelled him for having served a low caste and he therefore settled in Midnapur.

Like the Kaibarttas themselves the Kaibartta Brahmins of Midnapur are divided into two sub castes Uttar Rarhi and Dakshin Rarhi the names of which enable them to pose before the ignorant as Ráhi Brahmins. Members of the higher castes however who will take water from the hands of the Kaibarttas will not take it from Kaibartta Brahmins and the Kaibarttas themselves will not eat food cooked by their own Brahmins.

The internal divisions of the caste differ in different districts.

They are shown in tabular form in Appendix I. The exogamous divisions have been borrowed from the Brahmins and as has been observed above give no clue to the origin of the caste. The endogamous divisions are based either upon occupation or upon habitat but these distinctions are not everywhere recognised to the same extent thus in Central Bengal and Maldah we find the cultivating and fishing groups variously called Halik and Jalik or Chása and Jalwah or Jaliyá clearly differentiated while in Dacca there is no Chasa or Halwaha division and the Das Kaibarttas have not yet separated into a distinct caste. In the latter district the Jalwah or Halik Kaibarttas are all members of one gotra the Ahiman and have the common title of Das but a few individuals who practise medicine have assumed the title of Baidya. In Hughli there are four sub castes two territorial—Uttar rarhi and Dakshin rarhi—and two occupational Jeliya or Mala who live by fishing and Tutiya who rear silkworms. The name of the last group is derived from *tut* the mulberry tree on the leaves of which silkworms are fed.

The division of the caste in Bakarganj are curious and interesting and deserve somewhat fuller examination by reason of the light they throw upon the process by which endogamous classes are formed and even upon the growth of the caste system itself. Here the Kaibarttas are divided into two groups—a cultivating group known as Halia Das Parasara Das or Chási Kaibartta and a fishing group known simply as Kaibartta. Clearly the latter group represents the main body of the caste while the former comprises those Kaibarttas who have abandoned their original occupation and betaken themselves to the more respectable profession of agriculture. But the separation has not been long enough in force or has not gained sufficient acceptance to render the two groups completely endogamous. Inter-marriage is permitted between them but is restricted by certain conditions. Girls of the Halia Das class can be given in marriage to Kaibarttas but if a man of the former class marries a Kaibartta girl

his family is deemed to have been guilty of a *mesalliance* and descends a step in social estimation. Such marriages frequently take place but a substantial price is paid by the Kaibartta family for the privilege of getting a bridegroom from the higher class. Similar relations exist in Jaipur between the Hada ploughing and Mithora fishing Kaibarttas. Among the Hada Das themselves the full-woman families have the titular rank of Kulin—Kharay, Hada, Bada, Jhab Ray, Bhuban, Kuri, Manji, Samaddar, Charman, Ditya and Majumdar. All the rest are classed as Bangals. Kulins and Bangals may intermarry but the latter must pay to the former a bride or bridegroom price for the honour which in alliance with them confers. The Kaibarttas in their turn are divided into Chaudhury and Bara-hazari, the former being the superior and maintaining a primacy in case of intermarriage. The following titles denote Kulin families—Káwar, Mandal, Manji, Dithar and Sadar, the rest are Bangals.

The subdivisions of the Dakhin Barha group—Tallat, Laksid, Dosid and Mikunda—found in Midnapur are of an uncommon type and seem to have been originally distinguished as the Tallat, the highest of the series. It is probable that they used to have a red mat to sit on as a mark of social distinction at the meetings of the Kaibartta caste. The next two names are based on a marriage custom. The Laksid, when they go with a wedding procession to fetch the bride, will not eat in her father's house on the wedding night. He therefore sends them a present (*ind*) of food which they cook and eat in a neighbour's house. The Dosid extend this to the night after the wedding and therefore are described as two present men. Mikunda is said to be an exogamous group. They carry their own wedding presents to the bride house and they eat cooked food with any Kaibartta whether he belongs to their class or not.

The Hada Das have the following sections—Almy, N, K, Swap, Bharadwaj, Laksar and Ghrata Kausil, of which only the first two are recognised by Kaibarttas. But in both groups the rule prohibiting marriage within the section though admitted to have been binding in former times has fallen into disuse of late years. In Orissa on the other hand traces of totemism still survive among the caste and the rule of exogamy is invariably enforced. I may remark here that in regard to the observance of this rule Eastern Bengal presents a remarkable contrast to Western Bengal and Behar. Not only is the number of sections recognised in any particular caste peculiarly small but the law of sectional exogamy is often disregarded altogether. It may be conjectured that this is due in some measure to the example of the Mahomedans of the eastern districts. Islam knows nothing of exogamy and enjoins the marriage of first cousins as a peculiarly suitable alliance. The large Mahomedan population of Eastern Bengal coming of the same race as the Hindus and maintaining close social relations with them could hardly fail to exercise considerable influence on their matrimonial arrangements.

Like most orthodox Hindus the Kaibarttas of Bengal perform the ceremonial marriage of their daughters before they attain puberty and sometimes when they are only three years old. The girls however do not go to live with their husbands until they are fully grown up. Complaints indeed are not uncommon of a girl being kept at home by her people to assist in household work long after the time when she was physically capable of entering upon married life. In the case of males marriage is often delayed by inability to pay the *pan* or bride price for a suitable maiden which runs rather high among respectable Kaibarttas and may amount to as much as Rs 200 or Rs 400. Polygamy is permitted in this sense and to the extent in which it is permitted to orthodox Hindus but in practice it is very rarely resorted to. Widows may not marry a second husband. Divorce is permitted on the ground of adultery but divorced wives are not allowed to marry again.

The Kaibarttas of Orissa depart in certain material points from the orthodox standard in matters concerning marriage. Infant marriage is allowed to be the more excellent way and most parents endeavour to follow it but no disgrace attaches to the marriage of a girl after puberty. The widow is allowed to marry again and is expected to marry her late husband's younger brother. The ceremony is a simple one. A feast is given to the members of the caste and a bracelet is put on the right wrist of the bride. Divorce may be effected by a *chhadapatra* or letter of divorce written in the presence of the headman and a few of the leading members of the caste. Divorced wives are allowed to marry again.

In connection with the recognition of widow marriage in Orissa I may mention the tradition current in the Contai subdivision of Midnapur that in the Amlī year 1223 a famine occurred in those parts and some widows took to themselves second husbands. The chief Kaibartta Rājā is said to have put a stop to the practice. Can we argue from this that widow marriage still current among the Kaibarttas of Orissa survived among the Kaibarttas of Bengal down to 1223?

In religion the Kaibarttas conform to the ceremonial observances of Hindus in general. With very few exceptions the entire caste belongs to the Vaishnava sect their guru being a Gossain and their purohīts *patit* or *barna* Brahmans. The period of mourning in Bengal Proper is thirty days as is appointed for Sudras but in Midnapur this is reduced to fifteen and in Orissa to ten.

The characteristic festival of the caste is the *Jalpālān* or laying by of the net which begins on the 1st of Māgh (January-February). From this date commences a close period lasting from two and a half to seven days, during which no fishing operations are carried on. On the last day the river Ganges is worshipped the net being spread on the bank and smeared with red lead. Offerings are made to the river goddesses prayers recited by the caste Brahman and a live kid thrown into the water which in Eastern Bengal becomes the perquisite of the Bhuinmāh or Pātān.

So far as I can ascertain there are no minor gods peculiar to the caste. It is said however that Sitalā, the departmental goddess of small pox and Chandī a form of Kālī are worshipped with especial devotion in Kaibartta villages. The offerings made to these two goddesses on ordinary occasions consist of rice sweetmeats fruits and small coins. Goats are sacrificed and clothes and ornaments presented in fulfilment of vows made by persons suffering from illness or in recognition of some special stroke of good luck. Neither Sitalā nor Chandī have as yet attained to the dignity of having regular temples and images or special priests set apart for their service. In Bengal the caste Brahman of the worshipper in Behar a Chatya or Bhaṭat performs the simple ritual which custom prescribes. A rough block or slab of stone set up under a *pipal banyan* or *seorha* tree smeared with red lead and bathed in clarified butter & milk represents to the mind of the villagers an ill defined but formidable power which must be propitiated at regular intervals on pain of sickness or death.

Another *gram devata* or village deity of the same type commonly worshipped by Kaibarttas is Bura-Buri literally old man and old woman a well known androgynous divinity of Eastern Bengal which is believed to have been adopted by Hinduism from some more primitive system of belief. The annual festival of Bura Buri falls on the *āsh Sankranti* or last day of the month of Pausa corresponding to December and January.

In the occupation of the cultivating Kaibarttas there is as a rule nothing to distinguish them from other Hindu castes who are engaged in agricultural pursuits. It is said however that in former days all Kaibarttas used to allow their bull calves to be castrated. In course of time it came home to them that this practice was abhorrent to all good Hindus and a few families bound themselves to give it up. Their descendants now call themselves Lakṣī Nārāyaṇ to denote their zeal in the cause of religion and *ferā gharia* to keep in remembrance the fact that thirteen families took part in the original resolution. All cultivating Kaibarttas now abstain from the practice in question. Regarding the fishing Kaibarttas of Eastern Bengal Dr. Wise has collected some interesting information. When a man of this class has saved some money his first idea is to give up fishing and become a fishmonger (*nīkari*) using in his leisure hours a cast net but no other. Kaibarttas generally cultivate a field of hemp for their own use or if they hold no land give an advance to a neighbour and get a patch planted out. They themselves prepare the fibre their wives spin it and in this way nets ropes and twine are manufactured.

Kaibarttas are the chief curers of fish in Eastern Bengal. They work during November and December when fish are most abundant and the weather is cool. Early in November a piece of land is leased by the water side and the fishermen of the neighbourhood are

Trophis aspera. The Sanskrit name is *akhota*. It is also known as *Pissacha-dru*, *Pissacha briksha* or *Bhuta-briksha*, the tree of ghosts or goblins.

engaged to bring in large quantities of the small *poti* or *ponir* fish. The fish is placed between mats and trodden under foot and then slowly dried in the sun. No salt is used. The product is exported to districts where fish cannot be got in the cold weather. In Maimansingh larger fish are gutted, dried in the sun and buried in pits. When dug up at the beginning of the rains it is known as *sukhi* and is exported to Sylhet and Kachar where it is esteemed a great delicacy.

The social status of the Kaibartta is not altogether easy to determine as the fisher subcastes would necessarily occupy a lower position than purely agricultural groups. The Hali Kaibarttas are usually allowed to smoke in the same hooka with members of the Nava-sákha, and this fairly marks their position as standing first below that group. The same privilege is not accorded to Jaliya Kaibarttas. At present Brahmans will not take water from the hands even of the Hali sub caste but it seems likely as time goes on that this sub-caste will rise in social estimation and will altogether sink the Kaibartta, so that eventually it is possible that they may succeed in securing a place with the Nava-sakha an elastic group which has already been expanded beyond its original limits.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kaibarttas in 1872 and 1881 —

District	1872	1881	District	1872	1881
R. dwan	5 702	31 5. 2	P. dp	13 649	4, 10
B. k. ra	12 44	2	H. k. ga. j	20 3 1	18 80
B. bh	1 1		M. m	77 798	94 217
M. d. up	6 140	7	l	92	4, 54
H. gh	62		N. kh. l	21 273	11
H. w. rah			J. j. perah	53 866	50 230
24 Pargannas	8 480	7 7	(l. tag		7
Nad. y	7	2	l. h. g	484	379
Jessore	4 301				
Kh. l			(l. p	471	
M. rahad. bad	1 7	1	M. g. l		
D. j. b	1	7 7	H. l. h	3 1	297
Raj. h. hy	44	1 4	M. l. l. P. ga. as	56 3	4 2 1
R. pur	4	1		27 06	2 06
B. gra	9	1	(l. k	2 994	1 7 9
l. bna	1	23 2	H. l. so		29
D. j. g		5	l. y. St. ton		861
J. ip. g	2 97				19
K. l. B. har			M. g. l		60
Dacca	32 317	41 4	M. bh. m		5 149

Kaibartta Das a synonym for Kaibartta

Kaibtar a section of the Dharkar sub-caste of Doms in Behar

Kaikyal a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Kailia, a section of Bhats

Kailwár a sept of the Chandrabani division of Rajputs in Behar a section of Majraut Goals

Kain Kánya Kaiya a synonym for *Donar*. In Darjiling and the Nepal Terai the word *Kainya* denotes a native of the plains who carries on business as

a trader and money lender and is more especially used as a title of Marwaris and generally of traders and money lenders from Upper India

Kainrala a *thar* of the Mut kaha *gotra* of Nepali Brahmins

Kaiobanuár a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Kairálá a section of Kurmis a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Kairawár illegitimate issue a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Kaisab corruption of *Kisyapa* a section of the Ayodhya sub caste of Hujjams and of the Bhujpuria sub caste of Numas in Behar

Kaisale a sept of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Kaisár a section of Ghasis in Chota Nagpur

Kait a synonym for Kayasth

Kaita Kaitha curry vegetable a totemistic title of Chit Orin and Ahirs or Goalas in Chota Nagpur

Kaithar a section of the Pyhut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Kaithawar *Kaithi* a sept of Asura in Chota Nagpur

Kaiwar a *mul* a section of the Chit in sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Kaji a sept of Tharus in Behar

Kajol a sub caste of Goalas in Bengal

Kakan a sept of the Surajbansi division of Rajputs in Behar

Kaka a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kakin aunt a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kakir a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kakkar a section of the Barajati sub caste of Khatrias in Bengal

Kak ká Rakmal a section of Kalwars in Behar

Kakra hyena a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Kakrolia a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kaksa a section of Majraut Goalas in Behar

Kakulu a sept of Tipperahs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kakusthi a *mul* or hyergamous sub group of Kaiti Brahmins in Bengal

Kal a section of Bagdis in Bengal

Kala a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kalaen a section of Awadhia Hujjams in Behar

Kalagachi a section of Jitnis in Jengal

Kalai a *qaim* of the Batsyapoti of the Uttar Barendra Brahmins in Bengal

Kala jai a tinman a profession followed mostly by Mahomedans *Oce*

Kalaist a section of Lohars in Behar

Kala Khati a *thar* or sept of Damis in Darjiling the members of which are drummers by profession

Kalil Kalua (1) in Bengal Mahomedan distiller and liquor sellers who are regarded as outcastes by reason of their profession so that other Mahomedans

will not eat drink or intermarry with them Synonyms *kariger mustri* used by themselves *shar abwáa* looked upon as derogatory (u) in Behar the term *kalál* denotes a Mahomedan and *kal wár* a Hindu liquor seller A distiller is called *bhatthidar* or *abkar* and in Sárán *ranki*

Kalálíá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kalalohár a *thar* or sept of Mángars in Darjuling

Kalálsunri a sub-caste of Sunris in Behar

Kalánuá a section of the Bi yáhut and Kharidáhá Kalwárs in Behar

Kálá Ráy a hypergamous group of Kaubarttas in Bakarganj

Kálásan a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Gorná sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Kalasdiñ a *mul* or section of the Chhamulá Madhesiá sub caste of Halwáis in Behar

Kaláwat a sub-caste of Brahmans in Behar

Kalernniá a section of Báb-hans in Behar

Kalganiá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kálhans a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kalhia, a-section of Ghásiá in Chota Nagpur

Kali a sept of Tipperahs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kalíá a title of Chasi Kai Varttas and Sadgops in Bengal

Kaligrámi a *gain* of the Bátsya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Kalíhá a *gain* of the Bátsya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal

Káimba tobacco flower a totemistic sept of Juángs in Orissa

Káindi a sub caste of Doms in Bengal who are cultivators and basket-makers Their chief occupation is basket-making but they are employed to kill dogs remove dead bodies and some times as executioners The name is said to refer to thir being worshippers of the goddess Kali A *gain* of the Bátsya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmans in Bengal a title of Jályas

Kalinwál a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kalipa a religious group of Jugis

Kalit a *mul* or section of the Kamarkalla sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Kallani a section of Mahesris

Kalmi a section of Telis in Bengal

Kalmut a section of Brahmans in Behar

Kalot a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kalsarea a man who works at a *kalsar* the place where the juice of sugarcane is expressed.

Kalu a sub caste of Telis in Bengal and Orissa also a synonym for Teli and a title of Mahomedan oil pressers and sellers in Northern Bengal

Kálu a *gain* or sub-section of Saptasati Brahmans in Bengal.

Kalundiá a sept of Hos in Singbhum

Kalupitá a term used in Western Bengal to denote a

hardworking man of the aboriginal castes such as Bauris Bāgdīs and the like

Kalvisha a section of Brahmans and Kāyasths in Bengal

Kalwadiā a section of Goāls in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kalwār a sub caste of Banyas and Sunris in Behar

Kalwār a liquor selling distilling and trading caste of Behar probably a degraded offshoot of one of the numerous branches of the Banyās Mr Nesfield regards the name as a variant of *Khairwar* or catechu maker a process which is very similar to that of drawing juice from the palm tree and fermenting it into a spirit and adds that this etymology implies that the caste has sprung out of such tribes as Chām Khairwar Musahar et al all of whom are skilled in making the intoxicating juice called catechu It seems however more likely that *Kalwar* is a corruption of *Kaladā* a man who works a *Kal* or machine while there is no evidence whatever to connect the Kalwar with the jungle races who collect catechu an astringent extract from the wood of several species of acacia which so far as I am aware has no intoxicating properties

The caste is divided into six sub-castes—Banodhiā Biyāhut or Bhojpuri Deswar Jaiswar or Ajodhiābāsī Khalsa and Kharidāhā Mahomedan liquor sellers are called Ranki or Kalal Of these the Banodhiā say they came from the north west of the Roy Bareilly district about a hundred years ago The Biyāhut pretend that in former years they did not permit widows to marry again though they admittedly do so now Another story is that they are descended from the *byih* wife of the common ancestor of the caste while the other sub castes were the offspring of a *sagai* wife They will not drink or sell alcoholic liquor and will not milk cows with their own hands or allow bullocks to be castrated The Kharidāhā who are said to derive their name from a village in Ghazipur observe the two latter restrictions but do not object to selling drink The Jaiswār sub caste are alleged to be the illegitimate descendants of a Kalwar by a mistress called Jaisia They themselves derive their name from a village called Jaispur the precise locality of which they are unable to state Most of the sub castes appear to have sections of the territorial type and to observe the standard formula stating prohibited degrees The Biyāhut and Kharidāhā forbid a man to marry a woman of his own section or of the sections to which his mother his paternal grandmother and his paternal great grandmother belonged One of the sections of the Jaiswar group is denoted by the curious formula *Bawan gah tip n bazar chhatis kharidāhā* for a further notice of which see article Bawan Jaiswars follow the same rule regarding excluded sections as the Biyāhut and Kharidāhā sub castes except that they substitute the maternal grandmother for the paternal great grandmother

Members of the Biyāhut and Kharidāhā sub castes marry their daughters between the ages of five and twelve years Jaiswars from five to ten while

Banodhiás regard from seven to fourteen as the marriageable age for a girl. Boys are married between eight and fourteen but all sub castes agree in holding it proper for the bridegroom to be a few years older than the bride. The marriage ceremony is of the standard type *sindurdan* being the binding portion. Banodhiá Kalwárs omit the preliminary forms known as *ghardekhi*, *bardekhi* and *panbatí*. The *tilak* paid to the parents of the bridegroom never exceeds a maximum amount of Rs 21. Polygamy is permitted up to a limit of three or as some say four wives. It is not very clear however whether the permission to take more than one wife is not in any case conditional on the first being barren and the practice of the caste on this point seems to vary in different districts. Widows are allowed to marry again by all sub castes and no restrictions are placed on their freedom of choice. Biyáhut Kalwárs as has been stated above say that they derived their name Biyáhut the married from their prohibiting widow marriage. But there is no independent evidence in support of their statement and it is *prima facie* unlikely that they should have retraced their steps after having travelled so far in the path of orthodoxy. Divorce is not generally recognised a woman taken in adultery being simply turned out of the caste. In Champaran however the rule seems to be more lax and divorced wives are allowed to marry again by the *sagai* for.

Vaishnavism is the favourite religion of the caste but in addition

Rel 6

to the regular Hindu gods the Biyáhut and Kharidaha offer rice and milk to Sokhá on Mondays during the light half of Sawan goats and sweetmeats to Kali and Bindí on Wednesdays and Thursdays and sucking pigs and wine to Goraiyá on Tuesdays. On Saturdays within the same period the Jaiswir sub caste present cakes and sweetmeats to the Páñch Pir while the Banodhiá make similar offerings to Barham Deo on the eleventh or thirteenth day of the dark half of Bhadra and the light half of Mágh. All these offerings are eaten by the members of the household except the sucking pigs which are buried. In some families the articles of food presented to the Páñch Pir are made over to the Mahomdans of the village.

Kalwárs employ Brahmins for religious and ceremonial purposes but they are deemed to be of inferior rank. Only the Kanaujiá Brahmins who serve the Banodhiá sub caste are received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order. The dead are burned and the ceremony of *saddh* performed in accordance with orthodox usage on the thirteenth day after death. Banodhiá Kalwárs bury the bodies of children under seven years.

The social rank of Kalwárs is low. Brahmins and members

Soc 1 tat

of the higher castes will on no account take water from their hands and they are ordinarily classed with Telis Tatwas and Chams. On this point Mr Nesfield remarks — The Kalwar ranks a little higher than the Telí because there is more skill and less dirt in the practice of his art. His trade as a private occupation has been destroyed by the British Government, which has taken the distilling and sale of liquors entirely into

its own hands The Kalwár still finds some opportunity however of following his old pursuit by working in the Government distilleries and taking out licenses for the sale of spirits But the majority have taken to other kinds of trade or to agriculture the common goal to which all the decayed industries of India are tending The art of the Kalwar like that of the Telí has been known to almost all the backward races of the world and cannot by any means be counted among the higher types of industry Hence the status of the Kalwár has always been low Distilling and selling liquor is

believed to have been the original occupation of the entire caste but most of its members with the exception of the Banodhiá Deswar and Khalsa sub castes make their living by shop keeping money lending and various forms of trade A few are engaged in the manufacture of sugar and some have taken to agriculture in the capacity of tenure holders and occupy rayyats The trading and money lending Kalwars have a reputation for squalid penury in the ordering of their household affairs and for grasping extortion in their dealings with their poorer neighbours Many of the Bhakats who infest Chota Nagpur and the Santál Parganas belong to this caste They certainly have a remarkable talent for amassing money while their standard of living is frequently no higher than that of an ordinary day labourer Their meanness in dress is almost proverbial and I have heard them charged as a class with grudging the *dhobí* the trifle he gets for washing their clothes

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the caste in 1881 the figures for 1872 having been included with the table on Sunnis —

DISTRICT	1881	DISTRICT	1881
Bidwan	15	Patna	8 747
Bankura	5	Gya	2 359
Bahm	21	Shahbad	20 16
Hwá	47	Mouffpur	23 039
24 Parganas	100	Dabhanga	11 941
Ndya	1	Sarn	23 379
Muhammadabad	108	Champanan	30 37
Danapur	27	Monghyr	12 002
Rajahmundry	60	Bhagalpur	26 576
Rangpur	6	Purani	9 822
Bogra	5	Maldah	229
Panna	6	Santal Parganas	4,577
Darjiling	104	Cuttack	25
Kush Behar	19	Balaore	4
Dacca	7	Hazarbagh	1 16
Fardpur	2	Lahrdaga	5 680
Maimansingh	13	Munbhám	1 617
		Tributary States	2,406

Kalwat Malláh a synonym for Surahiyá

Kamal lotus a sept of Lohárs Mundas and Ahirs or Goálás in Chota Nagpur

Kamalsar a section of the Biyáhut and Kharidáhá Kalwárs in Behar

Kaman a synonym for Pási
q v

Kárnani a sub-caste of Pásus in Behar

Karnár a synonym for Kámár in Bengal and for Lohár in Behar a sub caste of Dosádhs peculiar to Behar

Kámar, a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kámár Kamar the metal working caste of Bengal and Behar distinguished from the Lohar by not confining themselves to the fabrication of iron implements and by having no scruples about working with any kind of metal. The Kámars or Karmakárs of Bengal are popularly believed to be descended from an intrigue between a woman of the Sudra caste and the celestial artificer Viswa-karmá. In the Midnapur district they have a legend curiously like the myth of the destruction of the Asuras quoted in the article on the Mundá tribe. Once upon a time they say there was a demon called Lohásura (*Loha + asura*) who obtained by his vsterities the gift of immortality and warred successfully with the gods. Wearied with constant defeat Indra at last appealed to Siva for help. As the demon was proof against all the weapons of the gods a man was created to be the champion and armed by Siva with a set of blacksmith's tools. His hammer was formed from Siva's drum (*damaru*) a skull was converted into an anvil pincers were made out of the snake girdle worn by the god while the sacred bull parted with a piece of his skin to furnish the bellows. Thus equipped the first Kámár went forth to meet Lohásur who laughed and declined to fight any one so small. On this the Kámár asked the Asura to give a proof that he was really immortal by getting into his furnace and letting him blow the bellows. With stupidity worthy of a giant in a fairy tale the Asura complied but the Kamar worked the bellows so hard that before the demon could turn he had become red hot and had run out of the furnace as molten iron. From this were forged eight different kinds of iron corresponding it is said to the eight classes of Kámár known in Midnapur viz (1) Lohar Kámars who work in iron (2) Pitule Kámárs who make brass utensils (3) Kansáris who work in bell metal (4) Sarna Kámars or working goldsmiths (5) Ghatra Kámars who make imitation fruits iron figures of owls and other birds used in the worship of Lakshmi and *kajlatis* or iron snuffer shaft vessels for collecting lampblack (6) Chánd Kámárs whose specialty is the manufacture of brass mirrors (7) Dhokrás and (8) Támrás two lower classes of Kámars found in the Jungle Mahals in the west of the district who eat fowls are reckoned unclean and are served by a designated class of Brahman. Of these groups the first two intermarry

while all the rest are endogamous. It is impossible at the present day to determine whether all of them are really derived from the Kámar caste and it seems probable that some of them may be separate castes, which have been classed as Kamars on account of some real or supposed resemblance in their occupations. It is however undoubtedly the case that in other districts besides Midnapur the internal divisions of the Kamar caste are unusually intricate and multifarious. Thus in the 24 Parganas three sub-castes are recognised—Uttar Rárhí, Dakshin Rárhí and Anarpurí, the members of which do not intermarry while the first two are further subdivided into the hypergamous groups Kulin and Maulik. In Eastern Bengal we find Bhusnapatí, Dhaká and Paschimá, the first being again broken up into Naldipatí, Chaudhá-Samáj, Panch-Samáj between which intermarriage is permitted. The Kamars of Murshedabad again reckon four groups—Rárhí, Bárendra Dhákáwál and Khottá. The last two are composed respectively of emigrants from Dacca and Hindustan, who have settled in Central Bengal. The Rárhí and Bárendra sub-castes are found also in Pabna under the names Das Samáj and Panch Samáj while in Noakhali the caste is divided into Játí, Karmakár and Sikhu Karmakár who do not intermarry. Beláí, Máhmudpurí, and Kamá Kámar are met with in Bardwan. In Manbhum there are four sub-castes—Magahiyá, Dhokrá, Lohsá, and Basuná, and the same number in the Santal Parganas—Ashtaláí, Churáláí, Beláláí and Sankhaláí. In Singbhum and throughout Behar no sub-castes seem to exist.

An equal degree of diversity prevails among the exogamous divisions of the caste. The Kamars of Bengal have adopted the standard Brahmanical *gotras* in Singbhum and the Santál Parganas totemistic sections are in vogue while in Behar the corresponding groups are of the local or territorial type. In Bengal the *gotrá* is looked upon as a sort of ornamental appendage testifying the respectability of the caste but persons of the same *gotra* are allowed to marry provided that they are not of kin within the fifth degree on the mother's and the seventh on the father's side. In Behar and Chota Nagpur the usual rule that a man may not marry a woman belonging to his own section is still observed. These facts taken in connexion with the prevalence of several different types of section names seem to point to the conclusion that many distinct castes of metal workers have sprung up in different parts of the country to meet local wants that each caste has been formed out of recruits from the surrounding population and that the name Kamar so far from indicating a common origin is merely the functional designation of an extremely heterogeneous group. In other words the profession of metal worker in its various branches has been adopted from time to time by Aryans, non-Aryans and people of mixed race but the fact of their following the same occupation though it has led to their being called by a common name has not welded them into a uniform group and the component elements of the caste still remain entirely distinct. The caste in fact

is a caste only in the loose popular sense of the word and its multifarious internal divisions afford an excellent illustration of the general rule that while diversity of occupation undoubtedly leads to differentiation community of occupation does not necessarily or generally bring about integration

The Kamars of Bengal marry their daughters as infants between the ages of five and ten years. The usual maximum limit of age in Behar is twelve for a girl and fifteen for a boy but it is essential that the bridegroom should be taller than the bride and this point is ascertained by actual measurement. In Bengal however the marriage of a son is sometimes delayed till he is twenty five or so by reason of the necessity of paying a *pari* or bride price in order to obtain a wife. Among the Kamars of Chota Nagpur infant marriage still holds its ground even for girls though it is considered more proper for them to be married before attaining puberty. The Kamars of Midnapur though regarding infant-marriage as essential do not permit consummation to take place immediately after the ceremony but keep their girls at home until they have reached puberty and may fairly be deemed *apta viro*. Another custom prevalent in that district is *kapa arana* or presenting a piece of cloth and certain spices to the bride elect before the marriage. The acceptance of this cloth is held finally to bind the bride's family to keep faith with the bridegroom so that if the girl were afterwards given to another man her father would run the risk of being turned out of the caste. In Bengal the marriage ceremony is of the standard type while in Behar it closely resembles that described in the article on the Kewat caste. One curious practice known as *ghaskali* or cutting grass is peculiar to Kamars. On the day after the marriage the wedded pair followed by a number of women singing are taken outside the house and the bridegroom is given a sickle with which he cuts a handful of grass. After this a maid servant or one of the female members of the bride's household plants a stick in the ground at some distance off and the bridegroom and his brother in law race for the stick which the winner pulls up. In this contest it is understood that the bridegroom must be allowed to win and if the bride's brother seems to be getting the best of it he is headed back by the bridegroom's friends so as to let the latter come in first. Polygamy is permitted in Bengal and Chota Nagpur but is strongly disapproved of in Behar where the rule is that a man may only take a second wife in the event of the first being barren or suffering from an incurable disease. Widow marriage is forbidden in Bengal and Behar but is still practised in Chota Nagpur by the Magahiya Kamars who probably left Behar before the Kamars of that province had taken to orthodox ways. Divorce is recognised only in Singbhum and the Santal Iarganas where a *sal* leaf is torn in two before the *panchayat* as a symbol of separation and divorced wives are allowed to marry again. In other districts a faithless wife is turned out of the caste and either becomes a regular prostitute or joins some religious sect of dubious morality. Such measures however are only resorted to in extreme cases.

and intrigues within the caste are usually condoned by the husband

The majority of the Kamars in Bengal are Vaishnavas but a few follow the Sakta ritual Their favourite deity is Viswakarmá who is worshipped on the last day of Bhádra with offerings of sweetmeats parched rice fruits molasses flowers sandal wood paste Ganges water cloth silver ornaments etc At the same time they worship the hammer anvil and other tools used in their handicraft In Bihar they reverence as minor gods Hanuman and Ganesha Kali Jawála Mukhi Jalpa Bhairab and two Mahomedan saints—Miran or Shaikh Badu and Sayid Cocks and are offered to the latter and afterwards given away to poor Mahomedans In Bengal the women perform the Anantá Savitá Sisti and Panchami *brata* and Naraini and Manu Chandi are worshipped by the women and children with offerings of sweetmeats milk fruit etc For the service of the greater gods and in the performance of *bratas* the caste employ Brahman who are received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order The dead are burned and a regular *shraddh* performed on the thirty first day after death

Among the Kamars of Dacca say Dr Wise there exists a tradition that they were brought from Upper India by the Muhammadan Government In the Ain-i-Akbari it is stated that there was an iron mine in Sarkar Buzuhá which included Dacca and in later times jagirs called *ahngir* were granted to the skilled workmen employed in smelting iron from the red laterite soil of the Dacca district At the present day however the Kamars are unacquainted with the art of smelting iron and they procure pig iron from Calcutta when a local supply is not to be had Iron smelting indeed seems to be practised only by the aboriginal Iohars and Asuras of Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal Kamars work in all metals including gold and silver and being themselves members of the Nava Silha group affect to despise the professional goldsmith or Sonurbanik who is considered unclean Most Sekras or working goldsmiths are Kamars and more than half of the caste are employed as blacksmiths The regular village blacksmith whether Kamar or Lohar is usually paid in kind receiving four *arhis* (about a maund) of paddy per plough Some Kamars again are employed to slaughter the animals offered in sacrifice to Sakti In Dacca where the Kansari or brazier caste is no longer met with the manufacture of the brass utensils solely used in Hindu households devolves on the Kamars their only competitors being the Ghulam kavasths many of whom engage in this trade They make an alloy (*bhain*) with three parts of copper and four of zinc and with it manufacture cups *lotas* and other vessels The Lanni wala or tin foil maker is always a Kamar The tin is obtained in bars from Calcutta and being run into moulds is while still soft beaten out until thin enough to be cut into strips which are then stained with lac and turmeric so as to counterfeit the colour of gold The foil so produced is then sold to the Muhammadan Churi wala to ornament his glass bracelets and to the Málakar to embellish

chaplets tiaras images of gods and goddesses and the platforms paraded on gala days. A small number of Kámárs have taken to agriculture and trade and among these a few hold the position of zemindars or tenure holders while the majority are occupancy raiyats. The caste has always been an illiterate one and very few of its members have made their way into Government service or the learned professions. It is in fact a common allegation that they only learn enough reading and writing to enable them to keep accounts.

The social standing of Kámárs is respectable. In Bengal they rank among the Navasákha and in Behar they belong to the group of castes from whose hands a Brahman can take water. Except in Singhbhum and the Santál Parganas where fowls are deemed lawful food they observe the same rules regarding diet as the higher castes but do not consider themselves bound to abstain from spirituous liquors. Like the Ekádas Telis Kámárs pride themselves upon not allowing their women to wear nose rings. This prohibition is said to have been introduced by a Parámanik or headman of the caste because a Kámár woman dropped her nose ring on his plate while serving him at a feast. In Midnapur the Paramaniks hold a very high position and marriages with their families are eagerly sought after. All questions bearing on the usages of the caste are laid before them for decision and disregard of their orders may in the last resort be punished by excommunication. Ordinarily however a fine is inflicted of which the Parámanik himself gets the largest share while the rest is spent in giving a feast to the Kámárs who live within his jurisdiction.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kámárs in 1872 and 1881. The figures of the former year include those of Lohárs.

DIST CT	18 2	1881	D CT	1872	1881
B rdwan	32 851	30 399	Ch t go g	2 749	2 9 6
B ank	22 780	32 328	Noakh l	1 350	2 118
B bh m	10 385	9 709	H l l Tract		68
M dnep	32 346	38 74	P t		77
Hukhl		11 318	Gya		4 890
H wrah	11 949	4 373	Sh h b d		2 295
24-Parganas	2 439	1 890	M ff rp		7 2
N d y	16 008	15 515	Da bh ga		4 491
Kh l		7 213	S ra		15
Jessore	14 384	18 739	Cl mp		2 790
M rashedabad	7 450	8 9 3	M ngf y		5 895
D naj	7 659	5 24	Bh g lp		6 4 5
Raj h hy	4 508	5 100	P h		3 34
Ra gp	237	57 4	Sa tál Parganas		2 315
Sogra	1 475	1 768	M ldah		5 895
Pab	6 740	8 100	C ttack		14 637
Da j l ng	486	319	Par		6 154
J lp g	511	1 6 9	B l aore		12 739
K h Behar		619	T b t ry States		8 992
Unaca	12 071	16 747	H sa bagh		2 295
Fa dp	4 788	9 648	L hardaga		654
B harga j	11 618	9 475	Sugbh m		7 428
Maunamernh	9 019	14 880	Manbh m		25 523
T ppenah	5 408	7 482	Tributary States	6,248	1,765

Kamārhēt a *mu* or section of the Kamarkalla sub-caste of Sonars in Behar

Kamarkalla a sub caste of Barhis Lohars and of Sonars in Behar who do not permit the marriage of widows

Kāmat a title of Kewats in Behar

Kāmāt; Kamta; Karnt; a title of cultivating Dhanuks in Behar

Kāmbāhāng a sept of Lambus in Darjiling

Kambalia a title of Gareris in Behar

Kambāng a sept of Lambus in Darjiling

Kambule a functional group of Jugis in Bengal

Kamendra a *gām* of the Sān dilya *gotia** of Bārendra Brāhmaus in Bengal

Kāmt *Kamā* the blacksmith caste of Nepal some of whom also work in the precious metals. They claim descent from the mythical artificer Viswāmitra and profess to have entered Nepal from the plains of India. This indeed is probable enough for their section names a list of which is given in the Appendix are not of the type common among the Indo Tibetan races and seem to be of Indian origin. Their physical characteristics also appear to suggest the conclusion that they are immigrants from India who have intermarried freely with some of the indigenous races of Nepal.

A man may not marry a woman of his own *thar* or section nor of the section to which his mother belonged before her marriage. Girls marry after they are grown up and courtship is more or less recognised. Sexual intercourse before marriage is said not to be tolerated but in fact the morals of the Kāmī girls are not stricter than those of the young women of other castes in the hills. The marriage ceremony appears to have been borrowed from the Hindu system. It takes place at night. The bride and bridegroom stand facing each other on either side of an earthen vessel containing what is supposed to be a sacred fire. Round this they walk seven times keeping the fire always on the right hand. The bride then takes her stand by the bridegroom and places her hands on his while her parents who conduct the ceremony lay on the joined hands of the couple some *kusa* grass some leaves of the *bel* and *tulsi* and a piece of copper muttering at the same time some gibberish which purports to be Sanskrit sacred texts. The rite is completed by the bridegroom smearing some red lead on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair and putting a necklace (*poti*) of white beads round her neck.

Polygamy is permitted and in theory at least a man may have as many wives as he can afford to maintain. Poverty however and the great liberty which is accorded to women in the hills tend in practice to limit the number to two. Polyandry is unknown. A widow may marry again and is restricted by no rules in her choice of a second husband except that she may not marry her late

husband's elder brother or elder cousin and must observe the prohibited degrees which were binding on her before she married. The ceremony is of a simpler character than at the marriage of a virgin. No fire is kindled nor are texts recited; the bridegroom merely puts vermilion on the bride's forehead and gives her a necklace, the proceedings being completed by a feast at which the relations of both parties are present.

The utmost license of divorce prevails. A husband can get rid of his wife whenever he pleases by going through the symbolic form of cutting in two a kind of fruit (*pang ro*) with a bit of wood called *sinko*. In reference to this ceremony which prevails among several other castes, divorce is commonly spoken of in the hills as *sinko pangro*. Wives are supposed to have somewhat less extensive powers of divorce and the theory is that they can only divorce their husbands on the ground of positive ill treatment. In fact however a woman who is tired of her husband goes off with any man who will take her and by the custom of the caste the husband has only the right to demand from his rival the bride price originally paid for the woman. Divorced wives marry again by the same ceremony that is used at the marriage of a widow.

Kamis admit into their caste members of any caste higher in rank than their own. No ceremony is performed on such occasions and the consent of the panchayat of the caste is all that is required to confer the privilege of membership. Instances of such changes of caste taking place do not however very frequently occur. The usual cause is that a man of a higher caste has taken a Kámi girl as a mistress and has got into trouble with his own people for eating with a woman of lower rank.

The caste know nothing of Hindu law and profess to be guided in matters of inheritance and succession by a tribal custom of their own. This however presents no features of special interest. Sons take equal shares in the property. Failing sons, brothers and brothers' sons inherit. If no male relatives survive, daughters and daughters' sons succeed.

Kamis pose as orthodox Hindus worshipping Káli and regarding Viswakarmá as their tutelary deity. The bonds of Hinduism however lie very lightly upon them and their real worship is directed to certain animistic powers known as Kuláin, Anardhá, Khodá, and Dáramastá among whom the sections of the caste are parcelled out in a curious and uneven fashion. Of these ill defined shapes Kuláin is the most popular. To him all the thirty eight sections sacrifice goats, sheep and fowls twice in the year besides burning incense at every full moon. The Gadail, Sásankhar and Darnál sections slay pigs in honour of Khodá; while Anardhá and Daramastá are worshipped by the Gajmér and Kharká Bayu sections respectively with the offering of a white cock. The offerings in each case are eaten by the worshippers. Kamis have no Brahmans and any member of the caste who chances to have a turn for religion officiates as priest.

The dead are burned thrown into a river or buried as may be found convenient at the time. The two former methods are considered the most respectable. Persons who affect special orthodoxy take the ashes of their dead to the Ganges but such cases are comparatively rare. The funeral ceremony is a curious one. After the corpse has been disposed of the mourners have their heads and faces entirely shaved including the eyebrows. They put off their ordinary clothes and dress themselves in a waistcloth and a blanket a bit of white linen being tied over the forehead. In this dress they stay at home for ten days during which time they take only one meal a day abstain from meat salt and oil do not receive or pay visits and as far as may be avoid conversing with their fellows. On the eleventh day a feast is prepared for the relatives of the deceased but before they can partake of it a small portion of every dish must be put on a leaf plate and taken out into the jungle for the spirit of the dead man and carefully watched until a fly or other insect settles on it. The watcher then covers up the plate with a slab of stone eats his own food which he brings with him to the place and returns to tell the relatives that the dead man's spirit has received the offering set for him. The feast can then begin. The watcher is a member of the caste who is paid for his services as if he were a Brahman. No ceremonies are performed for the benefit of ancestors in general childless ancestors or men who have died a violent death.

Notwithstanding that they abstain from eating beef and have adopted several Hindu usages the social standing of Kamis among the hill castes is decidedly low and Tibetans Murmis Mangars and members of the Kiranti group will not eat drink or smoke with them. Their position is clearly marked by the fact that they eat with the Sark caste. They regard pork and fowls as lawful food and indulge freely in strong drink.

In 1881 the Kamis numbered 3723 in Darjiling 107 in Champaran 9 in Bhagalpur and 580 in the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur while none were separately returned for 1872.

Kamia a synonym for Kámi
Kamiá a sub caste of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Kamila a title of Sonars in Singbhum.

Kamiya an endogamous division of Nepáli Brahmans

Kámkáli a *gan* of the Bátsya *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Kamkar, a title of Kahár in Chota Nagpur

Kamlárit a section of the Kamar sub caste of Dosadhs in Behar

Kámlá Kámár a sub caste of Kámars in Bardwan

Kampti a section of the Kadar caste in Behar which intermarries with the Barik Kápari Marik Darbe Manjhi and Bare sections but not with the rest

Kámram a *mul* or section of the Naomula or Majraut sub-caste of Goálas in Behar

Kamrupi a sub caste of Brahmins from Assam who serve as cooks or priests in Northern Bengal

Kámsarke Mahto a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Kamtariá a section of Kanaujia Lohars in Behar

Kámri a section of the Kulsumri sub caste of Sumris in Behar

Kán a very low caste of musicians akin to the Doms Musalman workers in steel who repair umbrellas make fish hooks etc

Káná Madan a section of the Mahmudábáz sub caste of Napits

Kanaka a section of Kumbhars in Jessore

Kanakrishi a section of Sutradhars in Bengal

Kanakwar a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kana Machhri a sept of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Kanap a section of the Satmuli Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Kanaujia a designation of numerous and widely distributed sub castes and sections of castes of very different social standing. In the case of the higher castes the name doubtless implies a notion of their having come originally from Kanauj or Kanya Kubja the famous old capital of Ajodhya or Oudh on the Kalindi a tributary of the Ganges in the North West Provinces. Its occurrence among the lower castes is accounted for by Mr Beames in his edition of Sir Henry Elliot's Supplemental Glossary by the remark that whenever the lower castes begin to talk about their subdivisions they always give them the grandest possible names such as Chauhán Kanaujia and so on. This is true so far as it goes but it hardly goes far enough. One would like to know why the grand names are selected. The clue is probably to be found in the fact that many of the lower castes are attached in various sorts of servile capacities to the landholding families of the higher castes. In such cases it is in accordance with the passion for imitation which runs through the caste system that the servants should adopt the tribal designations of the masters just as the Rajputs themselves have borrowed the *gotras* of the Brahmins. A sub caste of Barhis in Behar who are said to have come from Gorakhpur. They make boxes desks etc and do joiners work of all kinds but consider themselves debarred by custom from making panels doors windows and the larger class of woodwork used in houses a sub caste of Ahirs or Gwalás in Behar who bear the title Gop and belong to the Kasyap *gotra*. They make curds and serve the higher castes. A sub caste of Halwais in Behar who are confectioners by occupation. A sub caste of Hindu Jolahas (Tantwa or Tanti) in Behar a sub caste of Brahman Dhanuk Dhoby Dosádh Hajjam (barber) Kandu Kumhar Koiri Lohár Sonar Tambuli Tanti Telí and Thatthera castes in Behar.

Kanauji a section of the Pachanyá sub caste of Doms in Behar

Kánbindhá pierced ears a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Kanchaba dog a totemistic sept of Juangs in Orissa

Kanchan a section of Brahmins

Kanchanbhár a section of Babhans in Behar

Kánchanpur a section of the Karan Kayasths in Behar

Kand a synonym for Kandh

Kanda a kind of sweet potato a totemistic sept of Munda

Lohárs and Oraons in Chota Nagpur a section of Kahárs in Behar

Kandar a *mul* or section of the Ohhamuha Madhesia sub-caste of Halwais in Behar

Kandare a *gain* or sub section of Saptasati Brahmans in Bengal

Kandarias a *thar* or section of Nepáli Brahmans

Kandarpa a sub section of the Bharadwaja section of Utkal Brahmans

Kándeil a *mul* or section of the Limuli Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Kandh *Kanth Khond Kuli loka Kuli enju* a Dravidian tribe, inhabiting that part of the territory of the Rája of Boad one of the tributary states of Orissa known as the Kandhmals a hilly tract of country 40 miles in length and in extreme breadth 24 miles with an area of about 800 square miles. These Kandhs call themselves *Mahah* Kandhs as distinguished from the *Bniah* Kandhs who inhabit Gumsur in Madras. The general character of the country is wild and mountainous it consists of a confused succession of ranges covered with dense sál forests. The Kandhs live in scattered villages surrounded with patches of cultivation. There are 677 villages with a population of 58 929 souls. It is calculated that two thirds of the country is covered with jungle. The people are shy and timid hating contact with the inhabitants of the plains. They love the wild mountain gorges and prefer the stillness of jungle life and fly to the most inaccessible parts on the least alarm. They live by hunting and rude agriculture. Like many other wild tribes they are in the habit of clearing patches of land in the forest during the cold weather and firing it in the hot weather. Seed is so n among the ashes after the commencement of the rains. After the second year the land is abandoned and a fresh clearing made. The people produce barely sufficient food for half the year and supply their wants for the remainder by bartering turmeric of which they raise large quantities. The Kandhs regard themselves as proprietors of the land and insist upon their rights with that curious pertinacity which distinguishes the cognate tribes of Santal Munda and Ho.

The Kandhs call themselves *Kuli loka* or *Kuli enju*. The derivation of the name Kandh is obscure nor has the critical study of the Kandh dialects gone far enough to throw any light on the subject. Some seek to identify it with the Uriya word *Khanda* denoting a measure

of land reckoned by the quantity of seed sown and support this view by reference to the Kandh tradition that once upon a time they were a race of quiet cultivators dwelling in the plains of Orissa. But why should the fact of men having acres to till lead them to call themselves by so obviously inappropriate a name and that too in a language with which *ex hypothesi* they could have no acquaintance? Another theory refers to the mention in the Ramayana of a tribe of Asuras called Skandh Asuras ruling over the forest of Dandaka the hilly tract extending from the Vindhya hills to the river Krishna and suggests that the Kandhs may be a remnant of these the initial S having been dropped by phonetic corruption. A third and in some respects more plausible hypothesis derives the name from *Kāṇḍ* the Uriya for a sword which is said to be the totem or distinguishing mark of the tribe. Where the data are so vague and uncertain no opinion can be usefully put forward. I may however point out arguing from analogous cases that tribal names usually belong to one of two types. Either they consist simply of the word for man in the tribal language or they are epithets bestowed by Hindu neighbours usually casting some aspersions on the usages of the tribe in the matter of food. Horo or Ho is an instance of the former type. Musahar and according to some authorities Kol or Kolh of the latter. These lines of inquiry if followed up by persons adequately acquainted with the various dialects concerned ought one would think to lead in course of time to a satisfactory solution of the question.

The Kandhs of the Orissa Kandhmals with whom alone we are now concerned are supposed to have entered the Kandhmals from the south about 200 years ago driving out the feeble and unwarlike Kurums or Kurmis who appear to have been the original occupants of these tracts. They are divided into two classes—(1) Uriya Kandh (2) Malua or Arria Kandh. The former are Kandhs who from social intercourse with the Uriyas have abandoned many Kandh usages and adopted Hindu customs in their place while the Malua or hill Kandhs still adhere strictly to the original observances of the tribe. Within the limits of the Kandhmals these two groups have not yet become strictly endogamous and owing perhaps to the sparseness of the population of these tracts intermarriages still take place between them. But the Malua Kandhs already refuse to intermarry with the Uriya Kandhs of Bod Proper and Gumsur whom they regard as having lowered themselves by taking to Hindu practices and it seems probable that in course of time an equally complete separation will be brought about between the Uriya and Malua Kandhs of the Kandhmals.

The fine physique of the Kandhs—a point on which all observers agree—may perhaps be due in some measure to their custom of admitting into the tribe members of other stocks always excepting the weaver Páns or Domnas and the sweeper Haris. The price paid for the privilege of admission into the Kandh community varies in different parts of the Kandhmals but is invariably reckoned in buffaloes and strong drink. A great feast is made and the new member is formally inducted into the tribe.

In close contact with the Kandhs and dwelling in the same villages with them we find three castes bearing names which seem to indicate some sort of connexion with the tribe. These are the Kui Kumharanju or Kandh kumhars the Kui Loharenju or Kandh Lohárs and the Kui Gonranju or Kandh Gonds. Although these castes have adopted the religion customs and dress of the Kandhs they are still not recognised as members of the Kandh community and Kandhs will not intermarry or eat with them. It is possible therefore that there may be no tie of blood between them and the Kandhs and that the imitation of Kandh observances is due merely to their having been long settled in the Kandh country and having forgotten their own rites. On the other hand if we compare these names with the similar combinations found among the Mundas Oraon and other tribes of Chota Nagpur it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the castes in question must have arisen from intermarriages between women of the Kandh tribe and Hindu artisans who had settled in Kandh villages.

Ethnologists have long been aware that the custom of *exogamy* is rigorously observed among the Kandhs. In his *Essay on Primitive Marriage* first published in 1860 the late Mr J. H. McLennan refers to Major Macpherson's *Account of the Religion of the Khonds in Orissa* for the district of Orissa that among the Khonds intermarriage between persons of the same tribe however large or scattered is considered incestuous and punishable by death. Notwithstanding the stringency of the rule and although owing to the prevalence among them of human sacrifices and infanticide the Kandhs have been under the close observation of British officers ever since 1837 I have had the greatest difficulty in ascertaining the precise form of exogamy practised by them and indeed in getting any information at all on the subject. In reply to repeated inquiries addressed to several different correspondents well acquainted with the tribe and engaged in official work among them I have been assured that the Kandhs have no exogamous subdivisions at all and that their matrimonial arrangements are regulated so far as the avoidance of consanguineous marriages is concerned by the comparatively modern system of calculating prohibited degrees from a common ancestor. The facts now recorded which I regret to say are still incomplete reached me only a few days before the completion of these volumes. They were ascertained for me in a special inquiry conducted at my request by Mr James Taylor Tahsildar of the Kandhmals whose intelligence in carrying out my instructions I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging. That the facts should have been ascertained with difficulty and that they should have escaped the notice of so many observers is quite in keeping with my experience in other parts of Bengal. The rules which govern the custom of exogamy and the caste or tribal divisions by means of which that custom is worked concern the inner life of the people and leave no trace on their relations with the outside world. They are a sort of shibboleth understood only by members of the tribe itself. Even among them this knowledge is

often confined to heads of families or villages priests genealogists match makers and such like persons whose business it is to look after the matrimonial arrangements of the tribe For this reason they form not only the most archaic but also the most durable portion of the body of custom which a given tribe or caste observes and are the least liable to be modified or destroyed by the operation of fiction and of the inveterate tendency to imitate the institutions of groups supposed to be socially superior which has done and is constantly doing so much to force all tribal observances into conformity with the standard Brahmanical pattern

The Kandhs of the Orissa Kandhmals are divided into fifty *gochi* or exogamous septs each of which bears the name of a *mula* or village believes all its members to be descended from a common ancestor and as a rule dwells as a body of blood relations in the commune *mula* or group of villages after which it is called The Kandh *goc* appears therefore to represent the nearest approach that has yet been discovered to the local exogamous tribe supposed by Mr McLennan to be the primary unit of human society A list of the *gochi* is given in Appendix I Each *gochi* is further split up into sub septs called *klambu* Each dwelling in one of the villages making up the *mula* or commune Of these I have not yet been able to obtain a complete list

The sub sept like the sept traces its origin to a single ancestor but he is a personage of more recent date than the progenitor of the sept The relations included in the former are comparatively near while the connexion between members of the *gochi* is much more remote and in the modern sense of the word they can hardly be called relations at all The sub sept seems in fact to be a sort of joint family expanded to form a village community the members of which are invited to marriages festivals and similar domestic ceremonies to which it would be impossible to bring together the larger group On occasions of special importance when for example a *casus belli* is thought to have arisen between a sept and its neighbours the whole *gochi* is summoned to meet in council and consider the question laid before it

A Kandh may not marry a woman of his own *gochi* even though she belong to a different *klambu* from himself Both *gochi* and *klambu* go by the father's side and I can find no traces of female kinship having ever been recognised by the Kandhs The use of the division into *klambu* can best be illustrated by an actual example Let us suppose that a man of the Besungia *gochi* and Busera *klambu* marries a woman of the Kutrengia *gochi* and Bisunga *klambu* Their son would belong to the same *gochi* and *klambu* as his father and would be precluded from marrying a woman of the *klambu* to which his mother belonged but might marry into any of the other four *klambu*s of the Kutrengia *gochi* This prohibition holds good for three generations in the descending line and many Kandhs prefer to extend it to the fourth They take in fact as Mr Taylor pertinently remarks much the same view of it as many Europeans take of inter marriage between first cousins It will be seen from this that the

rule forbidding marriage within the mother's *klambu* serves for the Kandhs much the same purpose as is ordinarily effected by the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees. This formula is unknown to the Kandhs of the Kandhmals and their arrangements for guarding against consanguineous marriages consist solely of the simple rules regarding the *gochi* and the *klambu* which have been explained above. A similar system exists among the Santals but the septs and sub-septs are not *locali et* as they are among the Kandhs and the prohibition of marriage within the mother's sub-sept is not so stringently enforced.

Kandh girls are usually married when of full age in most cases to men of their own choice and after a regular process of courtship considerable license is allowed to the young men and maidens of the tribe and sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognised. Infidelity after marriage is said to be rare; the adulterer if found out atones for his fault by paying an indemnity to the husband. Until this has been done the woman is excluded from social intercourse with her neighbours. Widows and divorced wives may marry again. A bride price is paid to the father. The widow's choice of a second husband is in theory unfettered but it is considered the right thing for her to marry her late husband's younger brother. In the event of her marrying an outsider she retains the charge of her children until the girls attain puberty and the boys are old enough to hold the plough. In any case she has no rights over her late husband's property which goes to his children or failing them to his brother.

When a Kandh youth is of an age to marry his parents find out who he has fallen in love with and send a go-between usually a man of the same caste to ascertain the views of the girl's parents and to approach the delicate question of the price to be paid for the bride. If the preliminary negotiations are successful a deputation of the boy's relations goes on its way to the girl's house and a general trinketing bout is held at which the amount of the bride price is minutely fixed. The price is reckoned in *pot* or lives a term of

somewhat vague connotation which includes buffaloes, cows, goats, brass plates and other valuable ornaments and things in general. Its amount varies with the wealth of the bride's father to whom it is paid. It may extend to as many as forty *pot* and the payment may be paid over two or three years. Soon after the relations have settled the result of their negotiations the bridegroom pays a visit to his future father-in-law's house bringing with him the first instalment of the bride price. The formal betrothal is then effected by the bridegroom putting a necklatch round the girl's neck while she pours oil over his head.

On the day before the wedding the bridegroom and his male relations go in procession to the bride's house where they stay that evening and the next morning in fasting. The essential and brilliant portion of the marriage ceremony in which the bride's father officiates as priest is said to consist of his taking the right hands of the couple and spitting on the palm of each. The effect of this in the case of the bride is to remove her from her

original sept and to preclude her from re-entering her father's house. The married couple are carried off on the backs of the bridegroom's friends to his house where the marriage is consummated. On the next day a feast is made and the girl sits on a couch surrounded by the women of the village and pretends to weep. After this has gone on for some time she and her husband are seized by his friends and carried about in triumph. A short dance follows and both are replaced on the couch. Then the bride's male relations take hold of the bride and run away with her, hotly pursued by the girls of the village who pummel the men soundly, recapture the bride and bring her back to her husband. After this the bride's relations return to their own village. On the day after the marriage the bride and bridegroom, taking with them an old man to officiate as priest, go a little way outside the village and worship Dhārma Lennu with offerings of fowls, eggs, rice and strong drink in order to secure a happy life and male offspring. A high standard of conjugal fidelity is observed among the Kandhs and husbands usually treat their wives kindly. Polygamy as a practice is unknown. If a woman proves barren the husband may take a second wife but in such cases the two wives have separate houses and enjoy equal privileges.

About a month before her confinement is expected the woman and her husband pay a visit to her parents' house and get from them some toys for the child consisting usually of a small bow and arrow, a wing fan and a small basket. These are hung up in the house till they are wanted. A few days before the confinement both husband and wife leave their house and take up their abode in an outside room set apart for this purpose. There the husband cooks and eats with the wife and in the case of a first confinement he or his father sacrifices a pig with offering of cooked and uncooked rice and libations of strong drink to the spirits of their ancestors in order that nothing may go wrong. No one can enter the room while the woman is going on in confinement becoming ceremonially unclean and the husband has to give whatever assistance is necessary. After the placenta has been taken out the cooking pots hitherto in use are broken and visitors are admitted but they may not eat with the parents of the child until a further period of twelve days has elapsed when a further braiding of the hair takes place and a feast is given to the neighbours. When the child is two or three years old its head is shaved and a small ceremony performed calling upon the dead ancestors to protect it from scald, itch and similar diseases of the skin. From the age of ten or twelve the hair is allowed to grow again. No ceremonies are performed after birth or when a boy or girl attains puberty.

As regards succession to property the general rule is that the sons get equal share but the portion of the oldest is sometimes larger than that of the others. The widow gets a share equal to that of a son. If a man dies without male issue leaving a will and a daughter the widow takes his moveable property in full ownership but has only a life interest in his land which goes to his nearest male relatives on her

death Daughters never share in the inheritance but are entitled to maintenance out of the estate until they are married Adoption is unknown A step son has no rights in the estate of his step father

Much has been written about the religion of the Kandhs but the subject can hardly be regarded as having yet been fully cleared up Major Macpherson's account of the matter ascribes to the Kandhs religious conceptions of a very advanced character quite out of keeping with their primitive social organization and one is inclined to suspect that the persons from whom he derived his information must have described to him rather their ideal view of what the religion of the tribe ought to be than what it actually was For this reason instead of entering upon a lengthy discussion of the subject as treated by him and endeavouring by analysis and comparison with the beliefs of cognate tribes to get at the actual facts underlying his account I prefer to state very briefly what is known about the Kandhs of the Kandhamals trusting to future research to work out the problem in fuller detail

The Kandhs of the Kandhamals recognize three principal gods—Dharmalennu Siru Pennu and Iaru Lennu The functions of Dharmalennu appear to be of a somewhat more general character than those assigned to the other two No regular times or seasons are fixed for his worship and he is appealed to only in cases of illness or a belated first child His worship is performed by a *guru* who may be of any caste but is usually either a Kandh or a Hindu The *gurus* usually have the power of throwing themselves or forcing to him with themselves into a state of hypnotic trance and are supposed to be able to cure diseases by touching people tying them up with bits of thread and similar mummeries On the whole Dharmalennu may be taken to be the god of the family and of the tribe If Siru Pennu is the god of the hill a divinity apparently of much the same type as the Muring Buru of the Santals and Munias He is a jagal and does not like people to trespass in his domain and the chief object of the worship which is performed in his honour in April and May is to induce him to protect him the attacks of wild animals People whose business takes them among the first lad hills of the Kandhamals and also to cur a full yield of the jungle products which the Kandhs like most similar to the collection for food The priest of Siru Pennu is called *dehuru* and the appropriate offerings are a goat and a fowl with rice and strong drink The offerings are put in a fly the worshippers of Siru Pennu the earth god thus the place among the Kandhs of Siru Pennu the earth god is similar to that of the *guru* in official literature which treat of the oppression of human sacrifice among the Kandhs He is believed to be very vindictive and to wreak his anger upon those who neglect his worship afflicting them with various diseases threatening their lives and causing them to be devoured by the wild animals In order to avert these evils the Kandhs offer buffalo and goat to the goddess *guru* and it is apparently when very truly think that the animal is offered being appeased His priests are called *phanlar* and the person who actually sacrifices the animals is known as *jam* The functions of the *dehuru* the *guru* and the *jam* are hereditary

Although human sacrifice has now been abandoned by the Kandhs and the memory of it is believed to have almost died out in the Kandhmals of Orissa an account of the tribe would be incomplete without some mention of the terrible practices which formerly prevailed. As I am not in a position to add any fresh facts to those already on record in the reports on the subject I venture to quote the admirable description of this phase of Kandh superstition which is given by my friend Mr J G Frazer of Trinity College Cambridge in volume 1 pages 384-90 of *The Golden Bough* — The best known case of human sacrifices systematically offered to ensure good crops is supplied by the Khoras or Kandhs another Dravidian race in Bengal. Our knowledge of them is derived from the accounts written by British officers who forty or fifty years ago were engaged in putting them down.² The sacrifices were offered to the earth goddess Tannu or Bera Tannu and were believed to ensure good crops and immunity from all disease and accidents. In particular they were considered necessary in the cultivation of turmeric the Khonds arguing that the turmeric could not have a deep red colour without the shedding of blood.³ The victim or Meriah was acceptable to the goddess only if he had been purchased or had been born a victim that is the son of a victim either or had been devoted as a child by his father or guardian. Khonds in distress often sold their children for victim considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death for the benefit of mankind the most honourable possible. A man of the Lanua (Pan) tribe was once seen to load a Khond with curses and finally to spit in his face because the Khond had sold for a victim his own child whom the Lanua had wished to marry. A party of Khonds who saw this immediately pressed forward to comfort the seller of his child saying— your child has died that all the world may live and the earth goddess herself will wipe that spittle from your face.⁴ The victims were often kept for years before they were sacrificed. Being regarded as consecrated beings they were treated with extreme affection mingled with deference and were welcomed wherever they went. A Meriah youth on attaining maturity was generally given a wife who was herself usually a Meriah or victim and with her he received a portion of land and farm stock. Their offspring were also victims. Human sacrifices were offered to the earth goddess by tribes branches of tribes or villages both at periodical festivals and on extraordinary occasions. The periodical sacrifices were generally so arranged by tribes and divisions of tribes that each head of a family was enabled at least once a year to procure a herd of fief for his fields generally about the time when his chief crop was laid down.⁵

The mode of performing these tribal sacrifices was as follows. Ten or twelve days before the sacrifice the victim was devoted by

Fraser's Golden Bough at dy p t R l g u n Lond n 1890
 M J r S C Ma pl r on M m l f Ser Ind a p 113 sq
 Maj r (al John C n l b l l W l d T b f Khonds tan pp 52-58 etc
 l Campbell p t p 56
 S C M pherson i t p 11 q
 l 113

cutting off his hair which until then was kept unshorn. Crowds of men and women assembled to witness the sacrifice none might be excluded since the sacrifice was declared to be for all mankind. It was preceded by several days of wild revelry and gross debauchery¹. On the day before the sacrifice the victim dressed in a new garment was led forth from the village in solemn procession with music and dancing to the Meriah grove which was a clump of high forest trees standing a little way from the village and untouched by the axe. In this grove the victim was tied to a post which was sometimes placed between two plants of the sankissar shrub. He was then anointed with oil, ghee and turmeric and adorned with flowers and a species of reverence which at is not easy to distinguish from adoration was paid to him throughout the day². A great struggle now arose to obtain the smallest relic from his person: a particle of the turmeric paste with which he was smeared or a drop of his spittle was esteemed of sovereign virtue especially by the women. The crowd danced round the post to music and addressing the earth said: O God we offer this sacrifice to you give us good crops seasons and health³.

On the last morning the orgies which had been scarcely interrupted during the night were resumed and continued till noon when they ceased and the assembly proceeded to consummate the sacrifice. The victim was again anointed with oil and each person touched the anointed part and wiped the oil on his own head. In some places the victim was then taken in procession round the village from door to door where some plucked hair from his head and others begged for a drop of his spittle with which they anointed their heads⁴. As the victim might not be bound nor make any show of resistance the bones of his arms and if necessary his legs were broken but often this precaution was rendered unnecessary by stupefying him with opium⁵. The mode of putting him to death varied in different places. One of the commonest modes seems to have been strangulation or squeezing to death. The branch of a green tree was cleft several feet down the middle the victim's neck (in other places his chest) was inserted in the cleft which the priest aided by his assistants strove with all his force to close. Then he wounded the victim slightly with his axe whereupon the crowd rushed at the victim and cut the flesh from the bones leaving the head and bowels untouched. Sometimes he was cut up alive⁷. In Chinna Kimeidy he was dragged along the fields surrounded by the crowd who avoiding his head and intestines hacked the flesh from his body with their knives till he died⁸. Another very common

S C Ma ih q t p 117 J Campbell p 11

S C M ph r p 118

J Campbell p 54

J Campbell pp 55 112

S C M ph r on p 119 J Campbell p 113

S C Ma ph r on p 17 In t d of t l h of t e t

Campbell mention two strong planks r b mboos (p 57) cr a l t b a b (p 182)

⁷ J Campbell pp 56 58 120

Dalton *Ethn l gy f B gal* p 288 quoting Colonel Campbell Report

mode of sacrifice in the same district was to fasten the victim to the proboscis of a wooden elephant which revolved on a stout post and as it whirled round the crowd cut the flesh from the victim while life remained. In some villages Major Campbell found as many as fourteen of these wooden elephants which had been used at sacrifices¹. In one district the victim was put to death slowly by fire. A low stage was formed sloping on either side like a roof upon it the victim was placed his limbs wound round with cords to confine his struggles. Fires were then lighted and hot brand applied to make him roll up and down the slopes of the stage as long as possible for the more tears he shed the more a suniant would be the supply of rain. Next day the body was cut to pieces.

The flesh cut from the victim was instantly taken home by the persons who had been deputed by each village to bring it. To secure its rapid arrival it was sometimes forwarded by relays of men and conveyed with postal fleetness fifty or sixty miles². In each village all who stayed at home fasted rigidly until the flesh arrived. The bearer deposited it in the place of public assembly where it was received by the priest and the heads of families. The priest divided it into two portions one of which he offered to the earth goddess by burying it in a hole in the ground with his back turned and without looking. Then each man added a little earth to bury it and the priest poured water on the spot from a hill gourd. The other portion of flesh he divided into as many shares as there were heads of houses present. Each head of a house rolled his share of flesh in leaves and buried it in his favourite field placing it in the earth behind his back without looking³. In some places each man carried his portion of flesh to the stream which watered his fields and there hung it on a pole. For three days thereafter no house was swept and in one district strict silence was observed no fire might be given out no wood cut and no strangers received. The remains of the human victim (namely the head, bowels and bones) were watched by strong parties the night after the sacrifice and next morning they were burned along with a whole sheep on a funeral pile. The ashes were scattered over the fields laid as paste over the houses and granaries or mixed with the new corn to preserve it from insects. Sometimes however the head and bones were buried not burnt⁴. After the suppression of the human sacrifices inferior victims were substituted in some places for instance

¹ J Campbell p 16. The elephant represented the earth goddess herself who was incarnate in the elephant. Campbell pp 51, 126. In the hill tract of Comusliw the practice of killing men and the potter's wheel the timber bound by the slay of a papak Campbell p 54.

² S Campbell p 130.

³ Dalton *Filley's B. G. I.* 288 referring to Colonel Campbell's report.

⁴ S Campbell on p 129. p J Campbell p 5, 58, 113, 114, 187.

⁵ J Campbell p 18.

⁶ S Campbell p 128. Dalton.

⁷ J Campbell p 182.

in the capital of Ohinna Kimedya a goat took the place of a human victim¹

In these Khond sacrifices the Meriahs are represented by our authorities as victims offered to propitiate the earth goddess. But from the treatment of the victims both before and after death it appears that the custom cannot be explained as merely a propitiatory sacrifice. A part of the flesh certainly was offered to the earth goddess but the rest of the flesh was buried by each householder in his fields and the ashes of the other parts of the body were scattered over the fields laid as paste on the granaries or mixed with the new corn. These latter customs imply that to the body of the Meriah there were ascribed a direct or intrinsic power of making the crops to grow quite independent of the indirect efficacy which it might have as an offering to secure the goodwill of the deity. In other words the flesh and ashes of the victim were believed to be endowed with a magical or physical power of fertilising the land. The same intrinsic power was ascribed to the blood and tears of the Meriah his blood causing the redness of the turmeric and his tears producing rain for it can hardly be doubted that originally at least the tears were supposed to produce rain not merely to prognosticate it. Similarly the custom of pouring water on the buried flesh of the Meriah was no doubt a rain charm. Again intrinsic supernatural power as an attribute of the Meriah appears in the sovereign virtue believed to reside in anything that came from his person as his hair or spittle. The ascription of such power to the Meriah indicates that he was much more than a mere man sacrificed to propitiate a deity. Once more the extreme reverence paid him points to the same conclusion. Major Campbell speaks of the Meriah as being regarded as something more than mortal and Major Macpherson says—A species of reverence which it is not easy to distinguish from adoration is paid to him. In short the Meriah appears to have been regarded as divine. As such he may originally have represented the earth deity or perhaps a deity of vegetation though in later times he came to be regarded rather as a victim offered to a deity than as himself an incarnate deity. This later view of the Meriah as a victim rather than a god may perhaps have received undue emphasis from the European writers who have described the Khond religion. Habituated to the later idea of sacrifice as an offering made to a god for the purpose of conciliating his favour European observers are apt to interpret all religious slaughter in this sense and to suppose that wherever such slaughter takes place there must necessarily be a deity to whom the slaughter is believed by the slayers to be acceptable. Thus their preconceived ideas unconsciously colour and warp their descriptions of savage rites.

The dead are burned and the ashes left at the burning ground until the next day. The relatives then go to the spot and burn over the ashes a cloth

J. Campbell p. 187

J. Campbell p. 12

S. C. Macpherson p. 118

and some rice at the same time calling upon the dead man to keep quiet and employ his spare time in ploughing or in gathering the leaves used for plates and not to transform himself into a tiger and become a nuisance to his friends. A fowl is also killed and a portion of the flesh laid close to the ashes. Having thus done their best to provide for the comfort of the deceased in the next world and to induce him to refrain from giving trouble to the living the mourners return home and solace themselves with a drinking bout. Relations who live in other villages are expected to pay visits of condolence to the dead man's house and to bring with them a sufficient quantity of liquor.

The Kandhs have a strong belief in witchcraft particularly in that exercise of the art which enables witches to transform themselves into tigers, leopards, wolves and so forth and in this shape to attack human beings or their cattle. For the detection of such persons the following ordeals are appointed—In the ordeal by iron a bar of iron is put into the blacksmith's furnace and the guru works the bellows. If no one in particular is suspected the names of the villagers are called out one after the other and the person at whose name the iron melts is held to be the guilty one. If suspicion has fallen on some one and it is desired simply to test his guilt a fowl is taken its legs are plunged into boiling water and rapidly withdrawn. If the skin peels off the suspected person is held to be guilty and he is turned out of the village unless he chooses to undergo the ordeal by fire. For this purpose a trench is cut seven cubits long and one cubit broad and filled with burning embers. The legs of the accused are then smeared with *ghí* and he is made to walk twice through the trench lengthwise. If the *ghí* catches fire and he is burned it is a proof of his guilt.

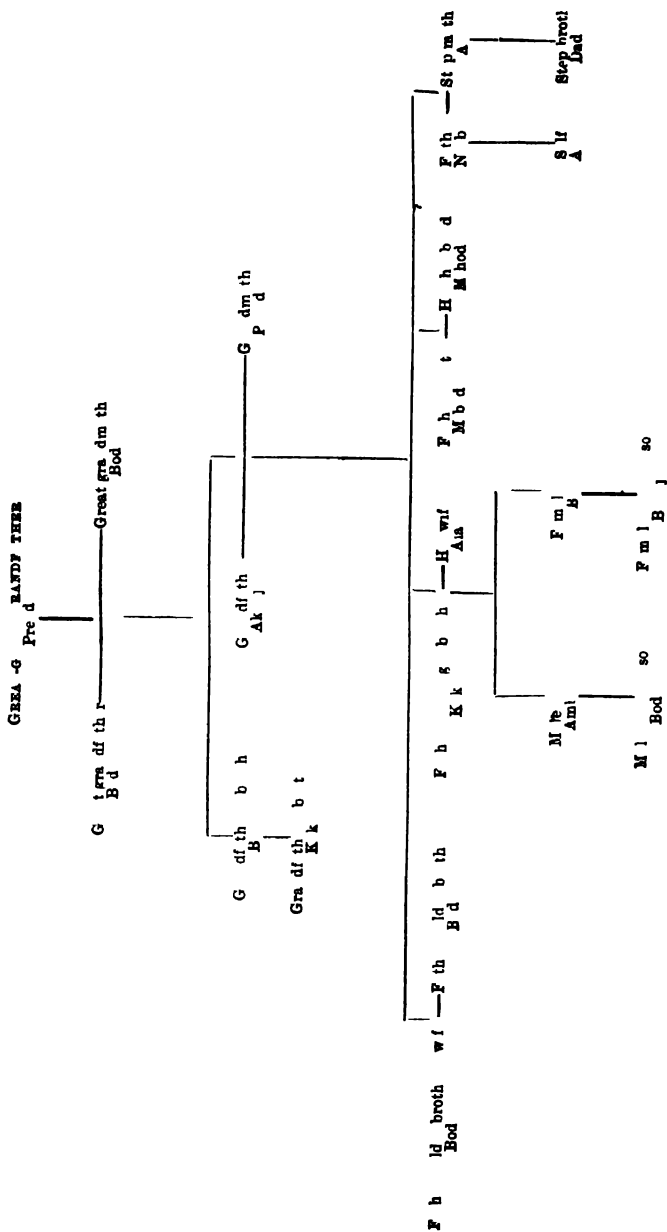
* The dress of the Kandhs is simple. The only garment of the men is a long cloth a few inches wide which is passed round the waist and twice through between the legs the ends usually brightly coloured hang down behind like a tail. The hair is worn in a tight chignon on the right side of the head into which metal pins, a fine tooth comb and flamingo feathers are usually stuck as ornaments. The women's dress consists of a short petticoat reaching from the waist to the knee on the upper part of the body they wear nothing but strings of beads. The face is tattooed on the cheeks and forehead with fine lines starting from the nose as a centre. Sometimes the legs are also decorated in this fashion. All observers agree in describing the men as a fine looking well formed race of middle height and great activity and fleetness of foot. The women on the other hand are ugly of feature short and square of build and exceedingly sturdy and robust. Similar differences of form and feature between the two sexes may be observed among the Rájbanis, the Tibetans the Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur and among many other primitive races. It is in fact a general opinion among ethnologists that the tribal type is more sharply defined and more persistent among the women than among the men of a tribe.

Like the Santáls and Hos the Kandhs are keen sportsmen and show remarkable skill in the use of very primitive weapons. Armed only with axes and bows and arrows they run down the bison, the nilgao and the wild boar and their accuracy of aim in the case of smaller animals is described as surprising. Agriculture is their

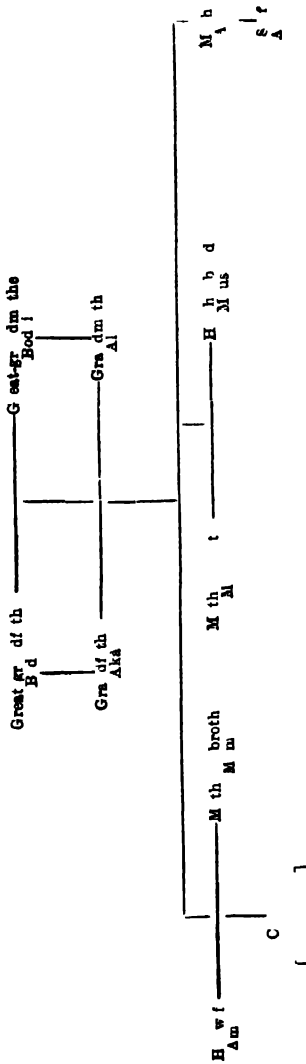
sole pursuit and none of them have taken to any sort of trade. They claim full rights of property in the soil in virtue of having cleared the jungle and prepared the land for cultivation. In some villages individual ownership is unknown and the land is cultivated on a system of temporary occupation subject to periodical redistribution under the orders of the headman or *malik*. Every village has its headman or *malik* and the office is hereditary in the male line. These officials have considerable influence and act as arbitrators in petty disputes between the villagers. A group of villages supposed to be inhabited by the descendants of a single ancestor forms a *muta* or commune under a chief called the *muta malik* whose authority is invoked chiefly to settle social disputes. In addition to the *muta malik* each *muta* has a Hindu Superintendent called *bisai* or *muta sardar*. These men are believed to have been appointed and endowed with grants of land by the Kandhs themselves in order to act as intermediaries between them and the Hindu Rájás of the neighbourhood. Their authority is said to be rapidly declining.

The tables on the following pages show the names of relations in use among the Kandhs.

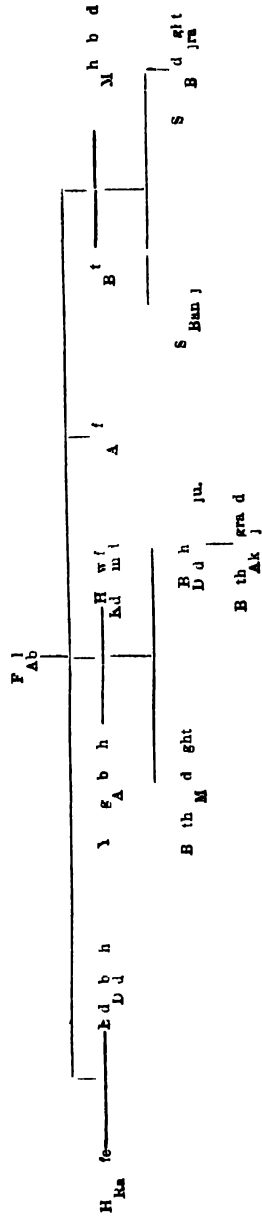
A — Relations through the father whether of man or woman



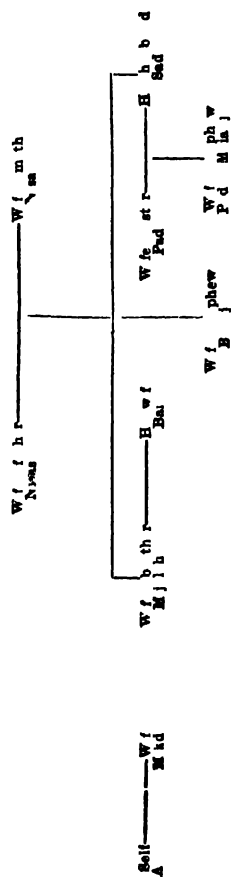
B—Relations through the mother whether of man or woman



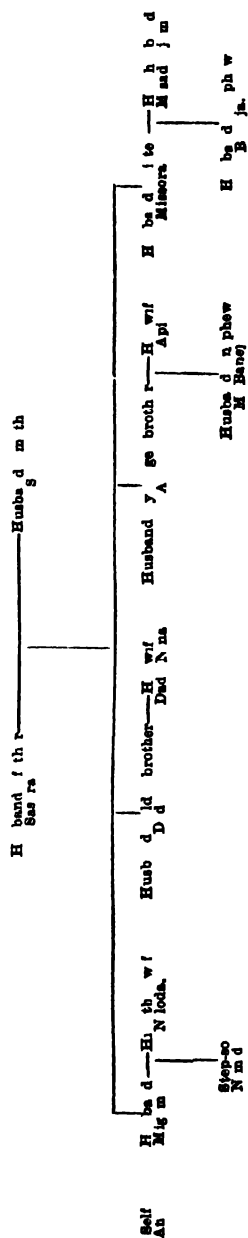
C—Relations through the brother and sister, whether of man or woman



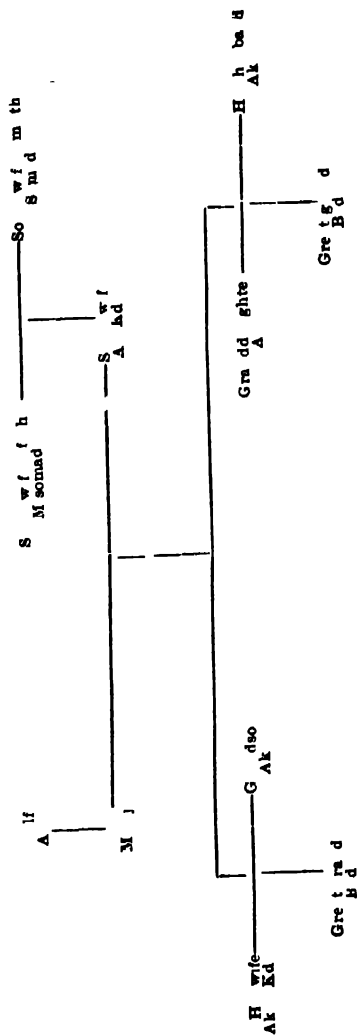
D(1) — Relations through the wife of a man



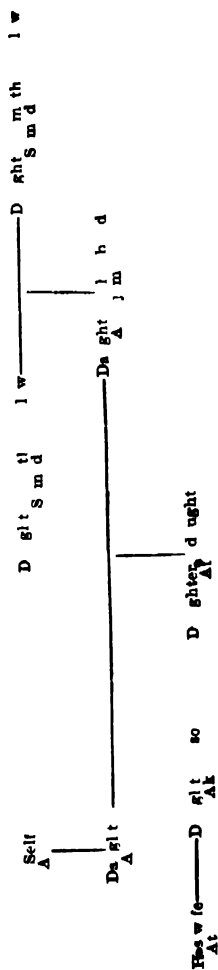
D (2) — Relations through the husband of a woman



E (1) — Relations through the son whether of man or woman



E (2) — Relations through the daughter whether of man or woman



Kándh pákar a section of the sept of Mundas in Chota
Biyáhut and Kharidáh Kal Nagpur
wárs in Behár

Kandru fish a totemistic sept
of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kándu Kanu Bharbhunjá Bhuyas Gonr the grain parching
caste of Behar and Bengal supposed to be
descended from a Kahar father and a Sudra
mother and ranking among the mixed castes According to
Buchanan¹ indeed the Kandus of Gorakhpur were reckoned
as Vaisyas but in this connexion the term Vaisya seems to have
been used merely to mean merchant and had no reference to the
Vaisyas of early Indian tradition The fact that the Kandus keep
shops and often manufacture and sell sweetmeats has led to their
being confounded with the Halwai or confectioners who make
sweetmeats but do not usually parch grain themselves This con-
fusion has perhaps been more difficult to avoid owing to both castes
being distributed over much the same area and having among their
sub castes groups bearing the same territorial names The Kandus
are divided into the following sub castes —

Madhesiá Magahiyá Bantariá or Bharbhunjá Kanaujiá
Gonr Koráneh Dhuria Rawáni Ballam
tirá Thather or Thatherá Among these
the Madhesiá and Bantaria adhere strictly to their hereditary pro-
fession of parching grain and elling sweetmeats the Kanauja
sub caste are said to make salt ore while the Madhesi Guriya
are cultivators personal servants and thatchers of houses the
Gonr cut and dress stones sell sweetmeats or act as personal
servants in the houses of zemindars Grain parching building mud
walls brick laying and thatching are the characteristic occupations
of the Koráneh while the Dhuria and Rawáni carry palanquins
and make sweetmeats All the sub castes or at any rate their
women practise grain parching more or less and the separation
of each group from the main body seems to have been due either to
geographical position or to the circumstance of the males of the group
adopting other occupations in addition to their hereditary profession
The Dhuriá and Rawáni rank lowest of all owing either to their
having taken up the comparatively menial profession of palanquin
bearing or to their being branches of the Kahar caste who went in
for grain parching and thus came to be associated with the Kándus
These two intermarry with each other All the other sub castes are
strictly endogamous

The majority of the Dacca Kándus says Dr Wise belong to the
Madhesiá and Koráneh sub castes and are usually called Bhar-
bhunjás from their parching and grinding grain and preparing *sattu*
or flour Another equally common designation is Panch Priya
Kándus from the religious sect to which they all belong They
originally came from Damdáhá in Purniah but having resided for
several generations in Bengal are known as Khontá or degraded and

Deswāī or alien Kāndus by their Hindustānī brethren who decline all communication with them

The sections of the Magahiyā sub-caste which are very numerous are shown in Appendix I. Authorities differ as to the precise form of exogamy which is practised. Some say that a man may not marry a woman who belongs to the same section as (a) himself (b) his mother (c) his paternal grandmother (d) his maternal grandmother (e) his paternal and maternal grandmothers. According to others the four sections of father, mother and both grandmothers are excluded on the side of the bridegroom and the three sections of father, mother and maternal grandmother on the side of the bride and in reckoning consanguinity both sets are taken into account, so that if the bride's maternal grandmother should have belonged to the same section as the bridegroom's paternal grandmother the marriage will be barred even though the bride and bridegroom themselves belong to different sections. Probably both systems are in force in some part of the large area covered by the caste. As regards the other sub-castes the information available is rather meagre. The Gonn Kauria and Madhesia have *n* *u* *s* *o* sections and exclude in marriage a man's own section and those to which his mother's and both his grandmothers belong. I have not been able to ascertain the names of the sections. Two of the Bantaria and five of the Koranch sections are given in Appendix I. The Dhuria and Rawani sub-castes regulate their marriages by the standard formula for calculating prohibited degrees.

As a general rule Kandus marry their daughters as infants but cases of adult marriage are by no means uncommon. The marriage ceremony is of the common type and *sūrudan* is regarded as the binding portion. A *tilak* of cloth and ornaments is usually exchanged the first gift being presented by the parents of the bride. But where the bride's people are very poor a bride price of from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 is sometimes paid and in such cases the marriage is celebrated in the bridegroom's house. Among the Gonn sub-caste I have come across a very singular practice which appears to have been introduced with the object of avoiding the stigma incurred by a family which has a daughter unmarried at the age of puberty. Where a girl is sickly or deformed or where owing to the poverty of the family it is thought doubtful whether she will get married all the relatives are assembled and in their presence she is formally married to a drawn sword. The full marriage ceremony is performed the caste Brahman officiates as priest and red lead is smeared on the girl's forehead with the point of the sword. A girl so married wears ornaments, beds the parting of her hair with red lead and in every respect demeans herself as a married woman though living in her father's house. In the event of her afterwards procuring a husband the entire ceremony is performed afresh. In the case of adults sexual intercourse before marriage may be atoned for by payment of a fine to the panchāyat and if the fine is duly paid the social position of the couple after marriage is not affected by their previous indiscretion.

Polygamy is permitted up to the customary limit of two wives but in some districts it seems to be held that before taking a second wife a man must obtain the permission either of his first wife or of the headman and panchayat of the caste. A man may marry his wife's younger sister whether virgin or widowed but may in no case marry an elder sister after being married to the younger. A widow may marry again by the *sagai* ritual which is less meagre than is usual among other widow marrying castes. A Brahman is employed to recite *mantras* and *sindur* is besmeared seven times on the forehead of the widow. She is not obliged to marry her late husband's younger brother should such a relative exist but in practice it is usual for her to do so. If she prefers to marry an outsider the members of her late husband's family may claim the custody of her male children by him. Female children however follow the mother. Most Kandus appear to allow of divorce for adultery with a member of the caste and permit divorced wives to marry again. Among the Gonor sub caste however divorce in the European sense of the word is unknown. If a woman goes wrong with a member of the caste the matter is brought before the panchayat and is usually condoned. A second indiscretion is visited with exclusion from the caste and this penalty is invariably inflicted when a woman has *raito* with an outsider.

In matters of religion the caste seems to be pretty evenly divided between Vaishnavism and Saktism. Mathil or Irhutia Brahmans serve them as priests and are received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order. Their minor gods are numerous and deserve special notice. In Behar the entire caste worship Goraiya in a fashion which seems hardly in keeping with their high social position and which seems to be a survival of some non-Aryan rite. A lump of clay is set up outside the house to represent the deity, a Dosadh officiates as priest and the victim is a pig which is bought for a price from the Dosadh slain by him at the instance of the Kandu worshipper and then eaten by the family of the priest. The Dosadh in fact performs exactly the same functions as the *Lahan* of Chota Nagpur and is paid for them in exactly the same manner. The Bantaria or Bhurbliunja sub caste worship Govinda as a household god on the Krishnashtami (8th dark half of Bhadra) with offerings of parched paddy, plantain, curds and sweetmeats which are eaten by the members of the family and the *dead* relations. The Gonor sub caste perform *pooja* once a month to a small silver image of Bandi Mai and on the tenth day of the Dasahara festival they wash the chisel, hammer and T square which they use for stone cutting and worship these tools with libations of ghee. The Kanchan also worship Bandi but make her image of cloth like a doll. The Magahy Kandus of Bhagulpur and Monghyr worship a deified member of the caste one Kangli Bahu to whom goats, sweetmeats, boiled rice, parched gram and ginja are offered in the months of Sravan and Bhadra.

Other name known as Kaugali Maharaj or Kaugali Baba

In the month of Māgh all grain parching Kāndu in tend of worshipping Sarasvatī as most Hindus do pray a ration to Śekhā Siv Nath. At this festival a pot filled with ghī flour barley and other articles of their trade together with large quantity of iron (*dhuna*) is set fire to and the dense smoke is curled as the symbol or manifestation of their patron deity. Rām Thākūr Rīnōa Dhārī and Naya Gosāl are also mentioned among the minor gods of Behar to whom goats are offered on Fridays in the month of Ashar.

The Dīccā Kāndus although employing a *rahman* as purveyor follow the singular food call *līlāch fīrīy*. Many observe the fast of Rāmāzīn wear the *līlī* *rāh* and the *fīrī* *mūh* unt garb offer sweetmeats (*līn*) at Dīrgās and at the Shāh Husainī Dārīn and put their trust in imālet (*lī* *ī*) given by the Khwāndkar. Like the *līnch fīrīy* *līn* and Kumhār their *cūru* is the Mānt (*lī* *th* *Nūak* *Sh* *lī* *Akh* *rā*).

The religious ceremonies present no features of special interest. The dead are burned and *līlī* is performed on the thirty first day after death.

Most Kāndus have the parching of grain to be their original and characteristic occupation and the caste is spoken of by early English travellers under the quaint name of the frymen. In Upper India they are often a caste at is but they also parch grain and pack bullocks as the Banjaris do for transporting merchandise and cereals. The Gōrī sub caste cut and dress stone for building, make images of the gods and prepare curry stones and plain null for household use. They also work as masons and many of them are employed as domestic servants in the houses of wealthy landholders. In this capacity they fetch water and do all kinds of culinary work. No money wages are paid them but they get their home stead lands (*līn*) rent free and are also entitled to claim certain requisites (*līn* *īn*) when the crop are raised. Their women parch grain and sometimes make sweetmeats.

Throughout the caste indeed the actual work of parching grain is usually left to the women. The process is a simple one. A clay oven is built somewhat in the shape of a barrel with ten or twelve round holes in the top. A fire is lighted in a hole and in earthen pots containing sand are put on the holes. The grain to be parched is thrown in with the sand and stirred with a flat piece of wood (*līn* *lī*) or a broom (*ph* *rū*) until it is ready. The wages (*lī* *g*) of the parcher are a proportion of the grain varying from one eighth to one fourth. In Dacca the Kāndas are confessions as well as washermen and domestic servants and others. Their lowly traditional origin does not prevent their providing the only food that strict Hindu is can eat with unwashed hands. It should be explained that vegetable products such as *gur* or molasses and sweetmeats cooked without the addition of any other substance than sugar are called *pala* or *līnch* and may be eaten even by Brahmans with a dish of mūr but if water or milk be added it is *pālā* or dressed and becomes impure.

Kandwar a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kaneil a section of the Biya hut and Khurid ha Kalwars and of Magahiya Kandus in Behar

Kangal *Kangal* a caste. Usually denotes the class of people who are appointed in ordinary years by the huts of their fellow villagers. The obligation is held to be when the harvest is undrawn by the community.

Kahgal a title of Golas

Kanhaiwar a mul or title of the Niamuli or Majraut sub caste of Golas in Behar

Kanigame Kanigam a mul of the Bharwad a section of Mui thil Brahmins in Behar

Kanjhar *Khangor* a Dravidian gypsy caste of the North West Provinces who hunt jackal catch and eat snakes and milk strings of hemp and cotton. In India they are chiefly rope twisters.

Kanji a title of Jolahas

Kanjari a *gotra* of the Betsia of the Khar Brahmins in Bengal

Kanjulal a *gotra* of the Betsia of the Khar Brahmins in Bengal

Kankhoja an ear picker generally a member of the barber caste

Kankol a mul or section of the Chhambha Malhesia sub caste of Hlwai in Behar

Kankuli a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kannia a *gotra* or section of the Nili Brahmin

Kano a section of the Juna parul of the Khar in Behar

Kanp a mul or section of the Kanujia sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Kanpakar a mul or section of the Immuli Malhesia sub caste of Hlwai in Behar

Kanphat or **Sannyasi** a religious group of Jungs

Kanphata a pt of the Khar sub tribe of the Khar in Behar

Kanpu a Hindu caste of Purniah allied to the Doms and intermarrying with them. They are principally engaged in killing mice, rats and other wild beasts with poisoned arrows.

Kans a sept of Khar in Chit Nagpur

Kansari a synonym for Kansari

Kansari *Kansari* the name of a caste of Bengal popularly supposed to be an offshoot of the Suburbanik. It is said to be an offshoot of the members took to working in the iron or bell metal. Another view is that they are merely a sub caste of Kamars who have severed their connexion with the parent caste and set up as an independent group. Kansaris marry their daughters as infants by the orthodox Brahmanical ritual prohibit the remarriage of widows and do not recognise divorce. Their social rank is respectable. They employ the same Brahman barber and waterman as the members of the Nabasakh group and Brahmins take water from their hands. In Eastern Bengal almost all Kansaris belong to the Saiva sect.

but in Central and Western Bengal Saivas are found among their number. Like other artisan castes they are very particular about observing the festival of Viswakarma the mythical architect of the universe.

Kansaris buy their material in the form of brass sheeting which they hammer into the haps required. In Eastern Bengal Chandals often take service with them and become very skilful workmen. The utensils made are sold to dealers (*jahar*) who retail them in villages inland.

Kansari a sub caste of Karmars in Midnapur

Kansaunghia a section of Fabians in Behar

Kansi field grass a totemistic sign of Chiks. Kumhars. Lants. Ichis. Golas and Baurigis in Chota Nagpur a section of Kahars in Behar

Kant a section of Awadhia Hajjams in Behar

Kantari Mahabrahman or **Mahapatra** a division of Brahmans in Behar who officiate as priests at the cremation of the dead

Kántai a group of the Rāj bansi sub caste of the Kochh caste by profession paliki bearers

Kantaru a sub section of the Bhgradwaja section of Utkal Brahmans

Kante ke rakmal a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Kante ke ras a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha Kalwars in Behar

Kánthará a Jain or sub section of Saptasati Brahmans in Bengal

Kanthwár a territorial section of Kautias in Chota Nagpur

Kánti Kantear a territorial section of Mithili in Mithilanchal members of which will not eat the ear of any animal

Kantitahá a sub caste of Golas in Behar

Kantithia a section of Kanauji in Behar

Kanu a synonym for Kandu

Kanungo an honorary title of Kayasths in Bengal

Kanwa or **Kanna** a section of Brahman

Kanwad a jungle fruit a sept of Kharwár in Chota Nagpur

Kanwar a sept of the Surj bansi division of Rajputs in Behar a title of Cheros in Palamau

Kánwar a sub caste of Doshadhs in Behar

Kanwayan a kshatra pota gotra or section of Brahmans

Kanya a Jain or sub section of Saptasati Brahmans in Bengal

Kanwakubja or **Kanauja** a territorial division of the Kanauji Gaura Brahmans deriving its name from the Kanauj country

Kaorá a sub caste of Hindus in Bengal they receive and prepare oil from the juice of date tree. Many of them act as cooks for Europeans

Kaura a synonym for Kora

Kapa Chhagharia a hypergamous group of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Kapali a *gotra* of the Sábarna *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Kapali a cultivating and weaving caste of Eastern Bengal who claim to be the offspring of a Kamar father and a Kali mother (they say that the father of the caste was a liyar and the mother a Brahmin). Both pedigrees are wholly imaginary and only mentioned here as illustrating the persistence and vitality of the theory that all castes except the four supposed to have been originally created have arisen by marriage between the member of the four and members of the so-called mixed castes thus produced. Like many other castes the Kapali have a vague tradition that their original home was in Upper India but the tradition has never assumed a legendary form. Another theory is that up to the time of Ali-ud-din they were classed as the Sudras of Eastern Bengal and that when he imported the ancestors of the Bengal Brahmans and Kayasthas from Kanauj he called upon the Kapalis to supply the newcomers with water. Thus they declined to do and in punishment for their refusal were reduced to the comparatively low position which they now hold. The internal structure of the caste throws no light upon its origin. They have only two sections—Sib (Siba) and Kasyapa—but these are not exogamous and marriage is regulated by counting prohibited degrees down to three or a consanguinity seven generations in the descending line. We may perhaps hazard the conjecture that the section name Sib by no means a common one may indicate remote kinship with the Sibbans, Kochis, a very numerous tribe from which in all probability many of the castes of East Bengal have been derived. Kapalis have no regular settlement but a distinction seems to be drawn between those who make gunny bags and those who only sell them. The latter consider themselves so illly upon it that they must avoid intermarriage with them though they have not yet reached the complete endogamy which is essential to the formation of a sub-caste properly so called.

Kapalis marry their daughters as infants by the standard Hindu ritual the essential portion of which is the *niyoga* or the presentation of the bride to the bridegroom and his acceptance of the gift. The bride's parents receive a bride price (*dai*) the amount of which is lightly fixed when the bride comes from a family bearing the title of Maula, Manjhi or Shikhar. Polygamy is permitted when the first wife is barren but is altogether rare in practice. Widow remarriage is again divorce is not recognized. A woman taken in adultery is simply cast off by her husband and ceases to be a member of respectable society. She cannot marry her paramour for *ingā* is not in force among Kapalis but she may live with him as his mistress though in that case both run some risk of being expelled from the caste.

The religion of the Kapali presents no features of special interest.

Most of them are Vaishnavas comparatively few being Śaktis. Among the minor gods Kartikēya is held in special veneration. For religious and ceremonial purposes they employ degraded Bani Brahmins who are looked down upon by all members of the sacred order except those who serve castes of still lower social status than the Kapali. The dead are burned and the *sradh* ceremony is performed on the thirty first day after death. In the case of persons who die a violent death the *sradh* takes place on the fourth day.

In Rangpur Buchanan found the Kapali engaged in making umbrellas but in Eastern Bengal at the present day they are weavers and cultivators. According to Dr. Wise they chiefly cultivate jute (*sisir*) prepare the fibre themselves and manufacturing from it coarse canvas (*tut*) for bags. Both men and women weave their loom being the ordinary native one but clumsier than that used by the Lanti. Their shuttle is called *siya* and they dispense with the reel (*slada*). They are careful to explain that the shuttle is shot with the hands as among the Lantis and not driven by pedals as with the outcaste Jogis.

The Kapali manufactures three kinds of canvas the first (*hlala*) being used for the carriage of rape seed the second (*har*) for packing goods while the third (*tat*) is in universal demand for floor matting for boat sails rice bags and bags for country produce generally. In Bikrampur a finer kind of canvas known as *bara bastia* is woven for the carriage of areca nut. The trade of the Kapali has of late years suffered greatly by the importation of gunny bags from Europe but they always find a ready market for the sake of matting. Bamboo mats for floors are seldom used in Bengal but canvas is laid down in every shop and beneath bedding whenever people sleep on the ground. On the Vijayā Dasami day of the Durgā Puja all Bengali shopkeepers often including the Muhammadan regard it as a duty to throw away the old matting of their shops and to replace it by new.

The Kapalis generally reside in villages where they can cultivate jute never in large towns and would lose caste if they worked with hemp or cotton. Their occupation being different from that of the Lanti the two castes live in amity with one another.

They are usually poor but in former days several of them are said to have risen to be taluqdars. Some hold tenures but the bulk of the caste are occupancy and non occupancy riyats. A few have relinquished their characteristic trade and become boatmen and shopkeepers. Socially they rank between Jchiyas and Dhobas. They claim to be of higher rank than the Bhunmali Chandal or Sunri and the washerman and barber admit them to be clean Sudras and have no objection to working for them. Their practice in the matter of food is the same as that of other orthodox Hindus of Eastern Bengal. They assert that they never taste spirits but it is generally believed they do. Ganja smoking however is common among them.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kapalis in 1872 and 1881 —

D STRICT	1872	1881	D CT	1872	1881
B rdwa	730	729	P h	581	
Ba k ra		1	D j l g		
B th m	230		J lp g	8	
Mid p	130	71	K l k h		
H ghi		337	I w	7	1
H wrah	1724	108	F lp		1
A Park	2806	534	H k j		
Nad y	291	5	M m j	1	1
Ki lna		1 1	I j h	7	1
J sore	279	277	I k g		
M rshad bad	1546	1	N k l	7	
I jp	86	248	I l		
R j l hy	12	213	M l l	7	
ta p	316	2	tal P g		1
Bogra	761	80			

Kápar a section and a title of Kewats a title of the Dhusia sub caste of Chamars and of Maghaya Kumhais in Behar

Kapali the son of a wet nurse a title given by the Rájis of Ramgarh to some of their servants

Kapari a section of the Kadu caste in Behar

Kaphalya a section of Nepali and Utkal Brahmans

Kapinjala a section of Utkal Brahmans

Kapri a section of the Maghaya sub caste of Hindus a title of Ariay Jeli a section of the Banjar sub cast of Koiris in Behar a title of Chamars and a section of Sunris in Behar

Kapur a section of Awadhia Hajjams in Behar

Kápur a sept of the Chandra bansi division of Rajputs and a section of the Charjati sub caste of Khatris in Behar

Kar a section of Utkal or Orissa Brahmans a family name

of Baidyas and Kayaths in Bengal a title of the Aut sub caste of Gandhabaniks of San khuris Tantis and Sutradhars in Bengal

Kará buffalo a sub sept of the Beri sept of Santals and a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Kara a group of the Sr triya sub caste of Utkal Brahmans a mul or section of the Timuli and Chhimuli Mithila and Bhjuna sub castes of Halwais in Behar a title of Kurbettas

Karadhanauta a mul or section of the Timuli Mithila sub caste of Halwai in Behar

Karaf a section of Awadhia Hajjams in Behar

Karaiachor a section of the Banódhia and Jaiswar Kalwars in Behar

Karaiark a pur or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Karaiya a sub caste of Hindus

Karaiyá a title of Banga Kayasths

Karak a section of Sunris and Telis in Behar and Chota Nagpur

Kárakátá Karwár buffalo a totemistic section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Karal Kural a sub caste of Chandals who sell fish caught by thers Their women prepare and sell *clua*

Karalái a sub caste of Kaibartias in Noakhali

Karam a tree a sept of Goálás in Chota Nagpur

Karamatí a *thar* or sept of Gurungs in Darjil ng

Karamwár a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Katan, the indigenous writer caste of Orissa Karans recognise only two endogamous sub castes—Karan proper and Sristi Karan or Uriya Sristi Karan The former like the Madhyasreni Brahman and the Kaithas or Madhyasreni Kayasths claim to have been originally Kayasths of Bengal who were driven to take refuge in Orissa because they refused to accept the institution of Kulnism from Ballal Sen The latter are supposed to be sprung from *lairs* between Karans and members of the Nabasákhá group They are generally employed as menial servants by the Karans and I am informed that even now they do not object to admit the illegitimate children of Karans into their caste Karans and Sristi Karan however do not intermarry and a Karan cannot eat food that has been cooked by a Sristi Karan As with the Káyasths of Bengal cases occur among the Karans of outsiders being admitted into the caste and it is said that several families of well to do Khandaits have thus been transformed into Karans The children borne by maid servants kept in the family are called Bhatuntara They are recognised as Karans but do not inherit the property of the head of the family

Another group which is not strictly endogamous deserves special notice here This is the class known as Nauli Karan or Karan with the sacred thread Concerning these a curious story is told One upon a time the King of Orissa while out walking found two male infants apparently twins lying at the roadside He had them carried home and gave one to a washerwoman and the other to a sweeper (Hari) woman to nurse When they were grown up the boys were brought to the king and he was asked to determine their caste Seeing that no low caste woman would be at the trouble of exposing her infants the king concluded that they must be either Brahmans or Karans As it was impossible to say which he decided as it were to split the difference by investing them with the sacred thread as if they were Brahmans and then enrolling them in the Karan caste Their descendants still go through the form of investing their sons with the thread though they only wear it for two or three months At the time of their assuming the thread they perform a curious ceremony in memory of the vicissitudes of their ancestors A post made of *bl* wood and adorned with various kinds of devices in *sola* is set up at the place where the ceremony of investiture is performed and shell bracelets

a piece of cloth and other odds and ends are placed at the foot of it. On one side of the post stands a washerwoman on the other a woman of the Hari caste and when the initiate is taken inside the house he is made to bow ostensibly to the *bel* post but really so it is explained to the two women who represent the wet nurses of the twin forefathers of the caste. The Nauli Karans intermarry with the Karans proper but not with the Sristi Karans.

The exogamous divisions of the Karan caste are shown in Appendix I. Most of them are of the standard Brahmanical type though it is possible that Nigsa and Sankha may be totemistic. Prohibited degrees are reckoned by the method in vogue among the higher Hindu caste with the curious exception that a man is permitted to marry his maternal uncle's daughter; an alliance thus is not forbidden by the ordinary rules.

Girls are usually married as infants but instances not unfrequently occur where owing to difficulties in procuring a suitable husband a man will keep his daughters unmarried until they come to be eight or nine years old. In any case the Karas like the Khatris of Midnapur are careful to guard against polydomy by forbidding the couple to cohabit until the bride attains sexual maturity. Contrary to the usual practice of Hindu marriage in the Karan caste generally take place in the day time. On the question what should be deemed the most binding portion of the ritual there seems to be some difference of opinion. Some attach special importance to the offering of funeral cakes to the deceased ancestors of the bridegroom which takes place on the fourth day after the initial ceremony of giving away the bride. Others again hold that the essential rite is the laying of the bride's right hand in that of the bridegroom and binding their two hands together with a piece of thread spun in a special way. The wedding usually takes place at the bride's house. On the next day the bride is taken to the bridegroom's house where he spends eight days called the *ashtim ngala* or eight auspicious days. On the day and night immediately following the marriage known as the *bih ratri* or poison night the bride and bridegroom are not allowed to see one another at all nor in any case are they allowed to sleep together during the *ashta manja* unless the bride has attained puberty.

Most Karans are Vaihnava and their favourite divinity is Krishna. They employ Utkal Brahmins for religious and ceremonial purposes and these are the only Brahmins from whose hands they will take food. The dead are burned; a period of mourning is observed for ten days and the *addh* is performed in the orthodox fashion on the eleventh day. In the matter of personal law they are governed by the Mitakshara as interpreted by the commentary of Sambhukar Bajpai.

Karans rank next to Brahmins in the scale of social precedence commonly recognised in Orissa. Most of them have a sound knowledge of their own vernacular and are ready scribes, and within the last few years many

of them have taken to English education Zemindars patnidars holders of lakhirij tenures and occupancy and non occupancy ryots are found among the caste and many are employed as clerks and gomashtas by the various grades of landholders They are strict as to diet abstaining entirely from wine and strong drink taking cooked or uncooked food from no other caste water only from members of the Nabasakhá group and never smoking in the same hookah with men of another caste

Karan a sub caste of Káyasths and Tambulis in Behar

Karan Nauli Karan a sub caste of Karans in Orissa

Karingá *Karga Kurnja* a small Dravidian caste of Western Bengal who make baskets dig tanks and work as carpenters Their special business is the making of cart wheels and wooden articles such as *pails* or seers of standard measure In Singbhum they are also stone cutters They have two exogamous subdivisions Salmách and Kachchap and four endogamous sub cast —Dhaluá Malua Sikharia and Tunga The word also denotes persons who castrate goats and bullocks

Karanga Munda a sub tribe of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Karangarhyá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Karania kussum tree a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Karanja a *gan* of the Kásyapa *gotra* of Barendr Brahmins in Bengal

Karanjá a sub caste of Golas in Bengal

Karanjea an oil seed a sept of Bairagis in Chota Nagpur

Karar a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Karár a section of the Kurmi caste in Munbhum the members of which will not kill or eat a buffalo

Kararihá a *mul* or section of the Timmulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Karati a title of Chandals who are employed as sawyers of wood

Karauche a section of Bibhans in Behar

Karaunti a section of Awadhia Hajjims in Behar

Karbhaia a section of Kanaujia Sonars in Behar

Karcholiá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kargaha a section of the Maghaya sub caste of Kouris in Behar

Karhar a jungle fruit like / / a totemistic sept of Kharwar Chiks and Lohars in Chota Nagpur a section of Rajwars in Western Bengal

Karian a section of the Sitmulia Maghaya sub-caste of Kandus in Behar

Kariar a sept of Kaurs in Chota Nagpur

Karilar *Kariga* iron smiths and artificers generally

Kariont a section of the Káurim sub caste of Dosadhs in Behar

Karirá, a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Karjáhá a section of the Biryáhut and Kharidáh Kal wárs in Behar

Karjhulíá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kárji a title of Binjhas in Chota Nagpur

Kárkáda a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesiá sub-caste of Halwais in Behar

Karkosa cow a totemistic sept of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Karkusá a bird a totemistic section of Lohars and Mahuls in Chota Nagpur

Karma a tree a totemistic sept of Mundas and Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Karmahe-Majhaurá a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Karmáhe Áhpur a *mul* of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Karmahe-Tarauni a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Karmahe Naruár a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Karmahe Behat a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Karmahe-Majhiám a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Karmahe-Alanpur a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Karmahe-Urá a *mul* of the Bátsa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Karmakár in Bengal a synonym for Kamar in Hazaribagh a title of Kahars

Karmáli a title of black smiths in Chota Nagpur

Karminia a sept of the Suryabansá sub-tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Karmot a sub caste of Numas in Behar

Karmuá a section of Babhans in Behar

Karnamas a section of Bárnis in Bengal

Karnát a territorial division of the Iancha Dravira Brahmins, who live in the south of the Vindhya range in Karnatika, the country of the Canarese language

Karnautiá a *kul* or section of Bábhans in Behar

Karnávati a section of Babhans in Behar

Karni, a small and degraded caste of weavers in Eastern Bengal whose claim to kinship with the Tantis is repudiated by the latter. Karnis are met with in the western thanas of the Dacca district along the left bank of the Padma river but are more numerous in Faridpur and Pabna. They have three *gotras*—Bharadvāja, Ahman and Kasyapa—which appear to have been borrowed from the Brahmanical system. Vaishnavism is the religion of the majority. Saivism of the minority. Their priests are Barua Brahmins who serve them alone.

The Karní are exclusively engaged in weaving agriculture and fishing being strictly forbidden. They manufacture the *dhoti* or waist cloth the *gamcha* napkin or towel as well as chequered bed curtains (*chakhi*). In some eastern districts they sell betel leaf. Napits Dhobas and other servants of the Nava sakha work for the Karní which would hardly be the case if their origin were wholly impure.

Kární a *mul* or section of the Chhamulá Madhesiá sub-caste of Halwáis in Behar

Karnwár a sept of the Surajbansi division of Rajputs in Behar

Karo a section of Madhesiá Halwáis in Behar

Karpatne, a section of the Amashta Káyasths in Behar

Karpur a sub section of the Bharadwaja section of Utkal Brahmans

Karrál a sub caste of Chandals which has become degraded from carrying on the business of fishmongers. Their kinsmen neither intermarry nor hold any social intercourse with them but the same Brahman and servants work for both. The Karral is to the Hindu population what the Mahifarosh or Janjari is to the Muhammadan and men and women though they never fish themselves retail fish in the markets and often make advances to fisher men. This sub-caste is more numerous in Faridpur than in Dacca but all along the left or Dacca bank of the Padma small colonies are established while inland individuals are employed as constables and messengers.

The Karrals are all Vaishnavas in creed and united in one *gotra* the Kasyapa. They confess to a partiality for spirits but allege that they abstain from flesh including pork unless when the animal has been sacrificed.

Karsá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Karsal a sept of Goálas in Chota Nagpur

Karsul a section of Rautas in Chota Nagpur

Karthiá a kind of *dál* or grain a section of Goálas in Chota Nagpur

Kártik rásí a section of Máloq in Eastern Bengal

Karuá a sept of the Tungjanyas sub tribe of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Karuah a title of the Gháns caste in Singbhum

Karuna, a title of Kamárs in Behar

Karunjua a big black bird a totemistic section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Karwa a section of Chamárs in Behar

Karwar a section of Dhenuárs in Chota Nagpur

Karwat a sub caste of Nuniás in Behar

Kasa a *mul* a section of the Ayodhya sub-caste of Hajjás in Behar

Kasari a butcher. Most butchers are Mahomedans but in Bengal low Brahmans Káorás and Bágdis slaughter goats and

sheep and are known as Hindu *kaas*. In Eastern Bengal Mahomedan butchers are classed as Bakri kasai or goat killers and Goru kasai or cow killers. The latter were formerly looked upon as degraded but of late years the two groups have united and intermarry freely. All are followers of Maulavi Khramat Ali and are very big cattle eating with the Kutai but declining to have anything to do with sweepers and Bediyas.

Kasai Kulia a sub caste of Bagdis in Western Bengal living on the banks of the Kasai river who are boatmen and fishermen and are reckoned the highest in rank of the 14 sub-castes in which the Bagdis are divided.

Kasai deer a totemistic sept of Goalas in Chota Nagpur.

Kasarbani *Kasarbani* a section of the Bihari and Kharidha Kalwars in Behar.

Kasarwani a sub caste of Banyas in Behar who profess to have no less than ninety six sections of which the following are specimens — Sagela Bagela Chanankat Kathautia Launggha rajhari Sonechanrupekedandi Abkahila Chalania Chausowar Malhatia Sonaul Tarsi Tirusia. A man may not marry a woman belonging to his own section and must also observe the standard formula of prohibited degrees known to the fifth generation in the descending line. The Kasarwani marry their daughters as infants and do not recognise divorce. Polygamy however is permitted without any restriction on the number of wives a man may have. A widow is allowed to marry again and is not compelled to marry her late husband's younger brother though it is considered a very proper thing for her to do so. By religion most of them are Vishnavas and they also worship Banni and Sokhi Samihunath as minor or household gods. Shikring is their regular occupation and only a few have taken to agriculture. Kasarwani will not allow calves to be sacrificed nor will they sell cattle to Muhammadans or to men of the Belicaste.

Kasaudhan *Kasaudhan* or *Kasaudhan* a sub caste of Banyas in Behar some of whom claim to be Bais Banyas. The claim

however is not generally admitted.

Kasbak the heron a totemistic section of Bagdis.

Kasera *Kasera Tanheri* the brass founding caste of Behar probably an offshoot from one of the higher mercantile castes which was separated from the parent group by adopting this special profession. The fact that the Kaseras have a well defined set of exogamous sections and pride themselves on their purity of descent seems to indicate that the caste is a homogeneous one and is not like many of the functional castes a collection of men from several different groups held together merely by the bond of a common occupation. On the distinction between the Kasera and the cognate but distinct caste of Thathera Mr. Nesfield remarks — The Kaseras

speciality lies in mixing the softer metals (zinc copper and tin) and moulding the alloy into various shapes, such as cups bowls plates etc. The Thatherá's art consists in polishing and engraving the utensils which the Kaserá supplies.

The sections of the Kaserás are shown in Appendix I. A man may not marry a woman belonging to his own section and must also observe the rules regarding prohibited degrees which are held binding by the Káyasths of Behar. All Kaserás who can afford to do so marry their daughters as infants but they do not appear to regard this as an absolute necessity and in poor families it often happens that girls do not find husbands until after they have attained the age of puberty. The marriage ceremony is of the standard type. Polygamy is permitted to the extent that a man may take a second wife if his first wife is barren. A widow is allowed to marry again by the *saga* ritual which consists of smearing vermilion on the bride's forehead. This must be done at night in a dark room. Only widows attend at the ceremony married women deeming it unlucky to be present. No religious forms are gone through nor is any entertainment given to the members of the caste. Divorce is not recognised.

The religion of the Kaserás differs in no respect from that of other members of the middle class in Behar. For religious and ceremonial purposes they employ Brahmans who are received on terms of equality by other members of the sacred order. They burn their dead and perform *śráddh* in the orthodox fashion. Their social rank is respectable and Brahmans will take water from their hands. The bulk of the caste are engaged in their characteristic occupation and only a few have taken to agriculture.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kaserás in 1872 and 1881. The figures for Thatherá are included in the former year —

DISTRICT	1872	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
PATNA	344	378	Saigal Pargana	2	91
CUTTACK	225	28	CUTTACK	7	4
ST. HUBERT	6905	694	ST. HUBERT	477	27
ST. HUBERT {M. P.}	6905	694	ST. HUBERT {M. P.}	1	1
ST. HUBERT {D. I. K.}	6905	694	ST. HUBERT {D. I. K.}	30	34
SARA	817	361	SARA	76	79
CHAMPARA	1314	968	CHAMPARA	2	6
M. G.	3421	634	M. G.	1	1
M. G.	4692	46	M. G.	69	69
PUR	6969	648	PUR	490	55

In describing the Kaserás of the North Western Provinces Mr. Sherring says — As artisans and trades the Kaserá caste occupies a high position. They are distinct from the Váya community and to hold a place between them and the Khatrá caste. The reason assigned for this position is that the tribe in all its subdivisions is more punctilious on many matters considered to be of importance by Hindus than the Váya or Sudrá castes usually are and that they all wear the sacred thread. These remarks do not appear to be applicable to the Kaserás of Behar.

Káshib tortoise a totemistic section of Rautiás in Chota Nagpur

Kashmiri a sub-caste of Brahmans

Kashta Srotriya a hyper-gamous group of Káshí Brahmans in Bengal

Kasi kind of grass a totemistic section of Rautiás Binphias Khariás and Lohars in Chota Nagpur a section of Goals and Sonáris in Behar a *thán* or sept of Khumbus in Darjiling

Kasiam a section of the Sít mahi Mañhiya sub-caste of Kandus in Behar

Kasiáno a *muli* or section of the Chhamuli Mátheia sub-caste of Háriya in Behar

Kásiar a section of Ghásis in Chota Nagpur

Kasibak heron a totemistic sept of Savar a section of Koris in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal

Kasí a *jotia* or section of Agrwals

Kasipuríya a sub-caste of Agaris in Western Bihar

Kasmal a section of Pith Páya but not Khandhi Kháwáris in Behar

Kasoján a sub-caste of Buniyas in Bihar

Kaspari a section of Iábars in Bihar

Kasta a title of Tantis or weaver

Kasthi a cultivating and landholding caste peculiar to the districts of Midnapur and Balasore. It is divided into two sub-castes — **Madhyasreni** **Kayasth** and **Kastha**. The former who are a *ritu* within and more highly esteemed than the latter claim to be the descendants of certain legendary Kayasths who settled in Midnapur before the time of Ballal Sena and so completely lost touch with their brethren in Bengal that even the growth of Kulinism passed them by unnoticed and there are no Kulinism among them to this day. The same tradition represents the Kasthas as the offspring of these Madhyasreni Kayasths by women of lower castes. The theory deserves some support from the analogous case of Rajput families who have settled in outlying parts of the country lost connection with their own people and intermarried with the women of the land.

It is however equally possible and in my opinion rather more probable that both Madhyasreni Kayasths and Kasthas may be the descendants of an indigenous winter tribe like the Káras of Orissa the wealthier members of which disowned their humbler tribesmen and sought kinship with the well-known Kayasth caste of Bengal. The fact that both Kasthas and Madhyasreni Kayasths are in possession of very old estates seems to tell in favour of this view.

Kasthas marry their daughters as infants condemn the remarriage of widows and do not recognise divorce. In one point however both divisions of the caste and even the despised Káras of Orissa are greatly in advance of the Kayasths of Bengal. While they accept and act up to the sacerdotal view that untold spiritual evils will befall the man who does not get his daughters married before the age of puberty they

carefully guard against the physical dangers of the practice by forbidding the married couple to cohabit until the bride has arrived at sexual maturity. In matters of religious and ceremonial observance they are at all points orthodox Hindus. Most of them belong to the Vaishnava sect. Madhyasreni Brahmans officiate as their priests.

Madhyasreni Kayasths occupy much the same position in Midnapur as the Kayasths in Bengal proper and the Karans in Orissa. Their social rank is high and Brahmans take water from their hands. Some of them hold zamindaris and substantial tenures while the majority are engaged in clerical pursuits. Of late years however they have had to compete with true Kayasths who have immigrated from Bengal and become domiciled in Midnapur. The Kasthas are for the most part cultivators tilling their own lands but in Balasore and the west of Midnapur a few of them are found holding estates.

Kastha a sub caste of Kasthas in Midnapur

Kastogiri a title of Baidyas in Bengal

Kastuar a section of Sonárs in Behar

Kástu Rishi a section of Kairatis in Central Bengal

Kastwar a section of Babhans in Behar

Kaswar a sub caste of Bais Baniyas in Behar

Kasya a *gotra* or section of Nepali Brahmans

Kasyab **Kasyap** a totemistic section of Bhars and of the Rajwar Kumhar and Kauri castes in Chota Nagpur the members of which will not touch kill or eat a tortoise a section of Koras denoting a tortoise a sept of Bhumij a section of Sonars and Tantis in Behar

Kásyapa a *gotra* or eponymous section of Brahmans denoting descent from the Vedic sage Kasyapa. It has been adopted by the following castes —Kumhar Tanti Telia and the Kasau dhan sub caste of Baniyas and

the Kanaujia sub caste of Lohars in Behar the Subarnabank Sunri Khatri Kayasth Karan Rajput Gola Kailartta Kochh Kamar Dhanuk Burhi Beldar Chauri Nuni Juri Bardi Barui Chaudhob Bind Dholi Gandhabani Juri Kaili Khatw Khatik Lod Malhu Napit Mili Mayura Muchi Napit Bhan Bhut Kurmi Sonai Lanti Chasa Kwat Sankhari Sukh Tambuli Iachum Kulya Sadgori Surahiya Sutradhar Iyari Nagar Iasi Chiro and Kihir. The Kumbhar and Kurmis of Behar appear to have borrowed this section from the Brahmaus in comparatively recent times but as it is used indiscriminately by all Kumbhars and Kurmis of that province it does not operate as a bar to intermarriage. In the case of Maghaya Kurmis indeed it has been superadded to an existing series of exogamous groups (*mulis*) based on actual descent. Some of the Maghaya Kumbhars however have no *mulis* and reckon prohibited degrees by the formula referred to in the article on Kayasth. The same remark holds good of the Behar Kurmis with the possible exception of the Ghámela sub caste

Kátádi a *gám* or sub section of Saptasatí Brahmans in Bengal

Katáit a *mul* or section of Bábhans in Behar

Katáiwár Andhrá a *mul* of the Kásyapa section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Kataywár Phet a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Kataiwár Maangiya a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Kataiwár Loám a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Kataiwár Marachi a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Kátáiyá a *mul* or section of the Naomíla or Majraut sub caste of Goálas in Behar

Katakí or *Ashtagrami* a sub caste of Tambulis in Bengal

Katalpuri a section of Sonárs in Behar

Kátáni a *gám* or sub section of Saptasatí Brahmans in Bengal

Katar *katur* a title of basket making Doms in Behar

Katarí a title of Telis in Behar

Katárí a *mul* or section of the Chhamulá Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Katariyár a section of Káyasths in Behar

Katauníá a section of Bábhans in Behar

Katea field mouse a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Káteár a section of the Sátmulá Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Kateká Rakmal a *mul* or section of the Biyahut sub caste of Kalwars in Behar

Kates a section of the Biyahut and Kharidahá Kalwars in Behar

Kateśwar a section of the Biyahut and Kharidahá Kalwars in Behar

Katewar a *mul* or section of Babhans in Behar

Kátha a sub caste of Goálas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Káthádularpur a *mul* or section of the Naomíla or Majraut sub caste of Goálas in Behar

Kathak a sub caste of Brahmans in Behar who rank very low the male members of which sing and dance on ceremonial occasions in the houses of respectable people. The name Kathak properly denoting a reciter of the Hindu sacred books is also applied to musicians of any creed or caste who play on the violin. Dr. Wise mentions an instance of a Chhatrí Kathak who went about in Dacca with a troop of Mahomedan dancing boys (Bhagtiya) and adds that none of his class would condescend to accompany Mahomedan *bais* or dancing girls.

Kathalmalet a section of Maghaya Kumbárs in Behar

Kathár a section of Kanaujá Lohars in Behar

Kathargách a section of Mahils in Western Bengal

Kathariá a sept of the Rautár sub tribe of Thárus a section of the Biyáhut and Kharidáhá Kalwárs in Behar

Kathautia a sub-caste of Dhanuks and Nágars in Behar

Káthautiá, a section of Bábhans and of Kanaujia Lohárs in Behar

Kathautiá, *Kathará* a sub-caste of Beldars in Western Bengal

Kathautiar a section of Kayasths in Behar

Kathbaniyá a sub-caste of Baniyás in Behar who have no sections and regulate their marriages by the standard formula for reckoning prohibited degrees calculated to seven generations in the descending line. They practise infant-marriage and allow a man to take a second wife during the lifetime of the first. A widow may marry again but is not compelled to marry her late husband's younger brother or younger cousin. In certain exceptional cases husbands are permitted to divorce their wives with the concurrence of the *panchayat* but women so divorced may not marry again.

Most Kathbaniyás belong to the Vaishnava sect. Maithil Brahmins serve them as priests and are received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order. Sokhá Sambhunáth and Satnárayan are among the minor gods to whom their domestic worship is directed. They burn their dead and perform *śraddh* on the thirty first day. Shop-keeping and money lending on a small scale are believed to be their characteristic occupations but many of them have taken to agriculture and hold land as non-occupancy raiyats or work as landless day labourers. Instances however are known of Kathbaniyas having risen to be zamindars.

Káthe, a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesia sub-caste of Halwais in Behar

Katherá a section of the Biyáhut and Kharidáhá Kalwárs in Behar

Káthuria a sub caste of Bauris in Western Bengal

Kathwát a *kul* or section of Bábhans in Behar

Katiá a class of Hindu weavers in Western Bengal

Katián a section of Bábhans in Behar

Katiár a totemistic section of Kúrmie in Chota Nagpur and Orissa the members of which

pierce the ears of their boys at the Dharma pujá. They have the further peculiarity that they will not use cloth made of *tasar* silk.

Katichá a *thar* or sept of Sunuwars in Darjiling

Katichiore a section of Kamis in Darjiling

Katigrami a *gain* of the Ka yupa *gotra* of Barendru Brahmins in Bengal

Katli kact a synonym for karan in Orissa.

Katki Phulbaria a *mul* or section of the Satmulia or Kishnaut sub-caste of Goalas in Behar

Kátniá a section of Goalas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Katosiá, a section of Lohárs in Behar

Kátrás a sub-tribe of Bhu iyas in Manbhūm.

Katrí subject to fits a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Katniár a sub-caste of Kur mis in Behar

Katsariá, a *mal* or section of the Kamarkalla sub-caste of Sonars in Behar

Katsarwa a section of the Biyahut and Kharidaha hal wars in Behar

Kattahwa a section of Báb hans in Behar

Katun a sept of Patars in Chota Nagpur

Katur a section of Awadhiá Hajjams in Behar

Kature a sub caste of Tantis in Bengal

Katuri a *gan* or sub section of Saptasati Brahmans in Bengal.

Káturiá a wood cutter a sub caste of Sutradhars in Dacca. The name usually denotes an occupation not a caste. In Bengal Katurias are mostly Kúbirttas or Bagdis, and in Chota Nagpur they are generally Dh n̄ais or

members of one of the Dravidian races

Katwál an honorific title of Kotals who are *chaukidárs* or *simandars*

Katwár a section of Rajwárs in Western Bengal

Katyáyan a section of Brahmans

Kauá grow a totemistic sept of Lohárs Mundas, Orsons, Larhaiyas and Ians in Chota Nagpur

Kaya an up-country trader See Kain

Kaukdaintsa a sept of Maghs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kauhka a synonym for Sáhta qv

Kaundil or **Kaundin** a *gotra* or section of Babbhans in Behar borrowed from the Brahmanical system and superadded to the original exogamous groups (*kuls*) characteristic of the caste. A section of Nepáli Brahmans

Kaundilya a section of Brahmans an eponymous section of Khandáits in Orissa

Kaundilya Kausik a section of the Uttar Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Kaundinya tiger a totemistic section of Jagannathi Kumhárs in Orissa

Kaur a caste of Jashpur Udaipur Sarguja and other Tributary States of Chota Nagpur who claim to be descended from the Kauravas or sons of Kuru whose war with the Pándavas is described in the Mahábhārata. Colonel Dalton speaks of them as a dark, coarse-featured broad nosed wide mouthed and thick lipped race and the fact that some of their sections are totemistic seems to lend support to the view that they are of Dravidian origin. Kauras are divided into five sub-castes—Cháuti Charwa Dudh-Kaur Paikara and Rathniyá. The Dudh Kaur follow Hindu doctrine and have Brahman priests. The Paikara are also orthodox but rank slightly below the Dudh

Origin and internal structure

Kaur The Rathiyá rear and eat fowls have no Brahmans, and employ the village barber as their priest while some of them also keep a Baiga to propitiate the forest gods

Kaurs forbid marriage within the section and observe much the same prohibited degrees as the Hindus except that they allow a man to marry his maternal uncle's daughter Infant marriage is in vogue and is reckoned the essential portion of the marriage ceremony and those sub-castes who have Brahmans as priests employ them at marriages A widow may marry again and is expected to marry her late husband's younger brother if one survives Failing a brother she may marry an outsider In the case of a widow no priest is employed the husband applies vermilion to her forehead with his own hand and the marriage is complete Divorce is allowed with the sanction of the *panchayat* or caste council and divorced women may marry again Colonel Dalton mentions that the Kaurs of Sarguja at one time encouraged widows to become Satis and describes the story of a Kaur Sati who was at the time of his visit the principal object of worship near Jilmilli in Sarguja Every year a fowl was sacrificed to her and very third year a black goat whereas Hindu offerings at Sati shrines are strictly confined to fruit and flowers Probably the family of the Sati in question were land holding Kaurs who affected to be orthodox Hindus and aspired in course of time to transform themselves into Rajputs

Generally speaking Kaurs regard themselves as Hindus and look upon Káli Mai as the goddess whom they are more especially bound to worship But except for marriages they do not employ Brahmans as priests They bury the dead On the third day the chief mourner gets himself shaved and on the tenth and eleventh days funeral cakes are offered and a feast given to the relatives

Most Kaurs are common cultivators a few hold farms of villages and some are in possession of the clearing tenures known as *Korkar* and *Khunt Katti*

Kaur a title of Karangas

Kaurá a sub caste of Doms in Bengal who breed pigs and act as scavengers

Kausalya a Brahmanical section of Khatris

Kausár a *mil* or section of the Timulia Mahesha sub-caste of Halwais in Behar

Kausika a *gotra* or eponymous section of Brahmans Baidyas and Káyasths in Bengal and of Babhans and the Chandrabansis or Surabansis divisions of Rajputs in Behar

Kausikárk a *pur* or section of Sákadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Kausonjhiá a section of Bábhans in Behar

Kaustav a section of Brahmans

Kautsasa a section of the Bhatta Misra sub-caste of Utkal Brahmans and of Karans in Orissa

Kauwa a sept of Dhimáls in the Darjiling Terai

Kaviráj a title of Baidyas and some other Hindu families

Kawál a title of Kaibarttas

Kawālī, Kārah Kālwālī a caste of musicians who were originally Kapālīs but having adopted a different occupation were compelled to enrol themselves in a new caste. In Dacca they preserve a tradition that they are the offspring of a Kayasth father and a Dhobin or washerwoman and the Sudra servants work for them as they also do for the Kapālīs. The Kawālīs all belong to one *jotia* the Ahmīn. They have no surnames but several honorary titles such as Dhālī Mālā Haldar and Manjhi and the most respectful term by which to address them is Vidyadhara a name given to the dancers in Indra's heaven.

The Kawālī plays on any instrument taught him by his *ustad* son or teacher. When you give him an appointment to a master whose credit depends on the proficiency of his pupil. Youths are also taught to dance and it is said that the purohit does not disdain to join in a dance or to take a part in a theatrical play. The Kawālī will not play in the house of any caste who has not the services of the Sulra Najit and Dhoba and refuses to attend at the home of the Muhammadan Dī or Hajjam. They have no objection however to play in concert with the Nārāishī or Hajjam. The dancing girls to whom they usually play are either Muhammadans (bā) or Chandānis but willows belonging to any caste even to the Brahman are often found with them.

The great annual festival of the Kawālīs is the Śrī Panchamī in honour of Sarasvatī but its observance is not allowed to interfere with their professional engagements and they as readily accept employment on that day as on any other. The Kawālīs are all Vaidik and are hired by Hindu villagers to sing the religious hymns called Hari Śan kirtan.

They observe the *śrīddā* and *ashthī* ceremony on the same days as the Kapālī and Sūdras generally.

Kawani a class of Banias

Kawar a title of Chhatris in Nepal a hypergamous group of Kaibartas in Bakarganj

Kawnriā a sort of newt a totemistic sept of Mundas.

Kawat the Behar equivalent of Kewat *q v*

Kawwā dardaha janawwīr *pirā* a formula or shibboleth denoting a *d h* or local section of the Hazārī *panjat* of the Maghaya sub-caste of Dosadhs in Behar. Properly speaking the Hazārī *panjat* is itself an exogamous section but it would appear to have expanded so that a *d h* or

local section distinguished by the shibboleth quoted above has formed itself within the original *panjat*. Any considerable increase of these *dh*s would probably convert the *panjat* into an endogamous group.

Kawal a class of Mahomedan singers and dancers

Kayāl a title of Pods in Bengal

Kayāl Keal Koyal a weighman a petty broker a negotiator of the prices of grain between sellers and buyers. In Patna and South East Behar the word denotes the person who weighs the grain when produce rent is

collected on the system of *batai kharikam* or division on the threshing floor. In Bengal rents are rarely paid in kind and the *Kayals* enumerated in the Census were probably weighmen in municipal markets and small village *hâls*.

Kayastha Kact Kait Kaysth Kaya the writer caste of Bengal Proper a numerous and influential body whose traditional origin has been the subject of much controversy. No mention of the caste occurs in *Manu* and the *Kayasths* themselves reject the theory which gives them for an ancestor the *Karan* the son of a *Vaisya* father by a *Sudra* mother. The earliest reference to the *Kayasths* as a distinct caste occurs in *Yajñavalkya* who describes them as writers and village accountants very exacting in their demands from the cultivators. In the *Padma* and *Bhāṭishya* Puranas the *Kayasths* are made out to be the children of *Chitrāgupta* the supreme recorder of men's virtues and vices who sprang from the body (*kaya*) of *Brahma* and thus was the first *Kayastha*. The *Skanda Purana* gives them a more distinguished ancestry. It tells how *Parasu Rama*'s efforts to exterminate the *Kshatriya* race were time after time defeated by the birth of sons to the *Kshatriya* women whom he spared when their husbands were killed. Determined to clear the earth of the obnoxious tribe he resolved to show mercy no longer even to women in their pregnancy. In fulfilment of this vow he pursued the widow of the *Kshatriya* *Raja* *Chandra Sen* into the hermitage of *Dalabhyā Rishi* where she had taken refuge and demanded that she should be given up to him. But *Dalabhyā* begged the life of the child in the *Rani*'s womb and his request was granted by *Parasu Rama* on the condition that the child should be called *Kāyastha* and should be brought up to follow the ritual of the *Sūtras* and not that of the twice-born castes. On this showing the *Kayasthas* are by birth *Kshatriyas* of full blood but by reason of their following the ceremonies of the *Sudras* they are called *Vratya* or incomplete *Kshatriyas*. The faint suggestion of inferiority which this term implies seems on the whole to be borne out by the position assigned in the *Mṛicchakatika* to the *Kayastha* who sits with the Judge as assessor in the trial described in the ninth act of the play. He is charged with the ministerial duty of recording evidence under the orders of the Judge and he like the other assessor *Sreshthi* speaks in *prakrit* while the Judge and the principal defendant use the more dignified *Sanskrit*. From the *Mṛicchakatika* we pass on to the more recent and more popular opinion that the forefathers of the Bengal *Kayasths* came from *Kanauj* with the five Brahmins whom King *Adisura* summoned to perform for him certain Vedic ceremonies. Around this tradition a bitter controversy has raged between the *Kayasths* who sought to exalt their social status and members of other castes who refused to admit their claims. One party alleged that the five *Kayasthas*—*Makaranda Ghosh*, *Dasaratha Vasu*, *Kalidasa Mitra*, *Dasaratha Guha*, and *Puruṣottama Datta*—came to Bengal as the menial servants of the five Brahmins. Their social standing therefore could have been no higher than that of the *Kahārs* who in Upper India at the present

day discharge personal services for members of the higher castes. The Káyasths for their part repudiated this view as derogatory to their dignity and some of them went so far as to argue that the five Kayasths of the tradition were political officers in charge as Kshatriyas of a mission from Kanauj to the King of Bengal and that the five Brahmans played quite a subordinate part in the transaction if indeed they were anything more than the cooks of the five Káyasths. An ingenious grammatical argument based on the names of the two sets of immigrants is brought forward in support of this view.

Putting tradition aside and looking on the one hand to the physical type of the Kayasths and on the other to their remarkable intellectual attainments it would seem that their claim to Aryan descent cannot be wholly rejected though all attempts to lay down their genealogy precisely must necessarily be futile. It appears to be at least a plausible conjecture that they were a functional group developed within the Aryan community in response to the demand for an official and literary class which must in course of time have arisen. This class would naturally have been recruited more largely from the peaceful Vaisyas and Sudras than from the warlike Kshatriyas while the Brahmans would probably have held aloof from it altogether. It is possible though I put forward the suggestion with much diffidence that the tradition describing the Káyasths as the offspring of a Vaisya and a Sudráni may be merely an archaic method of saying that the writer caste was composed of elements drawn from the two lower grades of Aryan society. This view of the origin of the Kayasths is entitled to whatever support it may derive from the statement of some of my correspondents that even in recent times instances have occurred of members of other castes gaining admission into the Kayasth community. Some of these statements are curiously precise and specific. It is said for example that a few years ago many Magh families of Chittagong settled in the western districts of Bengal assumed the designation of Kayasth and were allowed to intermarry with true Kayasth families. An extreme case is cited in which the descendants of a Libetan missionary have somehow found their way into the caste and are now recognised as high class Kayasthas. Another story tells how a certain Uriya Gwala bearing the name Datta which is one of the distinctive hypergamous titles of the Kayasthas took service with a Kayasth family in Calcutta, where his principal duty was to boil the milk to be offered to certain idols. This man's sons grew up and were educated with the sons of the house and were recently admitted as Káyasthas of the Datta group and of the Kasyapa gotra. Alongside of these instances, derived from inquiries in Western Bengal we may set the statement of Dr. W. S. that in the eastern districts of Bengal there exist a very numerous body called Ghulam or slave Kayasths and also known as Shikdár or Bhandari. The Ghulam Káyasths are descended from individuals belonging to clean Sudra castes who sold themselves or were sold as slaves to Káyasth masters. It is stoutly denied that any one belonging to an unclean tribe was ever purchased as a slave yet it is hard to believe that this never occurred. The physique of the low and

impure races has always been better than that of the pure and on account of their poverty and low standing a slave could at any time be more easily purchased from amongst them. However this may be it is an undoubted fact that any Ghulam Kayasth could and can even at the present day if rich and provident raise himself by intermarriage as high as the Madhalya grade and obtain admission among the Bhadra lok or gentry of his countrymen. Datta being a Madhalya title it will be observed that this is precisely the position to which in the instance quoted above the descendants of an Uriya Goala are said to have attained.

The Bengal Kayasths are divided into four sub castes (1) UTTAR RARHI (2) DAKSHIN RARHI (3) BARENDRA (4) BANCAJA. The e groups are in theory endogamous but within the last few years marriages have occasionally taken place between members of the Dakshin Rarhi and Bangaja sub castes. The Uttar Rarhi

are met with in the districts of Birbhum Bardwan Murshedabad parts of Rangpur Dinajpur Hughli and Jessore. The Dakshin Rarhi are massed in Bardwan Hughli Midnapur 24 Parganas Jessore Krishnagar and parts of Bakarganj while in Dacca only two families reside. The Bangaja are established in Bakarganj Jessore 24 Parganas Dacca, Faridpur western part of Maimansingh eastern part of Pabna and in several villages of the Bogra district. The Barendra are settled in Rajshahiye Fábna Maldah Bogra, Dinajpur as well as here and there throughout Faridpur Jessore and Krishnagar.

Within each of the sub castes we find a series of three hyper gamous groups each comprising so many family names. These are given in tabular form in the Appendix. The rules governing the intermarriage of these groups differ in several material points from those in force among the Brahmans.

Ballál Sen is said to have divided the Kayasths into four sub castes according to locality thus —Uttar Rarhi Dakshin Rárhí Bangaja and Barendra. He selected eight members from each *kul* of the Dakshin Rarhis in order to create *samaj*s or hyper gamous groups e.g. eight from each of the three families of Ghosh

Basu and Mitra out of which two were made *Kulin* and six were made *Bansaj*. Prabhakar of the Akná group and Nisapati of the Báli group represented the *mukhya* of the Ghosh family. Sukti of the Báganda group and Mukti of the Múhinagar group represented the Basu family while Dhuin of the Barisa group and Guin of the Tek group represented the Mitra family. Thus according to the rules of Ballal Sen only these six men were made *Kulin* the rest were made *Bansaj* i.e. born of the *Kulin* family. The following are the names of the *Bansaj* groups — Anneswar Dirghansa Karati Seakhala Khania and Sankráhí of the Ghosh family. Nimárka Sathuli Chitrapur Dirghánga, Gohari and Ianchainuli of the Basu family. Dabarakupi Chandara Dantiá Chaklai Kumárhatta and Balia groups form the Mitra family.

The members of the Guha family lived in Eastern Bengal where their ancestor Dasaratha Guha was ranked as a *Kulin* but those

who had been incorporated after Ballál's grouping into the Dakshin Bárhí sub-caste were reckoned as *Mauliks*

Those Káyasths who had been living at that time in Eastern Bengal including Datta and Guha were classed as *Mauliks* out of which eight families—De Datta Kar Palit Sen Sinha Das and Guha were Siddha Mauliks and the remaining seventy two families beginning with Hora were classed as Sidhya Mauliks. Formerly ten out of seventy two families of Sidhya Mauliks used to intermarry with the Kulins but afterwards 16 families became connected with the Kulins by intermarriage. The names of the sixteen families are—Pál Nág Arnab Som Rudra Aditya Aich Ráha Bhanja Hora Teja, Brahma Bishnu Nandi Rakshit and Chandra.

The kuls of Káyasths are of nine sorts out of which five are known as *mul* or original and four as *álha* or branch. Following the order of social estimation the *mul kuls* are Mukhya Kanishtha Sharabhráta or Chhabháya Madhyansa and Teyaj or Teyaj. The *álhas* or branches are—Dwitiya 1o (the second son of Kanishtha) Chhabháya's Dwitiya 1o (second son of Chhabháya) Dwitiya-Po (second son of Madhyansa) and Dojo Po (second son of Teyaj). Kulins belong to one or other of these nine varieties. They are further sub divided into different grades and they rise or fall in social estimation according to the marriage made by the eldest son and eldest daughter. If they marry into Kulin families the reputation of their own family is secured and the younger members may marry as they please.

Mukhya Kulins are of three kinds—Prakriti Sahaj and Komal. Only the eldest son of each has the right to hold that title. Their other sons will descend a step or rise in social estimation in accordance with their observance of the marriage law.

It is a great distinction for a Mukhya to observe the Nava ranga or nine-grade kul the rules regarding which are—The *agchhet* or eldest daughter of a Mukhya should be given in marriage to a Mukhya the *dochhet* or second to a Kanishtha the *techhet* or third to a Chhabháya the *chuc* or fourth to a Madhyansa and the *panchami* or fifth to a Teyaj Kulin. Conversely the eldest son of a Mukhya should be given in marriage to a Mukhya girl the second to a Kanishtha girl the third to a Madhyansa girl and the fourth to a Teyaj girl. The Mukhya who observes these rules of marrying and giving in marriage earns the title of Nayarangi.

Pancharanga kul is observed in the following manner—The first son of a Kanishtha Kulin ought to marry the *dochhet* or second daughter of a Mukhya the second son that of a Madhyansa girl the third son that of a Teyaj girl. The Kanishtha Kulin who observes these rules is held in honour by his fellows and is called Pancharangi.

The following general rules are to be observed by all Kulin Káyasths though some of them apply to other castes as well—

A Kulin loses his kul by marrying or giving in marriage outside the *pariya* or generation to which he himself belongs counting from

the first advent of Kāyasths in Bengal. Whoever does so becomes a *Mauhk*. A *Kuln* loses his *kul* by marrying a *randa* or daughter of a man having no male issue or if he should by accident marry a *swagotra* or *swapinda*. An adopted son of a *Kuln* is not a *Kuln*. Though he has the privileges of a son in other respects he has no such privilege as regards *kul*. He will simply remain a *Bansaj*. A *Kuln* by marrying the daughter of a *Kuln* of a lower degree descends to the level of the latter. For instance if a *Mukhya* man marries a *Madhyansa* girl he becomes a *Madhyansa*. Again if a *Teyaj* man marries a girl of *Madhyansa* a *Dwitiya-Po* he becomes *Dwitiya-Po* of *Madhyansa*. A man should not give in marriage his daughters one after another to *Kulns* of the same degree. For instance if the first daughter is given to a *Mukhya* it is not proper that the *lochhu* or second daughter be given to another *Mukhya*. In that case both the giver and taker become degraded.

Subject to the exceptions noted above the religious practice of the Kāyasths does not differ materially from that of the highest Hindu castes in Bengal. It is a singular fact that while the teaching of Chaitanya has united almost all the artisan and agricultural castes in a common faith the three highest and most intelligent castes in Bengal adhere as a rule to the Sakta ritual. In Eastern Bengal all *Kuln* Kayasths and something like three-fourths of the other divisions are believed to practise Śāktism and it is said that a large proportion of these celebrate the *Bamachārī Achār* or *Chakrā* ceremonies. For the fulfilment of domestic religious duties every *Kuln* family has a private temple or sacred nook where a *Siva* *linga* is erected and daily worship performed by the head of the household. All Kayasths observe the *Srī Panchamī* or *Daw t Luja* on the fifth of the waxing moon in Magh (January–February). This festival is held in honour of *Saraswatī*, the goddess of learning who is regarded by the Kayasths as their patron deity. On this day the courts and all offices are closed as no Hindu penman will use pen and ink or any writing instrument except a pencil on that day. When work is resumed a new inkstand and pen must be used and the penman must write nothing until he has several times transcribed the name of the goddess *Durgā* with which all letters should begin. Kāyasths are expected to spend the holiday in meditating on the goddess *Saraswatī* after they have observed certain religious rites but the extent to which this obligation is observed depends largely upon the inclinations of the individual. On this day says Dr Wise the Kāyasth must taste of a *hilsā* fish, whatever its price while from the *Srī Panchamī* festival in January to the *Vijaya Dasamī* in September or October fish must be eaten daily but from the last to the first month it must not be touched. This curious custom probably founded on some hygienic superstition, is often reversed by Bengali Kāyasths.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Káyasths in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872.	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
Bardwa	57 386	53 069	Noakh Il	20 878	37 585
Ba k	11 676	2 17	Tpp rah	718 4	60 75
Bh bi m	8 319	8 2	Cl tag G H L Tra te	83	588
M d p	101 663	82 8	P t na	28 2	29 864
H ghi	38 723	2 484	Gy	44 222	45 065
H wrah	38 723	1 849	Sh l had	2 47	6 994
W-P rga	38 803	82 364	M fl rp	70 992	4 552
Nad y	39 7 J	40 780	Da bh nga	45 124	45 124
Jessore	90 340	63 711	4 ra	47 46	65
Kh l		36 98	Ch para	24 7	28 411
M rashed bad	17 077	15 685	M ghy	2 42	28 044
I najp	4 23	6 024	H agalp	1 17	2 10
Raj nahyn	8 77	8 775	P h	11 35	12 781
Asanp	10 387	11 446	M id h	4 61	4 658
Howra	5 483	3 759	Sa tal P rg as	5 940	7 829
Pab	35 369	34,812	C tack	5 3	4 441
Da j l ng	44	408	P	1 94	2 335
J lp go	867	2 782	H lamsore	2 371	1 757
K h Behar		2 522	i b t ry Stat	86	1 317
Dacca	102 084	98 369	H b gh	63 0	3 522
P dp	37 026	39 193	Loh rd ga	4 061	6 690
B k rganj	128 164	87 634	b gbi m	611	968
M a ms h	108 537	108 469	M bh m	7 991	8 848
Chittag ng	68,916	79 370	Trib tary State	210	689

The statement includes the Káyasths of Behar and the Karans of Orissa which form the subject of separate articles. It would be impossible to distinguish the statistics relating to these three groups.

Káyasth, Kaeth Lala the writer caste of Behar who trace their mythical parentage to Chitrageupta the scribe or recorder of Yama the revent of the dead and pique themselves on being wholly distinct from the Káyasths of Bengal. The physical characters of the Behar Káyasths afford some ground for the belief that they may be of tolerably pure Aryan descent though the group is doubtless a functional one recruited from all grades of the Aryan community. Káyasths themselves hand down a tradition that their progenitor Chitrageupta was produced from the inner consciousness of Brahma for the purpose of managing the business affairs and keeping the accounts of the other castes and each of the twelve sub castes traces its pedigree back to some member of his family. Chitrageupta himself and all his sons and grandsons are said to have been invested with the sacred thread marking the twice-born castes and Káyasths claim to have and occasionally to exercise the right to wear this sacred symbol. The sub castes are the following — (1) Atháná (2) Amashta (3) Bálmik (4) Bhatnág (5) Gaur (6) Karan (7) Kulrsashta (8) Mathur (9) Nigam (10) Saksena (11) Sribástab (12) Surajdwaj. Of these the Atháná are supposed to come from Jaurpur in the North Western Provinces. The Amashta may possibly as Mr Crooke suggests¹ be the modern representatives of the Ambastha tribe said

to be descended from a Brahman father and Vaisya mother. They like the Karans also in theory a mixed group born of a Sudra woman by a Vaisya father are found in large numbers in Gya Patna and Tirhut. The Balmik or Valmiki sub caste are supposed to have come from Guzerat. Mr Crooke thinks they may perhaps have taken their name from the author of the Rámáyana. Karans Amashtas and Sribastabs will smoke in the same hooka but will not eat *kachchi* food together. The two former however will eat *kachchi* that has been cooked by a Babhan. Nigam (derived by the same authority from the Sanskrit *nigama* meaning the veda, a town road traffic) are not met with in Behar. The Surajdwa group—the word means having the sun for emblem—are said to be descended from the Brahman Madhava Nal and Kám Kandla a dancing girl of Vikramáditya's Court. The Máthur Saksena Bhatnagar and Sribastab sub-castes claim descent from the first wife of Chitrugupta said to have been a daughter of the Suraj bansi race of Kshatriyas. The names appear to have reference to localities—the first to Mathura Saksena to the ruined town of Sankisa in Farukhabad Bhatnagar to Bhatner and Sribastab either to Srinagar the traditional place of origin of the sub caste or to Srivatsa an epithet of Vishnu who is their favourite object of worship¹. The Khare and Dusre subdivisions of the Sribastab sub caste trace their origin to the grandsons of Chitrugupta. According to Buchanan² the Khare Sribastabs claim to be higher than the ordinary Sribastabs and call themselves Paure. The two subdivisions do not intermarry or eat and drink together. Similar subdivisions are found in the Saksena sub caste. Contrary to the common usage of Hindus Kayasths of the Máthur Bhatnagar and Saksena groups eat even *kachchi* meals fully dressed. The Gaur Kayasths believe that they derive their name from Gaur the ancient capital of Bengal and allege that the Sen kings of Bengal were really Gaur Kayasths. A curious story is told about the Gaur and Bhatnagar sub-castes which is worth quoting as an illustration of the growth of mythical traditions of that type. The Bhatnagar Kayasths it is said came to Bengal at the time of the Mahomedan conquest and finding the Gaur Kayasths settled there asked to be admitted to eat and drink with them. The Gaur Kayasths agreed to invite the Bhatnagars to their houses for food but declined to accept their hospitality in return. After a time the Bhatnagars who had friends at court began to put pressure on the Gaur in order to compel them to accept their invitations and the latter fled to Delhi to lay their case before the Emperor Balban. Meanwhile Balban died and the Bhatnagars prevailed upon his successor to order some of the Gaur Kayasths to be arrested and compelled to eat with their rivals. To avoid this dishonour the rest of the sub caste took refuge with the Brahmans of Badaon who passed them off as members of their own caste and went so far as to eat with them in support of their allegation. For doing this the Brahmans were turned out of their caste and became the family priests of the Gaur

Káyasths 'After a time the Gaur Káyasths who had been forced to eat with the Bhatnagar were admitted on the intercession of the Badaon Brahmans to communion of food with their brethren. For the purpose of marriage however they were formed into a separate group under the name of Shamali or Northern Gaur. Traditions of this sort are not uncommon and it is to be regretted that no means exist of testing their historical value. Their most singular feature is the conspicuous part alleged to have been played by the ruling power whether Hindu or Mahomedan in determining purely social questions. A caste is now regarded as an autocratic body whose decisions on questions concerning its own members no one would dream of questioning. This does not seem to have been the view taken by the earlier rulers of Bengal and the further back we go the more frequent and pronounced do such instances of interference become.

Besides the regular Lala Káyasths included in the twelve sub-castes enumerated above people calling themselves Káyasths are found working as tailors in the Sewan subdivision of Saran and some of the vermilion selling Sindurias who formerly acted as inoculators and now have turned vaccinators claim to belong to this caste. The Lala Káyasths disown all connexion with these groups. There is however nothing *primá facie* improbable in the hypothesis that a certain number of Káyasths may have adopted the profession of tailors or vaccinators and may thus have become separated from the main body of the caste. Nothing is more common than to find even a slight departure from the traditional occupation of a caste becoming the occasion for the formation of a new endogamous group. Signs of a tendency in this direction may be traced in the fact that many Kayasths object to marry their daughters in the family of those who have served as hereditary *patwaris* or village accountants.

Patwaris says one of my correspondents however rich are regarded as socially lower than other Kayasths. Kanungo Akhauri Pánde or Bakshi.

The system of exogamy practised by the Kayasths of Behar is shown in detail in Appendix I and need only brief explanation here. An examination of the names of the sections will show that intermarriage is really regulated by a number of *kuls* or exogamous sections mostly of the territorial or titular type and that the Brahmanical *gotras* though recognised in theory are really ineffective. Thus the Sribastab Kayasths reckon among their sections the Brahmanical *gotra* Kasyapa but this is the only section of the Brahmanical type that they possess. All Sribastabs belong to the Kasyapa *gotra* and thus of necessity violate the primary rule of exogamy upon which the *gotra* system depends. Although the Brahmanical *gotras* are disregarded the rule of exogamy is carefully observed in relation to the *kul*. Thus members of the Akhauri *kul* believe themselves to be descended from an ancestor holding the title of Akhauri conferred many generations ago. Their original habitat was Churamanpur in Shahabad and the full designation of the *kul* is Churamanpur ke Akhauri. The meaning of the term Akhauri is uncertain. Some say it is a corruption of Lakshauri owner of a lakh of rupees. In further illustration of this system of using titles as the designations of exogamous groups and

expanding or eling them out by prefixing the name of a village the following / *it* of the Sribástabs may be mentioned — Amaundha ko l anre Dihia Koth ko Panre Mithabel ke Fewari Morar ke Bakshi Rai or Iihakur Bataha ke Misir Hargaoon ke Singh Patar ke Tewari Larsurma ke Thákur Sahuli ke Sahuhar The last appears to be of the local or territorial type All *kut*s are strictly exogamous Only the father's *kut* is excluded in marriage The system is supplemented by a table of prohibited degrees calculated in the manner described in the article on Brahman

All Kayasths who can afford to do so marry their daughters as infants but the scarcity of husbands is greatly complained of and daughters of poor Kayasth families frequently remain unmarried up to the age of eighteen or nineteen When a girl is married before puberty she live with her own people apart from her husband until she has attained sexual maturity Connubial relations cannot commence until the ceremony of *d r gnan* or bringing the bride home has been performed This may take place one three five or seven years (*numero D us impare gaudet*) after the marriage according to the age of the bride When a girl is married after puberty this ceremony is added to the regular ritual and the girl goes to live with her husband at once or at latest after a year Widows may not marry again nor is divorce recognised

Among the Kayasths as among the other high castes of Behar the balance of the sexes seems to be uneven and the number of girls marriageable at a given time is usually in excess of the number of possible husbands available for them The first step therefore towards initiating proposals for marriage is taken by the parents or guardians of the bride who depute a Brahman (generally the purohit or priest of the family) and the family barber to find out a suitable bridegroom These emissaries select several suitable boys and report accordingly Among Kayasths no marriage can take place unless the horoscopes of both the bride and bridegroom agree as the phrase goes that is to say unless from the dates of the births of both the girl and the boy it can be calculated by astrological methods that the bride will not become a widow and that the marriage will prove fruitful and happy in every respect If the two horoscopes do not agree the negotiations are broken off In order to comply with these conditions the Brahman who acts as go between carries with him a copy of the bride's horoscope takes copies of those of all the eligible boys and reports to his employer on the prospects of each possible combination Here it is that difficulties begin Highly educated as the Kayasths are they have not yet shaken off the trammels of astrology and the custom of insisting on the agreement of the horoscopes has such a strong hold upon their minds that it often proves the chief obstacle to a marriage desirable in other respects Owing to this cause the marriage of the girls is delayed in many cases till long after they attain puberty and the consequence is that the bride is often older than the bridegroom In order to get their daughters married parents are obliged to give them to bridegrooms of unequal age, doubtful education and character and

of unequal position and wealth. This practice though often preventing the marriage of the girl in her infancy turns out undesirable in many respects. Other difficulties arise from the exorbitant demand of *tilak* and *juhe* (dowry) by the parents of the bridegroom which leads to unequal marriages and brings about the ruin of families unfortunate enough to have a number of girls to be married.

After the *g nana* has been made out to the satisfaction of both parties and it has been ascertained that there are no objections to the marriage on the ground of consanguinity etc. the question of bridegroom price and dowry (*tilak juhe* or *tin jan*) is settled. This is too often exorbitant. If the terms are agreeable to the bride's parents the marriage is at once agreed upon. In many cases the bride's parents depend wholly on the discretion of the Brahman and Hajjam in the selection of the bridegroom and this either to save themselves trouble or in collusion with the parents of undesirable bridegrooms are said to make selections which the bride's family would not approve if they knew all the facts. The bridegroom's relations on the other hand are equally in the dark regarding the qualifications of the bride and it thus happens that girls suffering from actual physical defects are enabled to obtain husbands by the collusion of the match makers.

The following observances make up the marriage ceremony as celebrated by orthodox Kayasths of Char —

(1) When the marriage is agreed upon a day is fixed for the betrothal or the taking of *sagan*. On that day the Brahman and Hajjam go to the bridegroom's house where the latter's friends assemble at an auspicious time. His parents put rupees, rice, *halhi* and *supari* in a *tilak* before them and the Brahman takes from this his fee at the rate of five per cent on the amount of *tilak* and *juhe* agreed upon. If therefore the dowry be settled at Rs 500 he will take out Rs 25. Sometimes the bride's party pay cash as earnest money instead of taking the *sagan*. This is called *burdekhi* literally meaning the seeing of the bridegroom. It is also called *larahela* as a retaining fee is paid in advance in order to secure the bridegroom.

(2) After this the date for the *tilak* or the payment of the first instalment of the dowry is fixed. On that day a party consisting of Brahmans and others and often a relative of the bride about seven in all proceed to the house of the bridegroom. He is adorned and made to sit in the inner courtyard where the gods are worshipped after which the bride's party put a *tilak* or patch of card on his forehead and make a present to him of money plates and clothes amounting in all to the sum agreed upon to be paid at this time. This ceremony is called *tilak*. The bride's parents make a profit over the plates and cloth which they estimate sometimes at double their value thus reducing the actual cash payment agreed upon. It is for this reason that some astute guardians insist upon the payment of a certain amount in cash before giving the *sagan* and if the money is not paid at the time of *tilak* disagreements between the parties continue till after the celebration of the marriage. After the ceremony the bride's party together with the friends of the bridegroom's family receive *halhi* food. Before the *tilak* neither

the Brahman nor the Hajjám would even drink water at the bridegroom's house.

(3) On the following day the *tilak* party returns being presented with dresses and money by the bridegroom's father according to his means. The latter at the same time addresses a letter to the bride's father fixing an auspicious date for the marriage. This is called *lagnapatra*. If convenient to him he agrees to it otherwise some other date agreeable to both parties is fixed. After the *tilak* the betrothal becomes complete and an engagement thus ratified is rarely broken off.

(4) On the eighth fifth and in some families on the third day before the marriage the ceremony variously known according to its date as *atlmangra*, *panchmangra* or *tinnimgra* is performed. On that day the women troop out singing to fetch earth from some field outside the village and put it in the courtyard where all the family gods and dead ancestors are invited to attend. This ceremony is performed at the houses of both parties. On an auspicious day the *mandap*, a sort of thatched canopy supported on nine new bamboos is erected at the house of the bride's father. In the centre is placed an earthen vessel (*kalsa*) supposed to contain water from all Hindu places of pilgrimage. Under this *mandap* and near the *kalsa* where all the family gods and ancestors are invited by *mantras* to be present and witness the marriage the marriage ceremonies are subsequently performed. No *mandap* is erected at the bridegroom's house but only a *haris* or plough shaft is set up in the *angan* courtyard and a *kalsa* similar to the bride's is placed beside it.

(5) Then the ceremony of *hardikahandan* takes place. Turmeric with oil is applied to the persons of the bride and bridegroom at their respective houses at stated times daily up to the day of marriage. This ceremony is not performed at the bridegroom's house when he is married a second time.

(6) *Matrik Pujah*—Is the ceremony of worshipping the wives of all the gods i.e. Sakti in all her forms. The gods are also invited to be present and worshipped. The women of the family invoke the spirits of departed ancestors and *pindas* are offered to them.

(7) Ceremonies in propitiation of dead ancestors (*abhyudak araddh*) are also performed by the parents of the bride and the bridegroom at their respective houses on the day of the marriage.

(8) *Dwar Pujah*—After performing the *matrik puja* the women bathe the bridegroom and smear him with turmeric and he eats with some unmarried boys his last meal as a bachelor. He is then dressed and made to sit on the lap of his mother who drinks water which he has tasted. His brother also assists in this ceremony. After some other observances the bridegroom's party go in procession to the bride's house with as much show and noise as the means of the family permit timing their journey so as to arrive after dark.

On arrival and after their formal reception the bridegroom is presented with money. This is called *dwar puja* the homage done to the bridegroom at the door of his father-in-law's house. After it, the bridegroom's party proceed to the place (*janwasa*) prepared for their temporary reception.

(9) •*Ashuch panichhalan* —After the procession has gone to the *janmōḍa* the ceremony of cutting the nails of the bride takes place. At the same time a drop of blood is drawn from her little finger and preserved in *mahavar* (cotton soaked in red dye). Her feet are also marked with *mahavar*.

(10) *Bai Newatian* or *Dhurchhak* —A party of the bride's relatives Brahmins and others taking some *sherlet* eatables tobacco etc. go to the *janmōḍa* and present them to the bridegroom's party. The bridegroom is formally invited to dinner with a present of money which his father accepts. But owing to the exorbitant demands of money and grain generally made by the bridegroom's father which the bride's father cannot always meet this dinner seldom comes off before noon on the following day. Thus the food prepared is wasted and the bridegroom's party remain unfed. Sometimes the bride's father in order to make up for the high *ṭiṭak* he had to pay in order to secure the bridegroom tries to cut down the amount of *jah* agreed upon and also doles out the *rassa* i or supplies to the bridegroom's party very sparingly. The bridegroom's father on the other hand tries to get as much as he can out of the arrangement.

(11) *Kanya N e hhan* seeing the bride —After the invitation to dinner has been accepted the elder brother or some other elder relative of the bridegroom proceeds to the house of the bride's father. The bride is made to sit under the *mandap* and the bridegroom's brother going there presents to her jewels and clothes after which she returns to the inner apartments and is dressed in those clothes and ornaments. By this time the bridegroom is also brought to the place.

(12) The bridegroom's feet are washed by the bride's father and (13) he is given a wooden seat (*Padha*) and a *Kusasan* or pad of *Kusa* grass to sit on. All these ceremonies are performed according to Vedic prescription.

(14) His feet are again washed after taking his seat (*Padhnyah* and *Hast A gha*).

(15) Then *dahi* honey and *ghṛ* and sugar (*madhuparka*) are given him to eat by the bride's father. The bride also is brought and made to sit on his right side on a similar wooden seat.

(16) *Agn sthapan* or the placing of the fire before them is duly performed.

(17) *Gotrachara* or the ceremony of transferring the bride into the family of bridegroom by reciting the names of the father and grandfather of each with Vedic *mantras* is performed and the bride and bridegroom's clothes are knotted together. By this ceremony the bride gives up all claims on her father's family and is transferred to that of the bridegroom.

(18) *Kan jadan* or *panigrahan* by which the bride's father puts her hand into that of the bridegroom and entrusts her to his care while he in his turn accepts the offer.

(19) Then the bridegroom changes his dress (*bastra bandhan*) and puts on a *dhoti* given by the bride's father.

(20) Next in order *hom* is performed by throwing *ghṛ* and sugar on the sacred fire in homage to all the Hindu gods.

(21) *Lāyahuti* or *Lawa Merawan*—Unhusked and parched paddy brought by both parties is mixed together. The bride and bridegroom go seven times round the sacred fire which stands in the centre of the *mandap* taking care to keep it always on their right hand. The bride puts her hands into those of the bridegroom, holding at the same time a small *suph* or basket for cleaning grain. Into this *suph* the bride's brother pours out the *lawa* which the bride and the bridegroom jointly pour on to the fire. This offering is said to be made to a toothless god named Pukha.

(22) *Silarohan* (*Sayta Bedi*)—The bride puts her foot on a *sil* the stone used for grinding spices and the bridegroom removes it. Both parties call the gods to witness that they have accepted each other as husband and wife.

(23) *Sumangli Karan* or *Sendur bandhan*—The bridegroom smears vermilion on the bride's forehead. This form is now regarded merely as a token and memorial of the married state. Clearly however as has been pointed out in the article on Kurmi and elsewhere in these volumes it is a survival of mixing the blood of the parties or drinking each other's blood which is found among the marriage customs of more primitive races.

(24) *Dachhina shankalp*—The bride's father promises in a form authorised by the scriptures to pay a price for the bridegroom. The *tilak* and *jahez* it appears are not sanctioned by the Shastras.

(25) *Kudat mantra pathan*—The bridegroom formally confers his blessing on the bride's father for the presents he has made to him.

(26) *Ashuch Karan*—It has been mentioned above (No. 9 *ashuch parichhalan*) that a piece of coloured cotton containing a little of the bride's blood is kept. With this the bridegroom's neck is touched and the bride's neck is also touched with a piece of simple coloured cotton brought by the bridegroom. The pieces of cotton are tied on their wrists (*kangan bandhan*). It is believed that this practice generates mutual affection. Clearly it is a survival of the earlier rite already referred to.

(27) *Pith Paritechan*—The couple exchange seats and the bridegroom swears to protect and love his wife and the bride swears to obey, respect and love her husband.

(28) After this the priest tells them that they have become *grihastha* and should live like married people and explains to them their duties.

(29) *Ashirvād*—The Brahmans and all present bless the bride and the bridegroom and throw rice (*achhat*) over them. This ends the Vedic rites necessary to make a marriage binding. Neither the bridegroom nor the bride understand what is said and in most cases the Brahmans recite even those parts which the parties to the marriage ought to pronounce themselves.

After the final blessing all the men present retire leaving the bride and bridegroom under the *mandap*. Then the women come and do *chumarvan* i.e. touch the feet, knee and shoulders of the bridegroom with their fingers at the same time holding rice in their hands. They are then taken into the *kōḥbar* or the room prepared

for their reception. There the women perform their own peculiar ceremonies playing at the same time various tricks on the bridegroom till daybreak when he returns to the *janvasee*. Then the marriage party is invited to dinner or rather breakfast which as stated above seldom comes before noon. At this time a present of plates etc. is made to the bridegroom and his relatives all of which counts towards the amount of *jah* agreed upon. At night or rather next morning comes a repast of *kuchhi* food after which the bridegroom's party prepare for return. Before leaving each of the relatives of the bridegroom makes presents of money and ornaments to the bride. This is called *maduati* or *mishd khai* and at the same time all the relatives of the bride meet those of the bridegroom and each of the former makes a present of money when embracing the latter. *Attar pan* etc. are distributed. The party returns to the *janu* followed by the *des* people who supply them with provisions for return journey. Thus ends the marriage. On the fourth day the ceremony of *chauthari* is performed. In some districts especially in *Latna* the bride accompanies the bridegroom to his house where they jointly perform this ceremony. The bridegroom visits all the places of family worship. The family gods and all Hindu gods are worshipped who having been invited to be present during the marriage are supposed then to take their departure to their respective abodes. After this the bride returns to her father's house. In such cases the ceremony of *lagawa* is performed just after the performance of the marriage rites. To complete the ceremony of *durjawan* which means the going of the bride to the house of the bridegroom only the nails of the bride are cut. Conjugal life cannot begin until this rite has been performed. In *Shahabad* and other places the bride does not accompany the bridegroom to his house after the marriage and *choithni* is performed by each at their respective fathers' houses. In these cases the ceremony of *lagawan* is performed after one three or five years according to the age of the bride and the convenience of the parties. The ritual observed is simple. The bridegroom goes with his friends to the bride's house. No *mantip* constructed only a *hal* is placed in marriage. The bride and bridegroom are seated together the *gl* and an *astors* are worshipped and the bride's nails are cut. *Gunnawan* etc. as in marriage is performed by the women and the bride sent to the bridegroom's house. On this occasion the bride's father gives her dresses jewels bed bed clothes and presents to the bridegroom. Henceforth she lives with her husband and visits her parents when ever she likes.

Votaries may be found among the Kayasths of nearly all the main Hindu sects—Vaishnava Saiva Sakta Kabirpanthi Nanak shahi and the like. The worship of Durga and the Saktis is believed however to be their favourite cult. Chitragnpta the mythical ancestor of the caste is honoured once a year on the 17th Kartik the festival of the *dawat puja* with offerings of sweetmeats and money and the symbolical worship of pen and ink the tools of the Kayasth's trade. For the worship of the greater gods in

generally for religious and ceremonial purposes the Kayasths employ Brahmans who are received on equal terms by other members of the priestly caste. As regards the ceremony of *śraddh* the practice of the caste appears to vary. Some Kayasths observe it on the 13th some on the 16th and some on the 29th day after death. The final funeral ceremony known as *lakṣī śraddh* is performed at the end of a year in the case of a father mother or other ascendant but after three months for the death of a wife.

Clerical work is believed to be the original and characteristic occupation of the caste and an illiterate Kayasth is looked upon as a creature with no proper reason for existing. Kayasth tradition however puts a very liberal construction on the expression clerical work and includes in it not merely clerical pursuits of a subordinate character but the entire business of managing the affairs of the country in the capacity of *devān sarbarāhka* etc. to the ruling power. It is doubtless owing in some measure to this connexion with former governors that Kayasths are now in possession of considerable *zamdāri* and tenures of substantial value while comparatively few of them are to be found among the lower grades of cultivators. In the course of the cadastral survey undertaken in 1886-87 of 230 villages in *chakla Nai pargana Bissarraha Mozufferpuri* a statement was drawn up at my suggestion showing the caste of the various grades of landholders. The following table shows the number of Kayasths in these villages possessing rights in connexion with the land and the proportion that number bears in each case to the total of the class of landholders concerned —

	N mb of Kayasths	P rc ntage total of class
Proprietors	673	13.3
Lakṣī rājdaras	2	4.8
Thakādaras	2	2.9
Tenants with fixed rents	53	3.9
Small dryot	37	2.2
Orphan but entitled ryots	8	6.3
Non-occasional ryots	48	3.0

These figures cannot of course be taken to represent precisely the relations of Kayasths to the land in all districts of Behar but they are of interest as showing the strong position that a caste having in theory no connection whatever with agriculture and affecting to despise those of its own members who serve as village accountants has managed to win for itself in the land system of the country. There could be no better comment on the numerous proverbial sayings current in Behar which have for their subject the cunning and the acquisitiveness of the Kayasth caste.

Notwithstanding the jealousy with which their less astute neighbours regard them the social position of the Behar Kayasths is unquestionably a high one. Popular opinion ranks them next in order to the Bābūans and Rajputs and like these when they hold land

as ryots, they get their homestead free of rent All Káyasths will eat *kachchi* food that has been cooked by a good Brahman that is by a Brahman who belongs to a respectable sub caste and whose ceremonial purity has not been affected by serving low people The Amasht and Karan sub castes will eat *kachchi* cooked by a Brahman None of the Káyasth sub castes will eat *kachchi* food prepared by a member of another sub caste Sribástabs Amashtas and Karans will sometimes eat *pakki* off the same plate and smoke out of the same hookah Ordinarily speaking Káyasths take *jalhi* food from any caste from whose hands water can be taken The Vaishnava members of the caste abstain from flesh and wine but Káyasths usually eat mutton and goat's flesh hare game birds and are notorious for their indulgence in strong drink

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Káyasths in 1872 and 1881 —

D	CT	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
I t		2 9	29 864	P h	11 33	12 7 1
(l had		40	4	M l l l		
M fl		2 7	4	H l l l rk		7
I h nk		70 9	4 5	I l l l	300	
b		47	4 1 4	I l l	6	10
l pá		47	51	h l	1 1	3
N gl			2 4 1	M l l	7 1	6 16
hl ugulp		1 1)	21 61	T b t j qt t		8

Kayat a synonym for Darzi
q v

Kayat Kayath a synonym for Kayastha

Kechengia a sept of Chiks
in Chota Nagpur

Kekrá crab a sub sept of the
Márnd sept of Santáls

Kelatoní a *thar* or section of
Nepáli Brahmans

Keli a *thar* or sept of
Mangars in Darjiling

Kelobo bee a totemistic sept
of Juángs in Orissa

Kendi a tree a totemist a sept
of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Kendwár a sept of Rajputs
in Behar

Kenu fish a totemistic sept of
Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Keoli a section of the Ba
hannajáti sub caste of Khat
ris in Bengal

Keond fruit a totemistic sept
of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Keophasa a sept of Maghs
in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Keora a flower a totemistic
sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Keoya a sept of Tipperahs in
the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kephuk a sept of Limbus in
Darjiling

Kerá plantain a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kerálaba pumpkin a totemistic sept of Juangs in Orissa

Kerketa a bird which makes a noise like *ket ket* a totemistic sept or section of Oraons Lohars Korwas Mundas Dom's Asuras Chamars Gorait's Kharias Mahils Turis and Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Kerungma a sept of the Panthar sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling

Kerwar a sub sept of the Hansas sept of Santals

Kerwári a sept of Iators in Chota Nagpur

Kesarari a section of Pans in Chota Nagpur

Kesargia a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Kesariá a totemistic section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa the members of which will not cut or touch *k sar gra*

Kesarkuni a *gum* of the Sándilya *gotra* of Kárhí Brahmans in Bengal to which the Rájá of Nadiya belongs

Kesaur a *mul* or section of the Jhhamulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Kesrá a totemistic sept of Pans in Chota Nagpur who are forbidden to eat *rahar dul*

Keswal a section at Goálas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Ket Chhutár a sub caste of Sutradhars in the Santal Parganas

Ketugrami a *gum* of the Sabarna *gotra* of Barendia Brahmans in Bengal

Kevala Gaura a group of Gaura Brahmans

Kewat a sub caste of Mallahs in Behar mostly boatmen and fishermen a section of Ghasis in Chota Nagpur

Kiort a fishing and cultivating caste of Behar also largely engaged in personal service among the higher classes of natives Its origin is uncertain Buchanan¹ thought it not improbable that the Kewats of Behar and the Kaibarttas of Bengal belonged in the earliest times to one aboriginal tribe bearing the name Kewat and that the Sanskrit name Kaibartta might have been adopted when Ballál Sen raised the tribe to the rank of purity Lassen's remarks on these two names have been quoted in the article on *Kaibartta* at p 376 above It will be seen that he differs from the Indian grammarians in holding that *Kawarta* has nothing to do with fishing but denotes a person who follows a low occupation and from Buchanan in thinking that *Kewat* or *Keiat* so far from being the barbarous name of an aboriginal tribe is merely a popular corruption of *Kawarta*

At the present day the Kewats of Behar are divided into five sub castes—Ajudhiabasi Bahiawak Bahiot or Ghibihār Garbhait Gorwāit or Sāghār Jāthot and Machhua. The Ajudhiabasi are believed to have immigrated in comparatively recent times from Oudh and are engaged solely in cultivation. The Bahiawak sub caste called Ghibihār or ghī eater from a story that one of them once ate the leavings of his master also believe that they came from Upper India where they followed the occupation of boatmen and fisher men. In those days it is said the personal servants of the Darbhanga Rāj were Kurmis but one of them named Biru Khawās who had risen to be a *tihsildar* dealt dishonestly with the Rāj and owing to his treachery all the Kurmis were turned out and Kewats from the North West Provinces established in their places. Various titles were conferred upon the Kewats according to the offices which they held. Thus the Khawās was the Rāj's personal servant, the Bhandari had charge of the *blānī* or granary where rent paid in kind was stored, the Derādar worked in the kitchen, the Kāpar looked after the Rāj's clothes and the Kamat saw to the cultivation of his *nat* or private lands. In course of time the distinction between agriculture and personal service became accentuated, the cultivators drew together into the Garbhait sub-caste and the serving class formed the Bahiawak group. The names Ghibihār ghī eater and Sāghār vegetable eater appear to indicate that supposed divergences of practice in the matter of food gave rise to the separation. The Bahiawak Kewats living in and about their employers' houses would necessarily fall under the suspicion of eating forbidden food and thus would of itself be sufficient to cut them off from their cultivating brethren. Those Kewats on the other hand who adhered to their original profession of boating and fishing formed the nucleus of the Machhua sub caste.

Infant marriage is in full force among the Kewats the marriageable age for boys being ordinarily from five to ten and for girls from three to ten years of age. Curiously it is deemed less material that the bridegroom should be older than the bride than that he should be taller. This point is of the first importance and is ascertained by actual measurement. If the boy is shorter than the girl or if his height is exactly the same as hers, it is believed that the union of the two would bring ill luck and the match is at once broken off. The marriage ceremony corresponds in its main features with that described by Mr Grierson at page 362 of *Behar Peasant Life*. Some points however seem to deserve special notice. After the first proposal has been made the bridegroom's people pay a visit to the bride's house (*ahardekhi*) for the purpose of seeing the bride. This is followed by a return visit on the part of the bride's people known as *bardekhi* seeing the bridegroom. Then comes *tilak* which consists in the bride's father or guardian going to the bridegroom's house with a present of money, clothes etc. proportionate to the respective rank of the two families. If for example a Bahiawak Kewat employed in the family of the Maharaja of

Darbhangha marries the daughter of a Kewat who serves a man of inferior rank or marries into a family of Kewats who allow their women to do menial offices in the houses of their employers the family of higher rank claims and receives a proportionately large *tilak*. *Tilak* having been paid a *lirhut* a *lahman* is called in to fix a lucky day for the marriage. On the day before the wedding not five or eight days before as in the case described by Mr Grierson the ceremony called *kunnam* or *nuthorna* is performed by the relatives of both bride and bridegroom. The women of each family with their female friends go forth singing to a tank outside the village. There after bathing the bride or bridegroom as the case may be the mother or female guardian digs up and brings home a clod of earth. From this clod a rude fireplace is made on which *ghu* is burned and paddy parched in honor of the household god on the threshold of the kitchen where he is supposed to dwell. A goat is sacrificed at the same time. Some of the parched paddy is kept to be used in the ceremony of the following day.

On the wedding day *garbhān* is performed in the manner described by Mr Grierson. For the *bu uamai* or *dhurchhal* ceremony noticed in paragraph 1320 of *Bihar Peasant Life* the Kewats substitute *sirhai*. The females of the bride's household one of them bearing on her head a *glasi* of water go in a body to the *sancausa* where the bridegroom's party are lodged and assault them with abusive songs and personal ridicule. This is kept up until one of the bridegroom's friends comes out and drops some prepared betel and some money. Then the women retire but one of them usually the wife of one of the brothers of the bride returns armed with a scarf which she throws round the neck of the bridegroom and drags him away to the courtyard of the bride's house. On his arrival there he is made to walk round the *marhwa* scattering on the ground the paddy parched in the *matlova* ceremony of the preceding day. Both parties are then seated under the *marhwa*. The family Brahman makes his appearance and the religious portion of the ceremony begins which need not be described in detail. *Sin durdan* is believed to be its essential and binding portion. Before however *sin durda* is performed the *purohit* writes the names of the bride and bridegroom and their ancestors up to the third degree on two mango leaves and binds one of these on the wrist of each. After *sin durdan* again there follows a curious rite called *sonch* which looks as if it were a survival of the primitive form of *sin durdan* described in the article on Kurmi. The bridal pair are taken into one of the rooms where two dishes of boiled rice and milk are standing ready. A tiny scratch is then made on the little finger of the bridegroom's right hand and of the bride's left and the drops of blood drawn from these are mixed with the food. Each then eats the food with which the other's blood has been mingled.

Polygamy is permitted only in the event of the first wife being barren and in no case can a man have more than two wives. A widow may marry again by the *sagai* form. She is not obliged to marry her late husband's younger brother but she may do so if she pleases and this arrangement is usually favoured by the

other members of the family Divorce is not permitted Adultery within the caste is atoned for by a penalty fixed by the *manyan* while an intrigue with an outsider involves instant expulsion

In religion the Kewats are orthodox Hindus who regard Bhagawati as their special goddess They also worship the snake god Bisahari and some members of the caste abstain altogether from killing snakes Maithil Brahmins officiate as their priests and their gurus are Sannyasi ascetics Among the minor gods so numerous in Behar they worship Bandi Goraiya Nar Singh and Kali with offerings of goats rice milk sweetmeats and various kinds of cakes Cocks are sacrificed to Bandi alone but these may not be slain within the house nor may they like the other articles mentioned be eaten by the worshippers Sana Maharaj and Baba Dayal Singh both supposed to be deified Kewats are also reckoned among their gods

In point of social standing Kewats occupy much the same position as Kurmis Koiris Dhanaks and other members of the group of castes from whom Brahmins can take water and certain kinds of sweet meats Their own rules as to diet differ little from those of other orthodox Hindus except that Bahiawak Kewats will eat the loaves of the Brahmins Rajputs Bahunis and Kayasthas whom they serve while Machhua Kewats eat fowls and indulge freely in strong drink They will take water and sweetmeats etc from Goalas Koiris and Dhanaks but will eat *kakri* food with no other caste except Ahiats of cool family Most cultivating Kewats hold the position of raiyats with or without occupying rights in the land which they till Some few have risen to hold small zamindaris while the poorest members of the cultivating sub caste work as agricultural labourers

It deserves mention that the Kewat though properly a Behar caste are very widely distributed in Benal and Orissa A colony of them stay in Wise has for centuries been settled in the city of Dacca but no traces of them are to be found in the interior of the district A tradition still survives that they were brought from Behar by the Mahomedan rulers of Eastern Bengal and employed as messengers and watchmen They repudiate the idea of relationship with the Kaibartas although they do not object to eat or smoke with them The Dacca Kewats have three subdivisions—Sera Ram Gauri or Gaurhi and Dhuat Kewat These names however must be regarded rather as titles than as the designations of true sub castes for their members not only eat together but intermarry just as Kewats who happen to bear different titles do in Behar These Kewats are all included in one gotra Kasyapa and though domiciled in Bengal are not excluded from caste privileges when on a visit to Behar Owing to association with more orthodox or more bigoted people widow marriage has been discontinued In Dacca the caste have relinquished fishing and have generally adopted the occupation of fishmongers although a few are poddars or bankers

The Kewat fishmonger usually makes advances to the fishermen and finds it more profitable to buy small fish by the basket and large ones by weight than to haggle for each day's catch. The Kewat generally brings the supply from the fishing ground himself if it is near but a servant is sent if it is distant.

Dr. Wise remarks on the strange fact that the Dacca Kewats have become followers of the Nizak Shahi faith. Their guru is the Mahant of the Akhara of that sect in the suburb of Shujaatpur; their purohit a Maithil Brahman. The Kantha Brahman performs their funeral service and attends at the *sraddha* observed fifteen days after death but he is charged with being extortionate and with demanding more than poor Kewat families can afford.

The great annual festival of the Kewats of Dacca is the Nauami or ninth lunar day of Paus (December-January) when every one visits the Akhara and after prayers receives *Mohan Bhog*, a sweetmeat specially prepared for the occasion. The Chhath on the sixth of Kartik is a great bathing rite observed by Kewats and all Hindu stani castes while the Ganga Lujah as well as the principal Hindu festivals are kept. Sacrifices too are offered at the proper seasons to Bura Buri the androgynous village deity of Eastern Bengal whose worship has been described at length in the article on the Chandals.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kewats in 1872 and 1881 —

DISTRICT	1872	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
Bardw		631	Shahbad	700	
Bankura	1747		Tahsil M. N. P.	5377	3447
Bishnupur	1162		Dahabang		4264
Medinipur	27				
Haldia	1		Chhimpura	227	6106
Haldia	1		M. N. P.	1	2119
Khulna	3		Bhagnipur		356
Jessore	83		P. N.	257	64
M. Rahadbad	341		M. N. P.		19
K. J. H.	2		S. Tal. P. N.	21	48
B. G.	12		C. T. A.	717	10189
P. B.	285		P.	271	4
J. P. G.	1		B. R.	3	211
Dacca	21		T. B. T. Y. S. T.	31384	3744
T. P. R.	7		H. A. L. G.	2	
Ch. T. G.	1		L. O. L.		1
Patna	497	584	M. L.	16	1471
Gya	293	23	T. B. T. Y. S. T.	2660	971

Khadhnu a section of the Sātmulā Maghaya sub caste of Kāndua in Behar

Khadohar tattooers also employed as vaccinators

Knadoliā Khadotiā a section of Goalās in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Khadumriā a section of Goalās in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Khagaur a *mul* or section of the Kanaujia sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Khurā a small caste in Hazaribagh who grow vegetables

and other crops They are believed to be akin to Kharwars

Khaira a cultivating sub-caste of Baghis in Bengal also a synonym for Kari

Khairi a sub-tribe of Kharwars in Lalamun

Kharwal a section of Gorais in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Khakalia a sub-caste of Supris in Behar

Khajurark a portion of Sakadwipi in humans in Behar

Khajuri a name of a section of the Narmulic or Marjut sub-caste of humans in Behar

Khalang a section of Khambus in Darjiling

Khalhad a section of Gorais in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Khaling a tribe or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Khalkho a section of Gorais in Chota Nagpur

Khalkhor a domestic sept of Gorais who may not eat fish that have been caught by boiling water out of a tank or well

Khalriha a tribe of the Lamelha and Jiwari Klawi in Behar

Khalsa a sub-caste of Khals in Behar

Khar a synonym for Sherpa Bhutia in Nepal

Khamapong a tribe of humans in the hills of the Himalayas tribe of humans in Darjiling

Kham a synonym for Bhumi in Nepal

Khamba a tribe of humans in Darjiling

Khambe a sept of Chukm in the hills of Chitragong

Khambha fork of a tree domestic sept of Chukm in Chota Nagpur

Khimbu Jimdar Pu one of the fighting tribes of Nepal forming with the Imbu and Yakha the Kiranti group who have their original home in the Kiranti District mountainous country lying between the Dud Kosi and Kurki rivers. Like several other Nepalese tribes the Khambu cherish a tradition that they came to Nepal from Kasi or Benares. A mythical ancestor Parubang is still worshipped as a household deity. Khambus marry their daughters as adults and tolerate sexual license before marriage on the understanding rarely set at defiance that a man shall honourably marry a girl who is pregnant by him. Men usually marry between the ages of 15 and 20 and girls between 12 and 15 but marriage is often deferred in the case of the former to 25 and of the latter to 20. The preliminary negotiations are entered upon by the bridegroom's family who send an emissary with two *hunjis* or bamboo

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vessels of *marua* beer and a piece of ham to the bride's house to ask for her hand. If her parents agree the bridegroom follows on an auspicious day about a fortnight later and pays the standard bride price of Rs. 80. The wedding takes place at night. Its essential and binding portion is the payment of one rupee by the bridegroom as *samunl* or earnest money to the bride's father the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and putting a scarf round her neck. The bride price may be paid in instalments if the bridegroom's family cannot afford to pay in a lump. A widow is allowed to marry again but her value is held to have declined by us and only half the usual bride price is paid for her if she is young and only a quarter if she has passed her first youth. Divorce is permitted for adultery the adulterer must pay to the husband the full amount that the woman originally cost and he can then marry her. In actual practice the marriage bond is very readily broken among the Khambus and among many other of the Nepalese tribes. Women are faithful to the men they live with while they live with them and secret adultery is believed to be rare but they think very little of running away with any man of their own or a cognate tribe who takes their fancy and the state of things which prevails approaches closely to the ideal *regime* of temporary unions advocated by would be marriage reformers in Europe.

By religion Khambus are Hindus but they have no Brahmans and men of their own tribe called Home. I I c responding closely to the Bijus employed by the Tibetans serve them as priests. Their special god is the ancestral deity *l rubang* who is worshipped in the months of March and November with the sacrifice of a pig and offerings of incense and *marua* beer. Him they regard as a *ghard rati* or household deity and he is held in greater honour than the unmistakably Hindu divinity Devi to whom buffaloes, goat, fowl and pigeons are occasionally sacrificed. Another of their minor gods *Sidha* is honoured with offerings of *dhuba* grass and milk. His origin is uncertain but it seems to me possible that the name may be a survival of the stage of Buddhism through which the Khambus like many other Nepalese tribes have probably passed.

The practice of the Khambus in respect to disposing of the dead varies greatly and appears to depend F I mainly on the discretion of the Home called in to supervise the operation. Both burial and cremation are resorted to on occasion and the mourners sometimes content themselves with simply throwing the body into the nearest river. A *snaddh* ceremony of a somewhat simple character is performed once for the benefit of the deceased in the next world and to prevent him from coming back to trouble the living. Land owning and cultivation are believed by the Khambus to be their original and characteristic occupation but a certain number of them adopt military service and enter Gurkha regiments under the title of Rai. A Khambu if asked to what caste he belongs will usually reply Jimdár (a corruption of zamindar) or

Rai Jimdir A few Khambus have also taken to weaving. Their social status so far as Nepal is concerned is best marked by the statement that they belong to the Kiranti group and are recognised as equals by the Limbus and Yakkhas. In the matter of food they are less particular than the Hindus of the plains for they eat pork and the domestic fowl and indulge freely in strong drink.

Khámud a title of Mals

Khámta a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Khamthak a sept of Lambus in Darjiling

Khan a title of Rajputs and a section of Sunris in Behar a title of the Dáa sub caste of Granthibrahmins of Nipits and of Magdis in Bengal a section

of the Biyahut and Kharidahá Kalwars a title of Tharus and Karangas

Khána a title of Marthul Brahmins in Behar

Khanál a *thar* or section of Nepali Brahmins

Khandabati a *gotra* of the Sabarna *gotra* of Barendra Brahmins in Bengal

Thidait *Khandayat* a swordsman from Uriya *thadait* a sword, the generic title of the feudal militia of Orissa the leading members of which claim to be descended from a band of pure Kshatriyas who came in as conquerors from Northern India. A good observer writes of them as follows — Although a numerous and well defined body the Khanduts do not appear to be really a distinct caste. The ancient Rajas of Orissa kept up large armies and partitioned the lands on strictly military tenures. These armies consisted of various castes and races the upper ranks being officered by men of good Aryan descent while the lower ones were recruited from the low caste alike of the hills and the plains. On the establishment of a well defined caste system such troops took their caste from their occupation and correspond to the military class in the fourfold division in Northern India but with this difference that in Northern India the military class consists of an ethnical entity whereas in Orissa the Khandaits exhibit every variety of type from the high Aryan of good social position to the semi-aboriginal mongrel taken from the dregs of the people. In this passage taken from the *Statistical Account of Balasore District* Mr Beames appears to regard the Khanduts as a heterogeneous group made up of the elements of Aryan immigrants from Upper India and at the other of recruited from a number of indigenous non Aryan tribes.

The data now available enable us to carry the analysis a step further and to show that the Khandait caste for the most part if not entirely composed of Bhuiyás of the south Indian tribe whose true affinities have been disguised under a functional name while they cultivate their religion and in some cases even their mythology and features have been modified by long contact with Hindus of relatively pure Aryan descent. The evidence for this view consists

of the following facts — *first* that the Khandaits of the Chota Nagpur Division who say that they immigrated from Orissa some twenty generations ago and many of whom still speak Uriya regulate their marriages by the totemistic sections characteristic of the Southern Bhuiyas and call themselves Bhuiya; *secondly* that among the numerous titles of the Khandaits in Orissa we find the very singular names *Uttar Dakhin* and *Paschim Kapat* which are assumed by the Bhuiyas of Singbhum; *thirdly* that as late as 1879 the term Bhuiya was current as a synonym for Khandait even in Orissa where it now seems to have fallen into disuse.

The sub-castes and sections of both Orissa and Chota Nagpur Khandaits so far as I have been able to ascertain them are shown in Appendix I. The relations of the subdivisions of the Baroghri sub-caste are rather intricate. Members of all four groups may intermarry but the women of the Panchsaugharia and Pandrasaugharia subdivisions are married to men of the Dasgharia or Panchgharia classes are supposed to be to a certain extent degraded and members of their own groups will not take food from their hands. So also the Das and Panchgharia will eat food cooked by the Panchsau and Pandrasaugharia but the latter will not return the compliment. The Panchsau again will take boiled rice etc. from the Pandrasaugharia but only the unmarried men of the former class are deemed pure enough to prepare food of this kind for members of the latter class. The whole of the Baroghri sub-caste profess to maintain a high standard of ceremonial purity and will on no account intermarry with the Chhotgheri, who eat fowls and indulge in strong drink like their non-Aryan neighbours. The Orissa subdivisions seem to be based on the social difference between the Mahanarik or Sresta Khandaits holding hereditary tenure who represent the officer of the ancient feudal militia and the rank and file of that body who now bear the name of Chasa Khandait. Orih Khandait or Khandait Pak and occupy the lower position of village cultivators and primary cultivators. Intermarriage between the two groups though not absolutely forbidden occurs very rarely and they may properly be regarded as sub-castes. The latter class still retain totemistic sections of the same type as are found among the Khandaits of Chota Nagpur while the former have borrowed the Brahmanical *gotra*. In all cases the rule of exogamy extends only to a marriage within a section and is supplemented by a table of prohibited degrees closely corresponding to that given in the article on the Rautias. The Chasa or Orih Khandait sub-caste admit into their own ranks members of the Chasa cast but this appears to be effected simply by intermarriage and not to form the occasion of any special ceremony.

The main body of Khandaits marry their daughters after they are grown up and the practice of infant marriage is confined to those landholding families who pretend to be Rajputs and affect strict conformity with orthodox usage. Even among these however special care is

taken to guard against premature consummation and the husband is not allowed to take his wife home until she has attained the age of puberty. The ceremony is supposed to be in the *Irjapatya* form referred to by Manu. The essential parts of the ritual are *hatgauti*, or binding the hands of bride and bridegroom together with *lūa* grass and *ganthayan* or knotting their clothes. Polygamy is permitted and in theory at least there is no restriction on the number of wives a man may have. The luxury however is simply indulged in even by the wealthier members of the caste and in practice few Khandaits take a second wife unless the first is barren or suffers from an incurable disease. In Chitr Nagpur widows may marry again and are bound by no conditions as to the choice of a second husband except that they must avoid the prohibited degrees binding upon them before marriage and that they cannot marry all their brothers or elder cousins of their husband. Marriage with the first husband's younger brother or younger cousin is all well unless the married woman is pregnant at the time of the marriage. In Orissa the Sretra Khandait ritual will permit in other sub-castes it is allowed on the same terms as in Chitr Nagpur. Divorce may be decreed by the *panchayat* on the application of the husband if a woman is convicted of unchastity, persistent disobedience or serious misconduct. In such cases the divorced wife generally receives alimony for a year but the majority of orthodox hold that she is not entitled to the jewels and property which she brought with her at marriage. All sub-castes except the Sretra Khandaits of Orissa allow a divorced wife to marry again by the *Irjapatya* ritual.

The majority of Khandaits follow the tenets of the Vaishnava sect and comparatively few Saktas or Shivas are met with among them. If the religious observances present no features of special interest. In Orissa the Sretra Khandaits who save themselves present an unequal family order member of the same order and are deemed socially superior to the Saktas and the Irjapatya who number the ritual necessities of the Chaitanya. Among the *panchayat* communities in Orissa and in Chitr Nagpur the most noticeably distinguished Pariahs are belonging to the Marung, Ima or great mountain of the Munda and Santal are worshipped by the head of each household with offerings of great sweets and fruit which are afterwards divided among the members of the family. The Orissa Khandaits profess great reverence for the sword as the symbol of their rank and at the Dasara festival the family weapons are solemnly cleaned and worshipped by lighting flares and incense before them. The practice however seems to be merely reflex of the common Hindu usage which leads very rarely to the worship of the sword and cannot be regarded as of itself giving any clue to the tribal affinities of the caste. A Sretra Khandait burns the dead and performs a *sattri* ceremony of the orthodox type on the eleventh day after death.

In the social system of Orissa the Sretra Khandait ranks next to the Rajput who is comparatively low in number and have not the intimate connection

with the land which has helped to raise the Khandaits to their present position. A Sresta Khandait assumes the sacred thread at the time of his marriage a practice not uncommon among castes of dubious origin who are pressing to be counted among the number of the twice born. The Chasá Khandaits do not wear the thread but Brahmans will take water from their hands and they occasionally intermarry with the Karan caste. Khandaits themselves will take cooked food only from their own Brahmans whose levings also they will eat. Sweetmeats and water may be given to them by Chásas, Gor Gólas and Karans. In Chota Nagpur Khandaits Brahmans take water from Bai Gohri Khandaits but not from the Chhot Gohri who eat fowls and indulge freely in spirituous liquors and generally order their lives in a fashion entirely inconsistent with the Hindu standard of ceremonial purity. Their traditions aver that shortly after their immigration from Orissa they were in possession of eight forts (*ath garh*) at Biru Basia, Belsian Dimba, Gorr Lachri, Idhma and Sonpur and it is certain that at one time entire parganas in Chota Nagpur were held by Khandaits on terms of military service. These however passed out of their hands as the country settled down under British rule and at the present day very few indeed retain tenures of any substantial value. The Oriá Khandaits seem to have held their ground more firmly and it may be that our settlement of the land revenue by recognizing the right of all persons connected with the land has enabled them to resist the modern tendency towards the resumption of ancient servitudes. However this may be the leading families of the caste still hold estates and rent free tenures directly under Government while the rank and file are occupying riyats or have small tenures in payment for their services as headmen (*utalla*) or watchmen (*hulath*) of villages, others again are occupying orion or paucy riyats and landless day labourers. Khandaits who wear a sword and do not cultivate with their own hand consider themselves superior to those who are working as agriculturists but this distinction does not seem to coincide exactly with the existing division into ul castes.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Khandait in 1872 and 1881. In Belgaon proper the figure for Ghatwals are included in the former year —

D	1872	1881	D	187	1881
B 1	931	2	Borr	14	
I k	5	9	I b		
B 11	14		I		
M 1	27	123	M	33	
H 1		3	C		
H w h		1	M d l	32	
24 p		1	C flack	263	34 6
N d y	1340	14	P		
K 1			H larr	1	1
J so			I l y State	4	341
M h l bad	14	1	I l l		37 4
D 1	3		I l l	2	1
Bj hahive	203		I l l y State		80

Khandāit Paik a sub caste of and a synonym for Khandāits in the Orissa Tributary States

Khandania a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Khandayat a synonym for Khandait

Khandelvala a group of the Sanadhya sub caste of Gaura Brahmans in Behar

Khandiwar a sub caste of Bais Banias in Behar

Khandsap a pur or section of Sals in Brahmans in Behar

Khanduar a section of Gulas in Behar

Khandwal a sub caste of Gulas in Singhum

Khangar a section of Mahuli in Western Bengal

Khangar Munda a sub tribe of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Khangbha a thar or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Khangor a synonym for Khunjar

Khani Khor a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Khinjar a small caste in Behar whose women practice prostitution

Khanna a sept of Rajputs and a section of the Chitai sub caste of Khatris in Behar

Khānsimria a mul or section of the Niamuli or Majraut sub caste of Gulas in Behar

Khantwar a pur or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Khāpangī a thar or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Khapariya a sub caste of Dhankas in Behar

Khapraha a section of the Bihahut and Kharidtha khalwars in Behar

Knaptari a thar or sept of Gurungs and Mangars in Darjiling

Khapu a bird a totemistic sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Kharā a hypergamous group of Karans in Orissa

Kharādi (*Kharad* a lathe) the caste of turners in Behar chiefly employed in making and painting legs of bedsteads and toys

Kharait a title of Sadgops in Bengal

Kharait a mul or section of the Mahiya sub caste of Kulis in Behar

Kharak a ritualistic section of Rautias in Chota Nagpur

Kharakwar a territorial section of Rajwars and Rautias in Chota Nagpur

Kharaont a sub caste of Numbas in Behar

Kharaunre Bhaur a mul of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Kharaunre Khutti a mul of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Kharaunre Gurdī a mul of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Kharaunre Ekma a mul of the Sandil section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Kharbahia a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kharchwar a sub caste of Kurmis in Behar

Khardaha a mel or hypergamous sub group of Barhi Brahmans in Bengal

Khare an endogamous division of the Sribastab sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Khárgá a section of Sunris in Behar

Khargpur a group of Maghaiya Telis in Behar

Khariá blade of grass a totemistic section of Rautias in Chota Nagpur. A sub caste of Bhandaris in Orissa

Khariá a Dravidian cultivating tribe of Chota Nagpur classed on linguistic grounds as Kolarian. In physique the settled members of the tribe resemble the Mundas but have rather coarser features and a figure not so well proportioned. One of their traditions alleges that they succeeded the Oraons as settlers in the country between Rohtasgarh and Patna while another says that their origin elsewhere was in Moharbhuj of which State they and the Purans were the first inhabitants being born there from a pea fowl's egg—the Purans from the white the Kharias from the shell and the family of the chie (Bhanj) from the yolk. Thence they made their way up the valley of the Koel into the south western corner of the Lohardaga district where we now find them massed in tolerably large communities. Colonel Dalton endeavours to reconcile these conflicting accounts but with no great success. In truth legends of this kind are for the most part a highly unprofitable study. As often as not they refer to some recent migration of a comparatively small section of the tribe and it is hopeless to expect that they should contain the clue to any really ancient history. But as usual like the Khurris have no means of holding down a tradition fixed for any length of time. Writings which were then their literature is rapidly dying but until they have a firm grasp of poetry recorded prose will tell the preservative of these traditions of the race.

The Khariá fall into three distinct subtribes—**Dhili Kharia**, **Dud Kharia**, **Eren Kharia** and **Munda Kharia**. The Dud Kharia still take communion with Hinduism and do not eat beef. The Munda Kharia are still to be the offspring of an

intrigue with a Munda woman. This statement is in accordance with the hypergamous relations which subsist between the two tribes. Khariá speak of the Mundas as their elder brethren and Khariá women are sometimes taken as wives by the Mundas who however will on no account give their girls in marriage to the Khariá. The sects of the tribe are shown in Appendix I. All of them are totemistic but I am informed that the usual dog taboo the totem taboo is not now very generally observed. It must however at one time have been in force for a sect of wild Khariá whom Mr Ball observed on the Dharma range in Mahabhumid the sheep for their totem and were not allowed to eat mutton or even to use a woollen rug. Exogamy is regularly practised and a man may not marry a woman of his own sept. Beyond the circle defined by the sept name the ideas of the Khariá on the subject of consanguineous marriage are said to be lax and on the maternal side they appear to content themselves with forbidding a man to marry his aunts his nieces and his first cousins. Girls are usually married after they have attained puberty and sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly tolerated. Of late

years, the richer members of the tribe have adopted the Hindu fashion of infant marriage. The preliminary negotiations for a marriage are carried on by the parents and a bride price (*sukmur*) of from one to ten head of cattle must be paid before the day can be fixed. This must be some time in Māgh (January-February) as Khariās can only marry during that month. On the day before the wedding the bride's family escort her to the bridegroom's house great care being taken that she does not put her foot into a running stream on the way. The bridal party establish themselves under a tree where a place has been prepared for them. There they are met by the bridegroom's party each side being provided with an earthen jar of water wreathed round with ears of rice and crowned with a lighted lamp. The rest of the day is spent in feasting and in songs and dances all bearing more directly than delicately on what is evidently considered the main object of the festivities—the public recognition of the consummation of the marriage. Early next morning the bride and bridegroom are anointed with oil and taken to bathe. Five bundles of straw are then spread on the ground and the yoke (*yuk*) of a plough laid upon them. The bride and bridegroom stand facing each other on the yoke and the bridegroom encircles the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair while she makes a small red spot of the same colour on his forehead. This completes the marriage and the whole party sit down under a tree to feast at the expense of the bridegroom. While the feast is going on the bride is brought before the company and is made to wash a lot in hot water in token apparently of her willingness to do any form of household work. After this she is finally handed over to the bridegroom. If the full bride price has been paid the bride's father is expected to provide his daughter with a true and a dozen pieces of cloth and to give one cow to his son-in-law within a month after marriage.

A widow may marry again by the same form which consists of the bridegroom presenting her with a cow and cloth. If her husband leaves a brother younger than himself the widow is expected to marry him but is not obliged to do so. It may indeed be inferred from the fact that on her death is the customary bride price for a widow that she frequently does marry outside of her late husband's family. Divorce is permitted on the ground of adultery in which case the wife's family are required to give back the cattle which they received as the bride price. A divorced woman may marry again and her customary market value is stated to be two head of cattle.

The Dud Khariās profess to be guided in matters of inheritance and succession by the principles of the Mitakshar. This however is in direct contradiction for they like the rest of the tribe follow a customary law of their own administered by a panthayat or council of elders at which the tribal priest usually presides. The constitution of Kharia custom so far as I have been able to ascertain thus may be summarised

as follows Sons inherit to the exclusion of all other heirs but the eldest son gets two shares more than any of his brothers and on him is supposed to rest the obligation of providing for the maintenance of the daughters In dividing property a distinction is drawn between sons by a *lihai* wife married by the full ceremony and sons by a *saga* wife who may have been a widow or a divorced woman This supposes a man die, leaving two sons by a *lihai* and two by a *saga* wife and the property to be divided consists of sixteen *kinnas* of rice land the land would be divided into two lots one containing twelve *kannas* and the other four The elder of the two *lihai* sons would get seven *kannas* and the younger five *kinnas* while the *saga* sons would get two *kannas* apiece Brothers and uncles exclude widows and daughters

The religion of the Kharias may be defined as a mixture of animism and nature worship in which the former element on the whole predominates

As the nominal head of their system we find Bar Pahar to whom buffaloes rams and cocks are offered at uncertain intervals He seems to be a *fineint* sort of deity who brings neither good nor ill fortune to men and is not in charge of any special department of human affairs He has no Kharia name and it is possible that the practice of worshipping him may have been borrowed from the Mundas and Orans The worshipping duties of the Kharia pantheon are the following—(1) **Dorho Dubo** who dwells in muddy places and takes care of the *lai* or frings of water which are a notable feature in the Lohardag district Ligs goat and rlf wls ar the offerings set up for him (2) **Nasan Dubo** the god of destruction who utters leth and disease abill and must be propitiated with sacrifices of five chickens (3) **Giring Dubo** the sun whom Colonel Dalton mentions under the name of Bero adding that every head of a family should during his lifetime make not less than five sacrifices to this divinity the first of fowls the second of a pig third of a white goat fourth of a ram and fifth of a buffalo He is then considered sufficiently propitiated for this generation and regarded as an ungrateful god if he does not behave handsomely to his votary In praying to Bero they address him as Iarameswar the Hindi word for God The Ho term Sin bonga they do not know The sacrifices are always made in front of an ant hill which is used as an altar This peculiar mode of sacrificing has fallen into disuse among the Hos and Mundas but on my making some enquiries on the subject from old men of the tribes I was informed that it was orthodox though not now generally practised (4) **Jyelo Dubo** the moon—offering a black cock (5) **Pât Dubo** a god who lives rocky places—offering a grey goat or reddish brown fowls (6) **Donga Darha** a hill god—offering a white goat (7) **Mahadan** another hill god to whom rams are sacrificed (8) **Gumi** the god who lives in the *Sin* or sacred grove which serves as temple for most of the aboriginal deities—offering a sow (9) **Agin Darha** the protector of the rice crop—offering a

white goat (10) Kará Sarná the god of cattl disease to whom buffaloes are sacrificed on the occasion of an outbreak

Kharias have not yet attained to the dignity of employing Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes but have priests of their own called Kalo whose office is usually hereditary They also avail themselves of the services of the village Iahan who

is usually a Munda or an Oraon In their funeral rites they observe a curious distinction the bodies of married people are burned while persons who die unmarried are buried When cremation is resorted to the bones and ashes or the dead are put into a new earthen vessel with some parched rice and thrown into the deepest pool of a river or should there be no river near into a rocky chasm or a tank in the *bhuinhari* village of the deceased that is to say the village in which he ranks among the descendants of the original owners If this village cannot be traced the ashes may be thrown into any tank that is near only in that case a feast must be given to the *llu* / of the village and a *idhu* of rice presented to the landlord The relations and friends of the deceased are entertained at a feast and a tall slab of unhewn stone is set up near his house before which lully oblations are supposed to be offered in order to appease his spirit and avert the danger of his returning to trouble the living

Plaid Kharias are fair cultivators and in the south west of Lachardaga where they are fairly numerous many of them claim to be *llu* / holders of *korkar* tenures and occupancy ruyats In other part of the district they are mostly tenants at will and farm labourers The wild Kharias who frequent the Dalmir range in Munbhum and the forest clad hills of Gopur and other Tributary States know no other mode of agriculture than the barbarous *llu* / or *lahi* system which consists in burning down a patch of jungle and sowing *lyra bui* or *koto* in the ashes between the stumps of the trees They are said to be not over fatidious in catching monkeys and various kinds of small animal and cattle which have been killed by wild beasts or have died from disease Little Kharias have much the same notion as the Mundas on the subject but the Dud Kharia sub tribe as has been mentioned above profess to abstain from beef and eat *kachhi* only with men of their own tribe Some Kharias says Colonel Dalt in preference to intensify exclusive in regard to cooking and eating This characteristic I found most developed in villages of Chota Nagpur where Kharias were associated with Oraons under Brahman proprietors and it is a common saying in that part of the country that every Kharia must have his *hariah* i.e. cooking pot He may not allow even his wife to cook for him and if a stranger enters a house in which he keeps his earthen drinking and cooking vessels and water pots every vessel is polluted and the whole are destroyed or thrown away This class of Kharias are specially filthy in their habits and it is not improbable that Hindus may have been more than ordinarily harsh in excluding them from their kitchens and inner apartments, and that the Kharias retaliate by outcasting everybody

The foregoing paragraphs treat for the most part only of the settled agricultural Kharias of the Lohardagá district a people who are respectably dressed comfortably housed and well supplied with wholesome food. Some of them hold land tenures of appreciable value and there are signs of a tendency among them towards the adoption of Hinduism—a step which whenever taken will speedily obliterate all traces of primitive usage. Even now there is little left to show of the primitive life of the same stock as the wild Kharias who inhabit the forests of the highest ranges in Munhum Singblum and the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur and Orissa and are slung even by the Hs and Bhumiya on account of their reputation as wild. These wandering savage like the Bhors of Hazaribagh and Lalmau who Col. J. Dulton supposes may belong to the same tribe are now believed to be rapidly dying out and very few Europeans have had the opportunity of seeing them in their homes. No apology therefore is needed for putting Mr V Ball's description of the Kharias whom he met with on the Dalma range in Munhum during the cellwaller at 1866-67. —

The Kharias show a marked dislike of civilization constantly leaving places where they have any reason for supposing that they are overlooked. Their houses generally not more than two or three together are situated on the sides or tops of the highest hills. They stand in small clearances a wretched crop of *bigibing* sown between the fallen and charred trunk of trees.

Closer to the south boundary of Munhum there are a succession of hill ranges of which Dalma (3407 feet) the rival of Parasnath is the highest point. On this hill I saw three or four small little Kharia cottages made of wattled bamboo which together with the small standing crop had for no apparent reason been deserted. Further west just outside the boundary of Munhum on a plain formed of trap where there was a good water supply the small Kharia village had assumed a somewhat permanent appearance. Occasionally Kharia cottages are to be seen on the outskirts of villages but this is a departure from what is one of the most characteristic customs of the race.

The first Kharias I met with were encamped in the jungle at the foot of some hills. The hut was rudely made of a few small branches its occupants being one man and two young women besides three or four children. At the time of my visit they were taking their morning meal and as they regarded me with the utmost indifference without ever turning round or ceasing from their occupations I remained for some time watching them. They had evidently recently captured some small animal but what it was as they had already eaten the skin I could not ascertain. As I looked on the old woman distributed to the others on plates of *sal* leaves what appeared to be the entrails of the animal and wrapping

up her own portion between a couple of leaves throw it on the fire in order to give it a very primitive cooking. With regard to their ordinary food the Kharias chiefly depend upon the jungle for a supply of fruits, leaves and roots. I got them to collect for me specimens of the principal species they used. The list of edible plants will be found in full in the *Stethoscope of Harihary* (vol. xvi). Besides these however the Kharias eat rice which they obtain in the villages in exchange for several jungle products such as honey, lac, *dhina*, *tasar*, cocoons, *sal* leaves and bundles of bamboo slips called *khurk* where with the leaves are stitched into plates. That the rice which they thus obtain though small in quantity is an important element in their daily food is apparent from the fact that a large number of them are still to be seen in the famine. I can only explain this by supposing that they lost heart or being deprived of what had been their regular source of supply and failed to exert themselves in the collection of an extra quantity of roots. An explanation somewhat similar to this was given to me by a Santal who said, perhaps of his own rice that those who went to the labour of searching the jungle's sapel while those who sat in their houses willing for better fire, the roots are dug up with small blades or iron tools by means of an instrument called *kut*—a iron spike firmly fixed in a wooden handle. In the case of this as it is natural it should be frequently becomes blunt and so with the necessity of taking it fresh, renewed perhaps half a dozen miles to the nearest Kamr the Kharias have invented for themselves a fresh method of which is produced by a pair of bellows the most primitive construction. They consist of a pair of circular caps about eight inches high which are made of leaves stitched together with grass. These are firmly fixed down upon the hollows in the ground where a pair of bamboo nozzles convey the blast produced by alternation of sudden elevations and depressions. The first is a point of iron and the second is a point of iron spikes which is used until they become sufficiently soft to be hammered to a point by a piece of wood as a hammer and a stone anvil.

The Kharias never make iron themselves but are altogether dependent on the neighbouring barbers for their supplies. Had they at any period possessed a knowledge of the art of making iron, conservative of their customs as such races are it is scarcely likely that they would have forgotten it. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that there was a period anterior to the advent of the Hindus when iron was quite unknown to them—when owing to the absence of cultivation in the plains they were even more dependent on the supply of jungle food than they are at present. In those times their axes and their implements for grubbing up roots were in all probability made of stone and their arrows had tips made of the same material.

In their persons the Kharias are very dirty, seldom if ever washing themselves. Their features are decidedly of a low character, not unlike the Bhumi, but there seemed to me to be an absence of any strongly marked type, in their faces or build such as enables one to know a Santal and even a Kurmi at a glance.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Khariás in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	Dist	1872	1881
B d w	106		Ra g		71
B k ra	17	311	l j n g		2
B t h	21		T t y States Ori sa	394	84
M d p	2398	3543	H b gh		73
J g h i			Loh rda g	21	4
H w h	10	1274	S n g b h m	141	
24-1 ryanas	7	8	M b h m	2	24
Nad	1		T b tary States	1	28
M rsled bad		4			

Khariá Munda a sub tribe of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Khariá Oraon a sub tribe of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Khariár a section of Mahlis in Western Bengal

Khariát a sub caste of Binds in Behar

Kharidáhá a sub caste of Kalwárs in Behar

Kharihí a title of Goálás in Behar

Kharipará a sub caste of Sutradhars in Western Bengal

Kharkábayu a section of Kálús in Darjiling

Kharnáke ke ráut a section of the Biyahut and Kharidal Kalwars in Behar

Kharnia a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kharpáik a mul or section of the Kanaujia sub caste of Harjins in Behar

Kharsán a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kharua a section of Kumhars in Singbhum

Aha ura makers of brass ornaments in Western Bengal

Kharwal Khernul a sub caste of Bhuiyas in Singbhum

Khartwár Kherwar a Dravidian cultivating and landholding tribe of Chota Nagpur and Southern Behar regarding whose origin there has been much discussion. Speaking of the Kharwars of Shahabad Buchanan says that great confusion prevails concerning them because in different places they have adopted the precepts of Hinduism in different degrees. The social position of the tribe also varies greatly. Some are found amongst the labouring classes bearing burdens and carrying palanquins some have attained positions as land owners lordling it over Biahmans and Rajputs their rayats whilst others occupy the table land unmingled with any other tribe and there is little reason no doubt that they are its original inhabitants. These he observes have retained the features by which the aboriginal tribes of the Vindhyan mountains are distinguished but no one has met with any of the tribe who retain a trace of their original language. Some Kharwars declare their original seat to have been the fort of Rohas so called as having been the chosen abode of Rohitaswa son of Harachandra of the family of the sun. From this ancient house they also claim descent call themselves Surjabansis and wear the *janeo* or caste thread distinguishing the Rajputs. A less flattering

tradition makes them out to be the offspring of a marriage between a Kshatriya man and a Blar woman contemporary of King Bala when distinctions of caste were set aside and men might marry whom they would.

The difficulty experienced by Buchanan in arriving at any conclusions regarding the true affinities of the tribe in Shillong is well illustrated by Colonel Dalton's account of their status in Chota Nagpur —

The Rajas of Ramgarh and Jashpur are members of this family who have nearly succeeded in obliterating their Turanian trait by successive intermarriages with Aryan families. The Jashpur Raja is wedded to a lady of pure Rajput blood by his father's law; he has succeeded in obtaining a similar union with three of his daughters. It is a costly ambition but there is no doubt that the infusion of fresh blood greatly improves the Kharwar physique. The late Maharaja Sambhunath Singh of Langurh was a remarkably handsome man sufficiently so to support his pretensions to be a true child of the sun but according to the traditions and burial of his own family his ancestors must have been very low in the social scale when they first came to Ramgarh. They descend from the younger of two brothers who generations ago were adventurers and took service with the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur. The latter obtained Ramgarh as a fief on his doing homage to the Maharaja and receiving the title or mark of investiture from that potentate's great toe. Almost all the men of ancient standing with proprietary rights in the Ramgarh estate are Kharwar. The Thakurs of Húsar Saram and Lala Dalgovind of Khayra of Rajput lineage have become Kharwars by marrying into the Rajas family.

In another place Colonel Dalton notices the traditional connexion between the Kharwars and the Cheros who are said to have invaded Palamau from Rohtas and driven the Rajput Chief of the country to retire and found a new kingdom in Sarguja.

It is said that the Palamau population then consisted of Kharwars (sons), Mais, Kerwas, Parhiyas and Kisan. Of these the Kharwars were the people of most consideration. The Cheros conciliated them and allowed them to remain in peaceful possession of the hill tracts bordering on Sarguja; all the Cheros of note who assisted in the expedition obtained military service grants of land which they still retain. It is popularly asserted that at the commencement of the Chero rule in Palamau they numbered twelve thousand families and the Kharwars eighteen thousand and if an individual of one or the other is asked to what tribe he belongs, he will say not that he is a Chero or a Kharwar but that he belongs to the twelve thousand or to the eighteen thousand as the case may be.

Intermarriages between Chero and Kharwar families have taken place. A relative of the Palamau Raja married a sister of Manmath Singh Raja of Ramgarh and this is amongst themselves an admission of identity of origin as both claiming to be Rajputs they could not intermarry till it was proved to the satisfaction of the family priests that the parties belonged to the same class.

Others again regard the Cheros as a sub tribe of Kharwars but this opinion appears to have been based on observations in Southern Lohardaga where the Cheros have gone down in the world and ceased to be of any social importance.

Colonel Dalt is the first to describe the low Kharwars as strongly resembling the Santals in feature. They are, he says, very dark with pyramidal shaped noses, thick lips, thick lips and hook bones or zygomata that project to the mouth, temple hollow, thin hand holding classes on the other hand have refined the type by intermarriage with higher races and are just a high bred in appearance most of the pseudo upper families of Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal.

An examination of the internal structure of the tribe which is given in Appendix I leaves little doubt as to their Dravidian descent. Many of their septs are certainly tribal though the animals associated by other tribes with sept claiming the same names appear not to be described by the Kharwars. With this is associated a more primitive manner of life. The tribe may have or know that the older tribes have not lost either the Sept or the totem but the fact that the Kharwar of South Lohardaga regard the //o as a totem of their tribe and will not cut or injure it while growing. The adoption of the //o as a totem may of course be due merely to the conservatism of names—factor which plays an important part in the speculations of savages regarding their own descent. If on the other hand the case is one of genuine survival it goes far to suggest the inference that the Kharwar tribe of the present day may be merely an enlarged totem of which broke off from some larger group and in course of time developed a separate organization. Instances of septs splitting up into sub-septs are by no means uncommon and it is obvious that circumstances favouring separation might easily lead to the transformation of the original sept into a distinct tribe.

Among the endogamous divisions of the tribe the Bhogtas are the most important. They are found says Colonel Dalton in the hills of Palamau skirting Singur in Loni and Bhanwar Lahar of Chutia Nagpur and other places. They have always had an indifferent reputation. The head of the clan in Palamau was a notorious free booter who after having been outlawed and successfully evading every attempt to capture him (the day after on his surrendering and promising to keep the peace) kept to his engagement and died in fair repute but his two sons could not resist the opportunity afforded by the disturbances of 1858. After giving much trouble they were captured one was hanged the other transported for life and the estate was confiscated. Bhogtas do not intermarry with ordinary or Deswari Kharwars and although living side by side with them affect to repudiate the idea of tribal relationship between the two groups. There is however no reason to question the accuracy of the general opinion that the Bhogtas are a branch of Kharwars who have formed themselves into an independent group.

Throughout the tribe the form of exogamy practised is the simple one that a man may not marry a woman of his own sept. Outside that circle of relationship

prohibited degrees are reckoned by the standard formula. All who can afford to do so arrange for the marriages of their children while they are still too young to choose for themselves and adult marriage is looked upon as a sign of poverty and social insignificance. Deswari Kharwars profess to disapprove of the practice of taking money for a daughter but among Bhootas and Munjias a bride price ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 is regularly paid. Remnants of an Aryan usage may be discerned in the marriage ceremony itself. Both parties must first go through the form of marriage by a mango tree or at least to a branch of the tree and then to a char-blo mixed with *sunhu* (blow) in the final and binding act *sunhu* alone is smeared by the bridegroom upon the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair. Polygamy is permitted but not generally. In the event of failure of offspring by the first wife the Bhootas and Manjias subcastes sanction the marriage of a widow and deem it right for her to marry her late husband's younger brother. Deswari Kharwars however require widow to remain unmarried. Divorce is permitted if the wife is convicted of unchastity or if the couple cannot agree. Divorced women may marry again by the *gauram* which is the same as that in use among the Khatris.

In matters of inheritance Kharwars follow tribal customs of their own and cannot be held to be formal adherents of any of the regular schools of Hindu law. The eldest son of the senior wife even if younger than one of the sons of a second wife inherits the entire property subject to the obligation of providing all other legitimate children. If the inheritance consists of land the heirs are entitled to create separate maintenance grants in favour of his younger brothers. Daughters can never inherit but are entitled to live in the maternal house until they are married.

The Kharwar says Colonel Dutton observe like the Kol triennial sacrifice every three years a buffalo and other animals are offered in the sacred grove *sunu* or on a rock near the village. They also have like some of the Kols a priest for each village *lupahn*. He is always one of the minor tribes—a Bhuiya or Kharwar or a Lohiya and is also called *baiga* and he only can offer this great sacrifice. No Brahmanical priests are allowed on these occasions to interfere. The duty however is the tutelary god of the village (sometimes called *Duarlahar* sometimes *Dharu* sometimes *Lurghahar* or *Daknar* a female or *Dura* a sylvan god the same perhaps as the *Darhu* of the Kols). In Surguja a village of Kharwars was found employing a *baiga* of the wild Korwa tribe to offer sacrifices in the name of the village every second year to Chindol a male spirit *Chanda* a female spirit and *ti-larvin*. Buffaloes sheep and goats were offered to all of these. These people made no prayers to any of the Hindu gods but when in great trouble they appealed to the sun. The apparent anomaly of their having a Korwa for their priest was explained by the belief that the hill people, being the oldest inhabitants are best acquainted with the habits and peculiarities of the local spirits and are in least peril from them.

besides they are wholly pagan whilst the people in whose behalf they make offerings having Hindu and Brahmanical tendencies could only offer a divided allegiance to the sylvan gods which it might not be safe to tender

The main body of the tribe and particularly those who belong to the landholding class profess the Hindu religion and employ Sakadwipi Brahmans as priests. Mahadeo and Sitaram are the popular deities Gauri and Ganesh being worshipped during marriages. In addition to these the miscellaneous host of spirits feared by the Mundas and Oraons are still held in more or less reverence by the Kharwars and in Palamau members of the tribe sometimes perform the duties of pahan or village priest. *Sadli* is performed ten days after death, and once a year in the month of Aswin regular oblations are made for the benefit of deceased ancestors in general.

The social standing of the tribe varies greatly in different places and seems to depend chiefly upon the hold they have on the land. This appears to be strongest among the Deswari Kharwars. A landed proprietor of this sub-tribe will wear a *janeu* and pose as a kind of Rajput while Bhogtas Manjhas and the like aspire to no such distinction. Similar differences may be observed in matters of diet. Beef is forbidden to all members of the tribe but Bhogtas Manjha and Rauts eat pigs and fowls which the Deswari regard as unclean. Kharwars profess to take water and sweetmeats only from Brahmans. Rajputs the higher classes of Baniyas Jhoras and Rautias. In Chhota Nagpur they regard

landholding as their traditional occupation. Some are zamindars many hold substantial *khuntkatti* and *lorhar* tenures and the rest of the tribe are raiyats with occupancy rights. Very few have sunk to the position of landless day labourers but many of the Bhogtas have taken up the comparatively degraded occupation of making baskets and working in bamboos.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kharwars in 1872 and 1881 —

D	187	1881	D	1872	1881
Brdw	268	8	Shbd	5883	5999
Bkra		455	Th t {Mffp}	135	57
Bhtum	14	37	Da bl s		87
Mad	80	687	Sran	26	116
21-Prgnas		94	Chmp	47	801
Nadly	14		Mghy	21	8
Mhd b d	141	188	Bhaklp	619	9043
D		208	P h	4	376
Raj h hy	11	10	M d i	6005	095
Rsp		247	Sq al Prga	431	3866
Rga		16	R bakh	28589	3810
D r i s		243	L h rdag	67465	7432
Dacc		5	S gbb m	387	2233
Mman h		63	Manbh m	2578	152
Ch taa g		84	Trib t y State	11591	17959
Gy	3538	1245			

Kharwara a sub caste of Khatadiah a section of Goialas
 • Kharas in Behar in the North Western Prov
 Khat a sept of Rajputs inces and Behar
 in Behar

Khataiá a section of the Biyá hut and Kharidáhá Kalwars in Behar

Khatat a sept of Ihárus in Behar

Khatauri a small cultivating and landholding caste of the Santál Parganas who claim to be Rajputs but are believed by Mr Oldham to be Mals who by

virtue of being owners of landed estates were enabled to claim a higher social position

Khátí a sept of the Suryabansi sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar a section of Kamis a *thar* or sept of Gurungs and Mangars in Darjiling

Khatik a sub-caste of Khatiks in Behar

Khatik, a cultivating and vegetable selling caste of Behar divided into two sub castes—Khatik and Dharamdás. They have only one section (Kasyapa) and regulate their marriages by the standard formula calculated to five generations in the descending line. Khatiks marry their daughters as infants between the ages of five and twelve years. When a marriage is under consideration the headman and *panchayat* are consulted regarding the prohibited degrees. If their opinion is favourable mutual visits of inspection (*ghar dekhi*) follow at which presents of betel leaves areca nut and sweetmeats are exchanged. After this a *tilik* consisting of new cloth & bedding utensils and one rupee in cash is given to the parents of the bridegroom and a Tirhutia Brahman is called in to fix an auspicious date for the wedding. This is celebrated in the form usually followed by the lower castes the place of the Brahman being taken by a Bairagi ascetic belonging to the Khatik caste. Polygamy is not expressly recognised but a man may take a second wife if the first is barren. Divorce is effected by the *panchayat* in the manner described in the article on the Khatwa caste.

Khatiks follow the Hindu law and profess the Hindu religion as usually understood in Behar. Their minor gods are Bandi and Mira to whom sacrifices of kids cakes and sweetmeats are offered on Wednesdays and afterwards eaten by the worshippers. The latter it should be observed is common to them and to the Khatwa and appears to be worshipped by no other castes. Khatiks do not employ Brahmans and Bairagi members of their own caste serve them as priests.

In point of social standing Khatiks rank little higher than Musahars. Their rules as to food differ little from those of respectable middle class Hindus but they make no secret of their partiality for spirituous liquors.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Khatiks in 1872 and 1881. The figures of 1872 include other vegetable selling castes hence the discrepancy —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
M. bedabad		3	Ch mparan	22 67	943
K. i. hy		1	M. h	548	5
Patna	1 746	603	Bharulp	1 39	1 91
Gy	2 124	284	Purn h	806	2 5
Shahabad	3 473	238	Sa. tal P. gana	330	69
T. h. t. { M. f. rp	19 694	2 904	H. za. bari		61
Da. bhanga		1 837	Lohardaga		180
S. ran	17 104	1 289			

Khâtimaharâ or pure *Mahara*
a sub caste of Chamars in Behar

Khatkalâ a sub tribe of Thâ
rus in Behar

Khatiwâra a *thar* of the Atri
gotra of Nepali Brahmans

Khatrî a sub caste of Ba
nyas in Behar

Khatrî a mercantile caste of the Panjab described by Mr Ibbetson as superior in physique in manliness and in energy to the rest of the trading community of that province. Many of them have settled in Bengal and Behar and the Maharaja of Bardwan is considered the head of the caste. The *locus classicus* for the Khatris is Sir George Campbell's paper on 'The Ethnology of India' published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1866 from which I quote the following passages —

Trade is their main occupation but in fact they have broader and more distinguishing features. Besides monopolising the trade of the Panjab and the greater part of Afghanistan and doing a good deal beyond those limits they are in the Panjab the chief civil administrators and have almost all literate work in their hands. So far as the Sikhs have a priesthood they are moreover the priests or gurus of the Sikhs. Both Nanak and Govind were and the Sodhis and Bedis of the present day are Khatris. Thus then they are in fact in the Panjab so far as a more energetic race will permit them all that Mahratta Brahmans are in the Mahratta country besides engrossing the trade which the Mahratta Brahmans have not. They are not usually military in their character but are quite capable of using the sword when necessary. Diwan Siwan Mal governor of Multan and his notorious successor Mulraj and very many of Ranjit Singh's chief functionaries were Khatris. Even under Mahomedan rulers in the west they have risen to high administrative posts. There is a record of a Khatrî diwan of Badakhshan or Kunduz and I believe of a Khatrî governor of Peshawar under the Afghans. The Emperor Akbar's famous minister Todur Mal was a Khatrî and a relative of that man of undoubted energy the great commensariat contractor of Agra Joti Larshad lately informed me that he also is a Khatrî. Altogether there can be no doubt that these Khatris are one of the most acute energetic and remarkable races in India though in fact except locally in the Panjab they are not much known to Europeans. The Khatris are staunch Hindus and it is somewhat singular that while giving a religion and priests to the Sikhs they themselves are comparatively seldom Sikhs. The Khatris are a very fine fair handed race and as may be gathered from what I have already said they are very generally educated.

There is a large subordinate class of Khatris somewhat lower but of equal mercantile energy called Rors or Roras. The proper Khatris of higher grade will often deny all connexion with them or at least only admit that they have some sort of bastard kindred with Khatris but I think there can be no doubt that they are ethnologically the same and they are certainly mixed up with Khatris in their avocations. I shall treat the whole kindred as generically Khatris.

Speaking of the Khatri then thus broadly they have as I have said the whole trade of the Punjab and of most of Afghanistan. No village can get on without the Khatri who keeps the accounts, does the banking business and buys and sells the grain. They seem too to get on with the people better than most traders and usurers of this kind. In Afghanistan among a rough and alien people the Khatri is as a rule confined to the position of humble dealers, shopkeepers and money lenders but in that capacity the Pathans seem to look at them as a kind of valuable animal and a Pathan will steal another man's Khatri not only for the sake of ransom as is frequently done on the Peshawar and Hazara frontier but also as he might steal a milch cow or as Jews might I dare say be carried off in the middle ages with a view to render them profitable.

I do not know the exact limit of Khatri occupation to the west but certainly in all Eastern Afghanistan they seem to be just as much a part of the established community as they are in the Punjab. They find their way far to Central Asia but the further they get the more depressed and humiliated is their position. In Turkistan Vambery speaks of them with great contempt as yellow-faced Hindus of a cowardly and sneaking character. Under Turcoman rule they could hardly be other wise. They are the only Hindus known in Central Asia. In the Punjab they are so numerous that they cannot all be rich and mercantile and many of them hold land, cultivate, take service and follow various avocations.

The Khatri is altogether excluded from Brahmans, Kashmir. In the hills however the Khatris on the bank of the Jhelum are said to have been originally Khatri (they are a curiously heterogeneous) and in the interior of the Kafir hills there is an interesting race of fine pastoral and sheep-herds called Caddis, most of whom are Khatri. Khatris are numerous in Delhi and found in Agra, Lucknow and Patna and are well known in the Bazar of Calcutta though there they are principally connected with Punjab firms.

The Khatri does not seem as a rule to reach the eastern coast in the Bombay market. I cannot find that they have any considerable place in Sindhi however I find in Captain Burton's book an account of a race of pretended Kshatriyas who are really Banias of the Nirankari (Sikh) faith and who pretend to have a large share of public office. There are evidently Khatri. Lohiana is a large and thriving town of mercantile Khatri with a numerous colony of Kashmiri shawl weavers.

Khatri allege themselves to be the direct descendants of the Kshatriyas of early Indian tradition and in support of this claim refer to the fact that they assume the sacred cord and commence the study of the Vedas at the age of eight years as is enjoined in the sacred books and that Saraswat Brahmins will eat *kachhi* food prepared by them. Mr Naswadi thinks the claim a good one adding that the cause which detached the Khatri from the Chattri or Kshatriya and shut out all possibility of a return to the ancestral caste was

the establishment of a marriage union between fragments or clans drawn from several different sub castes of Kshatriyas between whom no connubial rights had hitherto existed or from sub castes of Kshatriyas mixed with those of Brahmans. There is much reason to believe that Brahmans as well as Kshatriyas have contributed to form the new caste of Khatri for Brahmans of the Śāraswat sub caste will to this day eat food cooked by Khatri but no Brahman of any sub caste will eat food cooked by a Kshatriya. Mr Ibbetson puts the question by with the remark that the validity of the claim is as doubtful as are most other matters connected with the fourfold caste system. It seems to me that the internal organization of the caste furnishes almost conclusive proof that they are descended from neither Brahmans nor Kshatriyas and that the theory connecting them with the latter tribe rests upon no firmer foundation than a resemblance of name which for all we know may be wholly accidental. The features and complexion indeed entitle them to be ranked as Aryans of comparatively pure lineage but among their numerous sections we find none of those territorial names which are characteristic of the Rajput septs. The section names of the Khatri belong to quite a different type and rather resemble those in vogue among the Oswals and Agarwals. Were they descended from the same stock as the Rajputs they must have had the same set of section names and it is difficult to see why they should have abandoned these for less distinguished patronymics. In addition to their own sections they have also the standard Brahmanical *gotras* but these have no influence upon marriage and have clearly been borrowed *honoris causa* from the Śāraswat Brahmans who serve them as priests. If then it is at all necessary to connect the Khatri with the ancient fourfold system of castes the only group to which we can affiliate them is the Vaisyas. This conjecture is at least in keeping with the present occupations of the caste and gets us out of the difficulty which led Sir George Campbell to propound the doubtful theory that in the ordinary course of history the warlike conquerors of one age become the astute money dealers of another. In truth however all speculations which profess to connect existing castes with the four traditional castes are on the face of things futile and misleading. We do not know enough about these primitive groups to be able to apply to their internal structure that minute analysis which alone can determine their precise tribal affinities.

The exogamous sections of the Khatri are shown in Appendix I

Internal structure As I have stated above there is a double series—one original and the other borrowed from the Brahmans. Only the original or tribal series is taken into account for the purposes of marriage. The rule is absolute that a man may not marry a woman of the same tribal section as himself but the fact that two persons belong to the same Brahmanical *gotra* does not operate as a bar to intermarriage provided that their tribal sections are different. Thus the three sections Kapur Khannā and Meharā all belong to the Kausalya *gotra* but members of these groups intermarry freely. Apart

from the section rule prohibited degrees are reckoned on the system in vogue among the Brahmans marriage with *sapindas samanodaka pitribandhus* and *matribandhus* being forbidden

The endogamous divisions of the Khatris are exceedingly obscure and complicated Within recent times says Mr Ibbetson there has sprung up a system of social graduation in accordance with which certain Khatri tribes refuse to intermarry with any save a certain specified number of their fellow tribes and the distinctions thus created have been formulated in a set of names such as *Arhaighar* he who only marries into two and a half houses *Chursati* he who marries into four tribes *Chhezati* he who marries into six tribes and so on This purely artificial and social classification has obscured the original tribal divisions of the caste, for Khatris of the same tribe may be in one part of the province Charzatis and in another Barazatis and so forth

In describing the Khatris of the Panjab Mr Ibbetson gives the following abstract —

Bunjahi	}	Tribal groups
Sarin		
Bahri		
Khokhran		
Arhaighar	}	Artificial divisions
Charzati		
Panjzati		
Chhezati		
Sodhi	}	Exogamous sections
Bedi		
Kapur		
Khanna		
Marhotra		
Seth		

The origin of the division into the four sections called Bunjahi, Sarin Bahri and Khokhran is said to be that Ala ul din Khilji attempted to impose widow marriage upon the Khatris The Western Khatris resolved to resist the innovation and sent a deputation of 52 *laundh* of their members to represent their case at court but the Eastern Khatris were afraid to sign the memorial They were therefore called followers of *Shara Ayn* or the Mahomedan customs—hence Sarin while the memorialists were called *Batanyai* from the number of the deputation or of the clans respectively represented by the members of the deputation—hence Bunjahi The Khokhran section is said to consist of the descendants of certain Khatris who joined the Khokhars in rebellion and with whom the other Khatri families were afraid to intermarry and the Bahri section of the lineage of Mahr Chand Khan Chand and Kapur Chand three Khatris who went to Dehli in attendance upon one of Akbar's Rajput wives and who thus separated from the rest of the caste married only within each other's families But these are fables

for the same division into Báhrī and Bunjáhi appears among the Brahmans of the Western plains. The number of clans is enormous. The most important in point of social rank are the Marhotra or Mhara the Khanna the Kapur and the Seth the first three of which are said to be called after the names of the three men just mentioned while Seth is a term now used for any rich banker. These four clans belong to the Bahri section of the caste and constitute the Dhaighar and Charzati divisions which stand highest of all in the social scale. The origin of the term Dhaighar lies in the fact that the families of that division exclude not only the father's clan but also such families of the mother's clan as are closely connected with her and thus reduce the clans available for intermarriage to two and a half. I should say that each division will take wives from the one below it though it will not give its daughters to it in marriage. The Bedi and Sodhi clans belong to the Bunjáhi tribe and owe most of their influence and importance to the fact that Baba Nanak belonged to the former and Guru Ram Das and Guru Hargovind to the latter. They are commonly said to be the descendants of these men but this appears to be a mistake the two clans dating from long before Baba Nanak. The Sodhis played an important part during the Sikh rule. They claim descent from Sodhi Rái son of Kal Rái King of Lahor and the Bedis from Kalpat Rái brother of Kal Rái and King of Kasur who being deprived of his kingdom by his nephew studied the Vedas at Benares and was known as Veda. His mortal headquarters of the Bedis is at Dera Nanak in Curapur where Baba Nanak settled and died and of the Sodhis at Anandpur in Hushyarpur which is also the great centre of the Nihang devotees. The divisions recognised in Bengal are shown in Appendix I where I have attempted by brief explanatory notes to clear up the confusion in which the subject is involved.

The Khatri of Bengal trace their origin to the Panjab and the main body of them is said to have emigrated from Lahore in the reign of Aurangzib. These eastern or Furbia Khatri are spoken of in a somewhat slighting fashion by the Fachhunya Khatri of Upper India and are charged with having departed from the high standard of ceremonial purity supposed to be characteristic of the caste. I do not understand that any specific allegation is made against the Bengal Khatri and the latter appear to pride themselves on keeping the usages of their original home. But in most cases where a branch of a caste domiciled in Upper India has settled in Bengal Proper, we find that the settlers fall under the suspicion of infringing the customs of the caste and indulging in acts forbidden by the sacred texts. The Khatri are no exception to this general rule. Rightly or wrongly the Bengal members of the caste are to a certain extent looked down upon by their brethren in Upper India and intermarriage between the Furbia and Fachhunya groups is comparatively rare.

The relative positions of the Khatri of Bengal and the Panjab are as I believe stated in the last paragraph as precisely as the nature of the subject permits. So far as my knowledge extends the bull

of the Bengal Khatri endeavour to conform on the whole to the traditional usages of the Panjab branch of the caste. They look on the Panjab as the original home of their race and in theory at least Panjab custom is the standard by which their social and domestic affairs are regulated. On the other hand at Pakpara in the Dacca district and in villages around Barisal and the Lakhyā Dr. Wise came across a class of Hindus calling themselves Rānda or Randak Khatri who gave a confused account of themselves repeating the names of Ballal Sen and Raja Man Singh as if connected in some mysterious way with their settlements in Bengal and their degraded position among Hindus. Kanaujī Brahmins officiate as their priests and they have a Bengal Brahmin for their guru. Being naturalised Bengalis they have relinquished the names of the characteristic Khatri sections and adopted the common Sudra *gotra*. They also go along with Bengali titles such as Chakravarti, Prasad and the like. Sudras eat with them in private but in public refuse to take water from their hands. They are employed as shopkeepers and cultivators and some of them are *tukdars*.

Khatri marry their daughters as infants and make use of the standard marriage ceremony the *biuling* element in which is the giving away of the bride by her father or guardian and the acceptance of the gift by the bridegroom. Polygamy is permitted nor is there any definite limit to the number of wives a man may have. Fashion however is on the whole adverse to his taking more than one. On the other hand many Khatri keep concubines of their own and other castes. The children of these women form a separate class bearing the name *Pirunal* and as a rule marry among themselves. Widows may not marry a second time and divorce is not recognised.

Most Khatri belong to the Vaiṣṇava sect and comparatively few worshippers of Śiva are found among them. Śāraswat or Sarsut Brahmins serve them as priests. In Eastern Bengal says Dr. Wise Chandika a form of Durgā is the patron deity of the caste but each *gotra* has its own peculiar idol. An interesting tradition connects the modern Khatri with the foundation of the Muhammadan city of Dacca. When the Khatri Raja Man Singh occupied Dacca in 1595 with the Mughal army he encamped on a tract clear of jungle ever since called Urdu. Here was found an image of Durgā believed to have been the property of Vedabati the divorced wife of Adisura. The image was deposited in a shrine and under the name of Dhakeswari is still regarded as the palladium of the city. At the present day the revenue of this sanctuary is divided between several old Khatri families and the Brahmachari Mahant of the Ramna Akhara.

The majority of the Bengal Khatri are engaged in some form of trade. A few of them are zemindars and tenure holders and a certain number are occupancy riyats. They never touch the plough themselves and employ hired labourers to cultivate their lands. The Muharaja of Bardwan is the head of the caste in Bengal. Their social rank is high. All Brahmins take water from their

hands and Śāraswat Brahmans will eat *kuchchi* food prepared by them

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Khatris in 1872 and 1881 —

D STR CT	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
Bardwan	13 630	5 237	T ppe l		23
B k ra	97	4 32	Ch tuc g	1 3	8
B bh m	528	4	N kl l	18	
M d p	1 288	3 807	P t	1 934	3
H ghil		3 0 7	Cy		1 3
Li wrah	701	904	bh l b d	362	31
24-P ga as	863	93	l h t M ff p	4 676	7
N dy	1 3 4	97	Sara	460	
Kh ina		196	Ch p ra	67	
Jesoo	378	7	M ly	3	3
M rah l had		6 0	Bhar l	7 7	2
D na	1 26	18 34	M l l	3	
Raj h by	4	238	t l l		9 4
Re gp	118	1 360	C tuck		5 23
B gra	717	6 401	P		
P b	737	896	B l re		
Du j l	14	249	T b t y Stat		3
J lipg	1	1 7 6	H arl gh		64
K h Behh		1 48	Loh g		11
D oca	621	2 7 9	B gbl		375
Faridpur	30	260	M l		
Bak r l	112	266	T b tary St tes		9
Maimans l	9 1	2,008			

Khatsopárk a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmans in Behar

Khatwah *Kh twa* a sub caste of Kahárj in Behar who live by weaving and cultivation

They and below both Raw ní and Dhruar Kahurs and the higher castes will not take water from their hands

Khatwe a sub caste of Jolahas in Behar

Khatwa, a small palanquin bearing and cultivating caste of

Origin.

Behar divided into two sub castes—Bahio and Goro names which appear to have reference to the original avocations of the members though at the present day the Goro are not exclusively engaged in cultivation nor the Bahio in carrying palanquins. They have only one section Kásyapa and regulate their marriage by the standard formula

Marriage.

defining prohibited degrees calculated to seven generations in the descending line. Khatwes marry their daughters as infants between the ages of five and twelve years. The marriage ceremony is of the standard Behar type. The headman of the caste (*manyan*) is consulted on the question of prohibited degrees and *tilak* is paid to the bridegroom's parents in the form of a present of clothes. Tirhutia Brahmans are called in to fix an auspicious date for the wedding but they take no part in it themselves. Polygamy is permitted to the extent that a man may take a second wife if the first is barren. Widows may marry again and are bound by no conditions in their choice of a second husband except that they must not infringe the rules regarding prohibited degrees. Divorce is supposed not to be recognised but in actual practice I understand that when a woman has gone wrong

with a member of the caste her husband may get rid of her by solemnly abjuring her so that before the headman and the *panchayat* while the woman may marry again by the *sagai* form provided that her previous indiscretions be duly atoned for by a fine in the form of a feast to the caste brethren. Intrigues outside the caste admit of no atonement.

In matters of religion Khatwes affect to be orthodox and regard Bhagawati with especial reverence. They have however not attained to the dignity of having Brahmans of their own and Bairagi members of their own caste serve them as priests. Their minor gods are Sasie Kali Dharam raj Nar Singh and Mira. Sheep goat pigeons cakes milk rice and sweetmeats are offered to these on Mondays Wednesdays Fridays and Saturdays and are afterwards eaten by the worshippers. The priests take no part in this worship which is confined to the members of the household. The dead are burned and the ashes buried near the burning place on the third day. Libations of water (*tailpa*) are poured forth for the propitiation of ancestors in the month of Asin.

Palanquin bearing and cultivation are believed by the Khatwes to be their original occupations. With the decline in the demand for bearers caused by the railway extensions of recent years the caste tends more and more to fall back upon cultivation as a means of livelihood. In some districts they have taken to weaving and assumed the title Jolahá. Their social rank is low being much the same as that of Tatwás and Musahars. Nevertheless they are cleaner feeders according to Hindu ideas than the latter for they will eat neither fowls nor field rats both of which the Musahars freely indulge in. All of them except those who call themselves Bhakat and profess to abstain from flesh and strong drink make free use of fermented and spirituous liquors.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Khatwes in 1872 and 1881 -

DISTRICT	1872	1881	DISTRICT	1872	1881
Gya	24		Bh enip	675	8900
T h t { M f f r p			l t l p ga		28
{ D a t h ga	40047	{ 1056	l t l p ga		14
S r i	1		l t l p ga		
(h m p a	478				

Khatya a sub caste of Kumhars in Dacca and Orissa who are supposed to have immigrated from Upper India.

Khauniá a section of Kaibartas in Orissa.

Khavur a section of Awadhia Hajjams in Behar.

Khawás servant a title of those members of the Amt Dhanuk and Kewat castes in Behar who are employed as personal servants by the higher castes. A sub caste of Ghartas in Darjiling.

Khawásiya a sub-tribe of Thárus in Behar

Khebangba the native of Khebang a sept of the Yangorup sub tribe of Lambus in Darjiling

Khechá Kesria a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa

Khechar a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Khechínjia a section of Ians in Chota Nagpur

Kheksa curry vegetable a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Kheláut a *mul* or section of the Sátmulia or Kishnaut sub caste of Goálas in Behar

Kheldá a class of hereditary prostitutes in Behar

Khelenda a sub caste of Jugis in Eastern Bengal

Khelri a woman retained for purposes of dancing and amusement a prostitute

Khema a pheasant apparently a totemistic sept of the Chhothar sub tribe of Lambus in Darjiling. This *thar* will not eat a pheasant or fowl or any bird of that class. The story is that the founder went out to shoot pheasants in a fir copse but found none and vowed never to eat a pheasant again.

Khendro Oraon a sub-tribe of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Kherá a sub caste of Máls in Bankura

Kheresanchhá a *thar* or sept of Khambus in Darjiling

Khereswar ke pánre a section of the Biyáhut and Khari dáhá Lalwárs in Behar

Kherho a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub caste of Goálas in Behar

Kheri a section of Maghaiyá Kunhars in Behar

Kheroar a sept of Mundas a title of Parhaiyas in Chota Nagpur

Kherwar a synonym for Kharwar

Kherwár or Safá Hor a sub tribe of Santals in the Santal Parganas who affect a high degree of ceremonial purity

Khes a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur who cannot eat corn that grows in ponds

Kheswá a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Khetta cobra a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Khichengia a totemistic sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur who cannot eat *jengia* a fruit

Khil a title of Dakshin Rárhí and Bangaja Kayasths in Bengal

Khilí wála a title of Tambulis in Behar

Khingba a sept of the Yangorup sub tribe of Lambus in Darjiling

Khiongje a sept of Chakmas in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Khiráha a section of the Kanauja sub caste of Goálás in Behar

Khírheri a title of Goálás in Behar

Khirkatofá a *mul* or section of the Tinnulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Khobaipong a sept of Lam bus in Darjiling

Khodal or **Khandyal** a *thár* of the Dharta Kausik *gotra* of Nepali Brahmans

Khodja a section of Goálás in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Khoepa wild dog a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Khojom he who ate his earnings a sept of the Chhothar sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling

Khojwar a sept of Tharus in Behar

Khol a sept of the Ruchhung sub tribe of Dejong Lhoris or Bhotias of the south of Tibet

Khon a sept of the Rutar sub tribe of Tharus in Behar

Khoni a synonym for Kandh q

Khondua a sept of Munias in Chota Nagpur

Khonrá rás a section of Malos in Eastern Bengal

Khontá a *mul* or section of the Tinnulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Khoparia a sub caste of Dhanuks in Behar

Khopchá an owl a sept of Bediás in Chota Nagpur

Khopriha a *mul* or section of the Tinnulia Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Khor a title of Barais in Bengal

Khore or **Khoriyá** a sub caste of Haris in Bengal

Khorrá a sub-caste of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur

Khorjar a *gain* of the Bharad wája *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Khosa a section of Gorlas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kho bedia a synonym for Boliya q

Khoslé a section of the Bahán naja a sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Khotawa, a class of Beldárs in Western Bengal

Khoti a sept of the Surajbansi division of Rajputs in Behar

Khotta (i) a generic name in Bengali for natives of the North Western Provinces and Upper India. I cannot ascertain the derivation of the word but the fact that the dialect of broken Hindi spoken in the north of Manihum is known locally as *Khatti bhásha* may perhaps warrant the conjecture that it has reference to the linguistic peculiarities of upcountry men (ii) A designation of upcountry barbers who have settled in Bengal. Such persons practically form a separate sub caste as Bengali barbers will not intermarry with them and they are regarded as impure by the barbers of Upper India and Behar by reason of their having taken up their residence in Bengal (iii) A sub caste of Kámaras in Murshedabad and of Dhobás in Western Bengal

Khottá or **Mauná**, a sub caste of Lodis

Khowáre Nahás a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmans in Behar

Khowaré-Mahuá, a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Khowaré-Mahnaurá, a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Khowaré-Kokrahí, a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Khowaré Kharí, a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Khowaré Murajpur, a *mul* of the Kásyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

† hoyeá a wild dog a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Khoyra a title of Bagdis in Bengal

Khuadang a sept of Lambus in Darjiling

Khujiríá a section of Kamárs in Singbhum and the Santal Paraganas

Khukrí a kind of mushroom a totemistic sept of Ohiks and Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Khulál a *thar* or sept of Garungs and Mangars in Darjiling

Khunaut or **Khulaut** a sub-caste of Gonrhis in Behar

Khungbá, a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Khur a title of Támbulis in Bengal

Khurdá a sub caste of Bhándáris in Orissa

Khuskhelia a sub-caste of Teus in Behar

Khuthá Bhagwánpur a *mul* or section of the Naomula or Majraut sub caste of Goalas in Behar

Khutibaran a section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Khuturiá a sub caste of Mals in Birbhum

Khwánd-Kár a teacher or reader in Persian who in Eastern Bengal performs for the lower classes several singular functions arising from the corrupt and Hinduised character of Muhammadanism in India. He is often styled the Murshid or religious guide and Akhund or tutor. As a rule he is very illiterate and only able to read Arabic with difficulty but he makes much of this smattering of knowledge. Thirty years ago the Khwánd Kárs were important persons their services being in great demand but the reformed teaching of modern times has been gradually undermining this influence and they are now little respected and seldom consulted. During the early years of this century when Islám in Bengal was still paralyzed by the revolution that had occurred the Khwánd Kárs educated boys instructing them in the rudiments of their religion. At the present day however Munshis generally teach children, although a Khwánd Kar is often preferred by strict Muhammadans to instruct their children in the doctrines of the faith and teach them the Kalma, or confession of faith.

The Khwánd Kar moreover makes Muríds or disciples, exorcises persons possessed of devils and cures diseases by preparing charms (ta'wiz) while many families consult him on all occasions of sickness and his ability to relieve suffering is never for a moment

questioned by women Should a child be attacked by fever or convulsions the father goes to the Khwand Kar and obtains a charm usually consisting of a sentence of the Koran scribbled on a piece of paper which is fastened to the child's hair or arm or the Khwand Kar mumbling a few sentences from the same book blows into a cup of water and gives it to the father as a medicinal draught Parents put implicit faith in the efficacy of these charms and every Muhammadan can relate wonderful cures effected by them It is said that if an adult disabled by a neuralgic or rheumatic pain drinks water in which the written charm of a khwand Kar has been dipped, immediate relief is procured and no native will deny the possibility of this occurring

Khyan Kohla a trading and cultivating caste of Northern Bengal and Assam who claim to be descended from a Kayasth who was employed at the Court of the Rajá of Kuch Behar to determine auspicious times and seasons for doing particular things Colonel Dalton describes them as a good looking race with oval faces well shaped heads high noses large eyes well developed eyelids and eye lashes and the light supple frame of the pure Hindu In Assam they are called Kolita in Northern Bengal they are known by the name of Khyan

The actions of the caste are shown in Appendix I They are of the ordinary Brahmanical type with light modifications such as might easily arise from maladroitness borrowing A Khyan may not marry a girl belonging to his own section nor may he marry within the usual formula of prohibited degrees reckoned to the seventh generation in the descending line Girls are married as infants at ages varying from five to thirteen The marriage ceremony is of the standard Brahmanical type the gift of the bride to the bridegroom and his acceptance of her being reckoned the essential and binding portion Widows are not allowed to marry again nor is divorce permitted

As to their religion Khyáns are orthodox Hindus Most of them belong to the Sakta sect but Vaishnavas are also found among them They employ Brahmans as priests who are received on terms of equality by other members of the sacred order Their social rank is respectable and Brahmans Kayasths and Baidyas take water fruit and sweetmeats from their hands

Khyán a synonym for Kai bartta

Khyaurakár a title of Napitá in Bengal

Khyungpo a *ru* or sept of Dejong Lhoris whose ancestor is said to have emigrated from North Bhotan

Khyung toipá a *ru* or sept of the Bedshan gye sub tribe of

Dejong Lhoris or Bhotias of the south

Kídat a section of Goálás in the North West Frontier Provinces and Behar

Kilkhágaur a *mul* or section of Sonars in Behar

Kinda date palm a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Kintichá a *Har* or sept of Sunuwar in Darjiling

Kinwar a sept of the Surya bansi Rajputs and a section of Bábhans in Behar

Kiot a synonym for Kewat

Kiral a *gain* of the Kasyapa *gotra* of Bárendra Brahmans in Bengal

Kiránti Kirátí a native of the Kiránt-des or mountainous country lying between the Dud Kosi and the Karkí rivers in Nepal. The term includes the Khambu Lambu and Yakhá tribes and the Danuár Hayu and Thamí also claim to be Kiránti. Their title however is not admitted by the three tribes first mentioned who claim to be and are generally recognised as being of superior social status

Kiri weevils in rice a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kiro or Bagh a section of Kharis in Chota Nagpur

Kirtoliá a *mul* or section of the Naomulia or Majraut sub caste of Goualas in Behar

Kirttan a title of Sunris in Bengal

Kirtti a title of Dakshin Rarhi and Bangaja Kayasths in Bengal

Kisán a *mul* or section of the Báhut sub caste of Kalwars in Behar a title of Khariás in Chota Nagpur

Kisangur a sect of religious mendicants who worship Krishna

Kisánsinduriá a class of cultivators in Chota Nagpur said to have come from Gangpur

Kisan Turí a sub caste of Turisan Chota Nagpur

Kisauriá a section of Kanauja Lohars in Behar

Kishanpakshi one born in the dark half (*Krishna paksha*) of the month a title of the illegitimate offspring of members of two different castes in Behar

Kishnaut a sub caste of Ahirs or Goualas in Behar and Chota Nagpur whose title is Mandur. Their *gotra* is Licm Ghuno. They churn milk.

Kisku a sept of the Ho and Santal tribes

Kisrot a sept of Lohars in Chota Nagpur

Kispotta pigs entrails a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Kissan a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur also a synonym for the Nage war tribe

Kissauria a section of Kanauja Lohars in Behar

Kissi a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kistobagal a sub caste of Goualas who eat fowls drink wine etc

Koá cocoon a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Koálibhá Thákur a title of Bábhans in Behar

Koári a *gain* of the Kasyapa *gotra* of Rárhí Brahmans in Bengal.

Kochh *Kochh Mandai Rajbansi Paliya Desi* a large Dravidian tribe of North Eastern and Eastern Bengal among whom there are grounds for suspecting some admixture of Mongolian blood. At the present day the name Kochh

without doubt the original designation of the tribe is so carefully tabooed in the districts where they are most numerous and where there is every reason to believe them to represent the earliest permanent settlers that in Kuch Behar itself at the Census of 1891 not a single Kochh was to be found. The transformation of the Kochh into the Rajbansi the name by which they are now known in Rangpur Jalpaiguri and Kuch or Kochh Behar is a singular illustration of the influence exercised by fiction in the making of caste. As described by Buchanan at the beginning of the century and by Hodgson some fifty years ago the Kochh tribe was unquestionably non Aryan and non Hindu. Now the great majority of the Kochh inhabitants of Northern Bengal invariably describe themselves as Rájansis or Bhanga Kshatriyas—a designation which enables them to pose as an outlying branch of the Kshatriyas who fled to these remote districts in order to escape from the wrath of Parasu Ráma. They claim descent from Rájá Dasarath father of Rama they keep Brahman imitate the Brahmanical ritual in their marriage ceremony and have begun to adopt the Brahmanical system of *jotras*. In respect of this last point they are now in a curious state of transition as they have all but hit upon the same *jotra* (Kasyapa) and thus habitually transgress the primary rule of the Brahmanical system which absolutely prohibits marriage within the *jotra*. But for this defect in their connubial arrangements—a defect which will probably be corrected in a generation or two as they and their priests rise in intelligence—there would be nothing in their customs to distinguish them from Aryan Hindus although there has been no mixture of blood and they remain thoroughly Kochh under the name of Rajbansi. Although there is no historical foundation for the claim of the Rajbansi to be a provincial variety of the Kshatriyas it is a singular fact that the title Rajbansi serves much the same purpose for the lower strata of the Hindu population of Northern Bengal as the title Rajput does for the landholding classes of dubious origin all over India. The one term like the other serves as the sonorous designation of a large and heterogeneous group bound together by the common desire of social distinction. The original nucleus of the Rajput group may have been Aryan as that of the Rajbansi was certainly Dravidian. Both however have been and continue to be recruited by very similar methods. Only the recruits of the one are drawn from the landholders of the other from the cultivating classes.

A good observer¹ describes the Rájbansi as the most conspicuously Dravidian race in Bengal. Their men are tall and robust and neither in feature nor dress strikingly Tamulian but at a market or village gathering thronged by their women one could imagine oneself transported to Kanara or Tamil land. The Rájbansi women whose cast of feature is singularly homely

and rough hewn leave the head uncovered and wear a dress in which blue or purple invariably predominates reaching only to the knee and bound over the bosom leaving both shoulders bare in a fashion not seen among other people in Bengal while the ornaments of the head and limbs recall those worn in Southern India. Their language however is only Bengali and they have no separate dialect or *patois*. That their adhesion to Hinduism is comparatively recent is shown by their own customs as regards burial food and marriage as well as by the existence of the Dhimal who might be defined as a non-Hinduised Kochh or Rajbansi among them and beside them.

A medical officer resident in Kochh Behar whose opinion is quoted by Colonel Dalton describes the Kochh of that country as having flat square faces eyes black and oblique hair black and straight in some curling in some flat and short cheek bones prominent beard and whiskers rather deficient colour of skin in most instances black. Colonel Dalton himself says that the Rajbansi are all very dark and that the Kochh display the thick protuberant lips and malarial features of the negro.

A comparison of these opinions with my own observations and with the average cephalic nasal and naso-malar indices of the caste ascertained by a large number of actual measurements seems to me to warrant the conclusion that the Kochh Rajbansi Paliya Desi and other varieties by whatever names they are called are descended from a Dravidian stock which may probably have occupied the valley of the Ganges at the time of the Aryan advance into Bengal. Driven forward by this incursion into the swamp and forests of Northern and North Eastern Bengal the tribe were here and there brought into contact with the Mongoloid races of the Lower Himalayas and of the Assam border and their type may have been affected to a varying degree by intermixture with these people. But on the whole Dravidian characteristics predominate among them over Mongolian.

The endogamous divisions of the caste differ slightly in different districts but are based everywhere upon the degree of ceremonial purity which the members of particular groups are believed to have attained. In Northern Bengal the principal sub-caste is the Rajbansi who also call themselves Sivbansi with reference to the legend which traces their origin to a *liaison* between the God Siva and Hira the daughter of Haju chief of the Kochh tribe about the middle of the sixteenth century. Other synonyms—Bhanga Kshatriya Patita Kshatriya Kshatri Sankoch and Surajbansi—rest on the tradition which makes them out to be a remnant of the Kshatriyas scattered by Parasu Rama who cast off their sacrificial threads and themselves in the swampy jungles of Northern Bengal and thus for the time being abdicated the proud position which the Rajbansi are now anxiously striving to reclaim. Alongside of the Rajbansi but usually¹

¹ I have come across Rajbansi who do not think themselves intermarried and that Rajbansi and Paliya were practically on the same terms.

distinct in respect of intermarriage and the eating of cooked food we find the large sub caste of Paliya. The name Paliya is said by some to refer to the flint (*palija*) of the supposed Kshatriya ancestors of the tribe but it is equally possible that it may be merely a variant of the first half of the name Pali Kochh by which the people now calling themselves Paliya were known at the beginning of this century when Dr Buchanan made his survey of Dinajpur and Rangpur. They are further subdivided into two subordinate groups known as Sadhu or pure and Babu Paliya. The latter name is regarded by the members of the sub caste themselves as a title of distinction or at least of respectability common to them with the Mahadars of Kuch Behar and the Raikats of Jalpaiguri whom they regard as the head of the large heterogeneous body known as Rajbansi or Paliya. By the Sthaliya. On the other hand it is explained as a corruption of Lyal haia from *Bilharua* implying that the observations of the Babu group are not up to their own standard of ceremonial purity. It is by no means easy to say how far these imitations are justified in regard to the entire Babu sub caste. Custom varies from district to district and the tendency to imitate the usages of the higher castes is continually raising the ideal to which people endeavour to conform. Subject to this limitation I think it is true as a general rule that the main distinction between the Sadhu and Babu Paliyas consists in the fact that the latter eat pork to wit crocodile lizards and theavings of men of their own caste and indulge freely in strong drink while all these things are forbidden to the Sthaliya. Another sub caste known in Dinajpur is Desi who regard themselves as somewhat superior to the Paliyas. A Desi can take rice water sweets etc from a Paliya man but not from a Sthaliya woman nor is there any intermarriage between the two groups. One is tempted to conjecture that this group which is not particularly large one may be the modern representatives of the Desi a sort of rudimentary priest among the Pali Kochhs who according to Buchanan were supposed to know more than their neighbours of the manner in which the gods are to be pleased. The Desi claim to be better than the Sthaliyas in that they do not plough with cows or use them to turn oil mills.

In Jalpaiguri the general name is Rajbansi and three sub castes are found—the Dobhasi who eat pork and fowls and drink spirits the Modasi who eat pork and drink spirits but abstain from fowls and the Jaluá or Jhálúa who catch and sell fish. It is curious to learn that within comparatively recent times the Rajbansis of the Darjiling Terai were divided into three endogamous sub castes bearing names having reference to the character of their dwelling. The Tongia lived in houses raised from the ground on piles such as the Mongoloid races of the north eastern border usually build the Khpria contented themselves with low huts on the level of the ground while the Gobra kept their cattle in the houses which they lived in themselves. These distinctions have now died out and have been replaced by the divisions Paliyá and Babu Kochh and they are only mentioned here as showing how tribes which adopt Hinduism tend continually to get rid of their pre Hindu methods of grouping and to remodel their internal structure.

on lines which indicate the degree in which particular groups approach the orthodox standard of food and usage

The Kantá, Rajbansí are a smaller group found scattered in several districts of Northern Bengal who cultivate the soil hold various kinds of tenures serve as gomashas and sometimes practise medicine. The Tiár or Dalá are a fishing group mentioned by Buchanan whose characteristic pursuit is fishing in the shallow drains or ditches connected with swamps and rice fields. In these they lay a long trap called *dhanggi* made of split bamboos. The mouth may be six or eight feet in length and one and a half to two feet wide. It slopes to an edge behind being about two and a half or three feet broad. The fish that enter are prevented from returning by a row of bamboo splits placed as in a mouse trap and they are shaken out by a hoe at one corner which is plugged when the trap is set. Where there is any stream the fish enter of their own accord but they are often collected from a whole marsh and driven to the trap by dragging through the water a rope made of twisted ribs of the plaitain tree leaves the sides of which hang down like a fringe and alarm the fish as the rope approaches.

The Kochh Mandai of the Bhowal forest tract in the north of Dacca appear to be a branch of the Kochh who have long been separated from the main body of the tribe and have to some extent intermingled with the Garos. The latter half of the name Kochh Mandai is said to be the Garo word for man and the entire name may be taken to be analogous to those double names which occur among several Dravidian tribes and denote groups owing their origin to crossing.

Mention has been made above of the singular fact that in seeking to copy the Brahmanical method of exogamy the Rajbansí have been content to borrow one *gotra* only. All Rajbansí in fact belong to the same *gotra* Kasyapa and thus habitually disregard the leading principle of the system which they proudly profess to follow. In theory intermarriage is regulated by the standard formula calculated to seven generations in the descending line from the paternal and maternal uncles and to three generations from the aunts. But great laxity is said to prevail on this point throughout the caste and in one district I am informed that marriage with a uterine half sister is not prohibited. Another circumstance which tends rather to encourage consanguineous marriages is the prejudice entertained against marrying any one who comes from a village. The result of this is that for matrimonial purpose the Rajbansí are broken up into a number of small territorial groups which bear no distinctive names and the limits of which do not admit of being precisely defined.

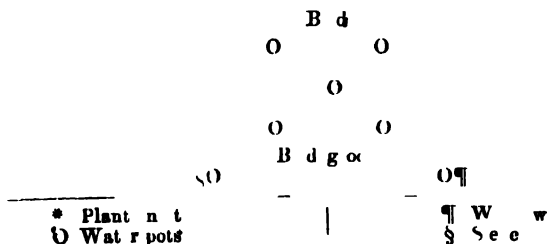
The Rajbansí profess to marry their daughters as infants between the ages of four and ten years but this custom has only recently been adopted and it is difficult to ascertain to what extent it is really followed even among those subcastes which profess to be pure Hindus. In the more primitive groups adult marriage still prevails and a breach of chastity before marriage is readily condoned though the tendency is continually towards the adoption of what is believed to be the more orthodox usage. The same remark applies

to the remarriage of widows. The Rajbansis in Rangpur if questioned on this point aver most positively that nothing of the sort is permitted while their brethren in the Darjiling Terai make no secret at all of allowing a widow to remarry outside the degrees prohibited to her before her marriage and subject to the further condition that she may not marry any of the elder relations of her late husband. Where a widow happens to be the head of the family she enjoys the further privilege of choosing any man not within the prohibited degree to live with her as her husband without going through any ceremony whatever. This looks like a survival and may possibly furnish an explanation of the statement made by Buchanan¹ about the Pani Kochh that women who happen to be unmarried after they have grown up select a husband according to their own discretion which by itself seems rather unlikely. If however we suppose the privilege to have been limited to women who had control of the property of their family it bears a different aspect and falls into line with several points of primitive practice in matters affecting property. Curiously enough the Rajbansis who prohibit widow marriage nevertheless recognise divorce—a fact sufficient in itself to show if further proof were wanting that the former prohibition cannot have been long in force among them. Such divorces are effected before a *panikayat* at which the *purohit* and the *bhat* of the caste—the former a Rajbansi Brahman or Barua Brahman—are present. The husband states his case the wife has or is supposed to have the right of reply and the judgment of the *panikayat* is given by acclamation. If as usually happens it is diverse to the wife her hair is shaved close to her head by the barber and the husband turns her out of the Rajbansi community.

Among the Rajbansis of Rangpur the feeling against widow marriage has given rise to a curious form of hypocrisy. Not content with adopting from the higher castes an artificial and inconvenient restriction which causes special hardship in a country where girls are married as children they have proceeded to manufacture for themselves an imitation of Kulinism based upon the extent to which particular families have kept themselves free from the sin of allowing their widows to marry. Just as Ballal Sen glorified the virtues of the Brahmans of his day and allotted them graded rank accordingly so Rajbansi opinion has seized upon the one tangible quality of having refrained from countenancing widow marriage and has made this the test of social respectability. Families of whom it can be said that none of their widows have been allowed to take second husbands rank in Rajbansi circles as *Kulins* though their members are spoken of as *naahat* or great and people who wish to marry their daughters have to pay a substantial bride price for the privilege. In point of stringency and completeness the copy falls far short of the model it professes to reproduce. Kulin women are not restricted in marriage to their own grade and the alliances contracted by them have not as among the Brahmans the property of tainting the entire family to which they belong.

Professional match makers (*ghataks*) are employed to arrange marriages. The initiative is taken by the father of the bridegroom who sends the *ghatak* with two hundred leaves of the betel and eighty areca nuts to the bride's house. The *ghatak* stays there three days, which are spent in discussing the *pros* and *cons* of the match and haggling about the amount of the bride price. If this time is disturbed by any unlucky event such as the house catching fire or a cloth being accidentally burned or a cooking pot or water pot broken the negotiations are abandoned and cannot be afterwards renewed it being believed that grave misfortunes would follow if the omens were disregarded. Supposing all goes well the *ghatak* returns to the bridegroom's house and reports the result of his mission laying stress upon the attractions of the bride and stating the bride-price that is asked for her. This of course depends mainly upon the circumstances of the families. When the bride's father is rich he may decline to accept money. Again the amount sometimes varies in proportion to the age of the bridegroom. An elderly man may have to pay Rs 80 or Rs 90 for a wife while in the case of a boy of fourteen to eighteen the sum would ordinarily range in tolerably well to do families from Rs 20 to Rs 25. After the *ghatak's* report has been duly considered for nothing may be done in a hurry a party of the boy's relatives go to the girl's house with the *ghatak* bearing an offering of curds which they distribute to the members of the bride's family. This is the right time to pay the bride price or at least half of it should the bridegroom's father not be able to pay the whole at once.

The offer made through the *ghatak* having thus been ratified by the bridegroom's family the wedding day is fixed with due regard to the auspicious days determined by the priests of the caste. On the appointed day the bridegroom is taken in procession to the bride's house where four women (*ba aris*) of the bride's family lift him out of his palanquin place him on a seat and offer him *pan* and tobacco after his journey. In the courtyard of the house a *marua* or wedding canopy has been erected consisting of five plantain stems about three feet high arranged in the form of a quincunx with an earthen pot (*gla a*) of water placed at the foot of each. The distance between the plantain stems is the distance from the bridegroom's foot to his ear. Outside the figure are a sieve and a winnowing fan with two extra pots of water. The following plan illustrates the arrangement —



The four *barati* or processional women already referred to lead in first the bridegroom and then the bride and put them in their places on either side of the *mauti* which they walk round five times conducted by the *barati*. As they reach their places after each complete turn the bridal pair stand still and pelt each other with *atal* rice and imitation cowries made of jutti (*siti*). While this goes on a cloth is held up across the centre of the *mauti* and suddenly raised when the bride throws so that only a few of her nails reach the bridegroom while it is dropped for the latter so as to give him a clear shot at the bride. Throughout the ceremony the couple wear high crowns or helmets made of jutti.

After the *mauti* has been duly circled a cloth is spread in front of the window and five and the couple sit down on it. The legs of the bride being on the right. Her left hand is then tied with a grass on the tip of the right hand. The bride's father of the bride puts a rupee or half a rupee into her hand and she gives the coin to the bride to whom a priest sits down and recites *mantras* or mystical formulae until she becomes *Sankranta*. This completes the *ganga* of the *mauti* (*ganga*) which the bride's mother keeps in her hand to record the wedding and the birth of the ceremony. The father of the bride then gives her a new lotus flower which according to his man and priest is used to mark the bride's man.

A basketful of cowries is now lifted for the couple to foretell the fortunes of their wedding life. The girl takes a handful and passes them to the boy who in his turn picks them up and lays them down by the girl. The latter then counts the shells and tells her how many of them are lying with the hollow side upward. If the greatest number is in this position the girl is said to have won the man and this is a sign of her triumph in the nuptial dispute. However, the boy's mother tells her the other way round and tells her that the husband will be the best of it. After this the bride and bridegroom give one another a ring and molis (sweets) and after a while the bride returns to her own party. The night is spent in feasting and early next morning the bridegroom takes the bride to his own house. If a sort of *hahat* ceremony is gone through under the name of *hahat* the four *barati* women accompanying the procession in order to lift the bride out of her lap and to attend upon her during the celebration.

It is curious to hear that *at the* the morning of the wedding between the bride's eyebrows and on the parting of her hair which ordinarily forms the *bindi* part of the marriage ceremony of the lower castes is related by the Brahmins to a position of comparative obscurity. It is performed by two of the *barati* women before the bridegroom arrives at the time when the bride is washed with turmeric. The bridegroom merely puts a small black spot (*ajol*)

of oil and lamp black between the bride's eyebrows. In Darjiling, on the other hand *sandhi* (sand) is used as the binding portion of the marriage ceremony and as soon as it has been completed grass, water and rice symbolising happiness and fertility are showered

upon the couple from the sieve and winnowing fan which lie ready

The Rajban is of Jalpaiguri vary in some particulars the ritual described above. They use four plantains instead of five and wind cotton thread seven times round each. The place of the fifth plantain stem in the centre of the quincunx is taken by some glowing embers supposed to represent the sacred fire of orthodox tradition across which the bride and bridegroom pelt each other with flowers. The fire is circled seven times not five and in marching round the couple keep the fire on their *left* hand thus going counter to the path of the sun—a remarkable deviation from orthodox usage sufficient of itself to indicate that the Rajbanis have borrowed a ritual which they understand very imperfectly. In giving the bride to the bridegroom the father of the bride must touch the bridegroom's knee with the second and third fingers of his left hand repeating at the same time certain *mantras* dictated by the priest.

The precise form of Hinduism followed by the Rajbanis seems to vary in different parts of the country according to the influences to which they are subjected. In Rangpur they profess to be Vaishnava while in Dujhig where the true idea are perhaps more prevalent their favorite goddess is alleged to be Kali. Bishhari or Manasa Cumi litu Buri Haruman Baniur Fulsu Rihhi Kilithe Pthuri Jgini Hudum Deo Bahatho or Bahustho Bahubhadr Thakuranti Kera Kari are mentioned as among the minor gods. Some curious particulars of their worship deserve mention here. When a drought has lasted long the Rajbanis women make two images of Hudum Deo from mud or cowdung and carry them away into the fields at night. There they strip themselves naked and dance round the images singing obscene songs in the belief that this will cause rain to fall. The household god (Bahatho or Bahustho) is worshipped in Baisakh (April May) twice daily and at other times whenever the family enters a new house. A round lump of clay made smooth by marring it with cowdung is set up at the foot of a bamboo to represent the god and to this offerings of rice and milk which are eaten by the worshippers. If this duty is neglected disaster or some similar calamity is believed to come upon the family. To Satya Naram whom the Mahomedans reverence under the name of Satya Pir fresh milk wheat flour plantains and sugar are offered by the Brahmans who serve the cast on an auspicious day in Jaisitha (May June). For this god wheat flour is said to be essential and no substitute is admitted. Bahubhadr Thakur is propitiated at sowing time under the form of a yoked plough before which the worshippers prostrate themselves and do homage as at the shrine of a regular divinity. The germination of the seed is deemed to depend on the due performance of this ceremony. Seven months after child birth when the child is given rice to eat for the first time Shatli (probably a variant of Shishthi) is worshipped with offerings of *kantla* plantain *atab* rice and the leaves of the *bet* and the *tulas*. Rude images

hold the tenures known as *joldiri* the incidents of which closely resemble those of a *tuluk*

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Kochh tribe in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D CT	1872	18
B rñw		1 005	h h B h		
B k rñ	3	4 221	Dr	1 00	1
B i l m	1		B k l	3	72
M d p	17	2 3	M m g h		31 6
H g i l			C l i g g	3	1
H w h	23	5	N r k l	1	4
24 l r as	170	1 7 7	T i p e h	1	2 4
N l s	1 3	1 3	I t g H l T r a t		41
J v	2,317		C		
K l l			H l		
M h d bad	17 46	1	P h	7	1
J	44 1	4 7 3	M l l	7	
K l l y	1	1	P		
K g	71	2 1	f l t y St t		7
B rñ		1	H l l		4
l b		7	M l		84
l j l g		3	f b y t t		1
J l p g	13 47	20 3			

Kochhi Bedia a sub caste of Bedias whose original home was in Kuch Behar also called Kochh Beda

Kochila a sub tribe of Ih rus in Nepal a sept of l l it r sub tribe of I l it s in l d r

Kochohina a sept of the Suryabansi sub tribe of l u j u t in Behar

Kodaria worker with the spade a section of Bibhans in Behar

Kodbaria a mul r section of the Maghaya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Kodo Ság a kind of water vegetable a totem stic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

K h u a synonym for Kuluwa with the south hill Beldars and work as labourer

Kodriwe or **K darye** a m / of the S idil section of Muthil Brahmins in Bihar

Koca a will least a totem the sept of I hars in Chota Nagpur

Koftgar a craftsman who practises the art of inlaying gold and silver on iron usually though not invariably a Muhammadan

Kogdengsa a sept of Maghs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kohli a *thar* or sept of the D r Gurung sub tribe of Gurungs in Darjiling

Koiri Munao a very numerous cultivating caste of Behar and Chota Nagpur whom Dr Wise believed to be closely allied to the Kurmi with whom they drink but do not eat while the Kurmi attend their marriages and a partake of the feast Mr Nesfield again identifies the Koiri with the Kochhi and adds that the name Koiri shows that the wandering and semi savage Koli who is still to be found in the districts south of

the Gauges was the remote ancestor of the caste though every tradition of such descent appears now to have been forgotten. Both theories appear to me to go much further than the evidence justifies. There is nothing specially improbable in the suggestion that both Koiris and Kurmis may be descended from the same stock nor even in the conjecture that the parent tribe was of non Aryan origin but we can point to no definite facts tending to affiliate the Koiris to the group of tribes included in the general name Kshatriya nor are the cases of social intercourse noted by Dr Wiser sufficient to prove tribal affinity between the two castes. All that can be said is that the Koiris have too long been a distinct unit and have been too much affected by Hindu influences for it to be possible to frame any plausible hypothesis regarding the details of which they are mixed up. Their own tradition that they were originally Sivaites is hardly trustworthy (mura) and to look after the village and the field is the common mythological type and gives no clue to the present.

We find among Koiris in different parts of the country the following thirteen sub-castes —

Barkī Dangi, Chhotkī Dangi, Banipar, Jaruhār, Kanaujī, Magāhiyā, Tirhutia, Chirmait, Kumār, Goita, Dhar, Reutia, Pauria, Barakar and Palmoha.

The common story regarding the origin of these groups is that the first Koiri, the son of Mahādeva, was killed by them in a large of garland and that the subjects were released from girls of various castes who came to pick flowers in the garden and conferred their favour on the garlander. These stories are known in Aṣṭādīpī. In Behar they are territorial or titular while in Chota Nāgpur and the Santāl Parganas survivals of totemism may be traced in the Kayap and Ngajhis the members of which will not kill or molest tortoises and snakes. The Kayap Koiris indeed carry their reverence for the tortoise to such a length that if one is caught they smear its shell with oil and vermilion and put it back into the water. Some of the Behar section names again are a kind of shibboleth referring to the occupation of the caste or reciting at length the sacred habitat of the section. The usual rule is that a man may not marry a woman of his own section but in Bhagalpur as many as nine sections are excluded. The standard formula calculated to seven generations in the descending line is used for reckoning prohibited degrees not covered by the rule forbidding marriage with the section.

Koiris usually marry their daughters as infants between the ages of seven and ten but rich men sometimes have the ceremony performed when the girl is only three or four years old after she has got her teeth as the saying goes while both in Behar and Chota Nāgpur a girl's marriage may be deferred for special reasons until she has passed the

The B k D h wh f b d w lōw m ag a ujj d to b th
h gho t n k th n m th Chh k Dangi and th Ja uh f lōwed by
th territorial dī o K nā jī M h y d f hut lh Gota and
Dh r g up fund in Cl m j an ke i f wls d r ble ed to be th
dī g timat desc da ts f K r w m by a Ku jr r cogatable seller

age of puberty without the family incurring serious reproach thereby Colonel Dalton gives the following account of a Koiri marriage in Chota Nagpur which does not appear to differ materially from the usage current in Behar —

The preliminaries are first arranged by mutual friends who meet at the house of the bride. If they come to an agreement small sums of money are interchanged. The boy's friends give four annas and a half and the girl's friends one and a half and this is an engagement.

But as a betrothal it is incomplete till the ceremony called *sagan bandhna* is performed. Ten or more of the boy's friends with music and a Brahman go to the girl's house. Her friends are also invited and the ceremony commences by the father of the girl and the father of the boy each spreading a new cloth on the ground. The Brahman then takes some *dhal* from the store of the bride's father and places it in the hands of the maiden who throws it on the cloth spread by her father in law that is to be. The Brahman next takes some grain that has been brought from the bridegroom's house and this is thrown on the cloth spread by the father of the maiden. The cloths are then rolled up with the grain in them the bride retains that which was brought from her betrothed's house. The friends of the latter take away the cloth produced by the bride's father.

Eight days after the above ceremony the marriage takes place. A Brahman priest presides and the service is strictly Brahmanical. At the conclusion of the orthodox ritual the bride and her scarfs tied together are made to perform seven times a circuit round a collection of vessels containing water, grain, oil and a light. This is called the *Chanwar*. The girl goes first she carries one of the cloths with grain and the boy the other and allowing the grain to drop they thus mark the circuits they make.

When all is over the boy is taken into the women's apartments and invited to eat but he will not touch food till a present is made to him. In the same manner when the bride first appears amongst the females of her husband's house she obstinately declines all refreshments till bribed to eat. The *jaha* is used by the Koiris as well as by the Kurmis.

Polygamy is permitted and there does not appear to be any positive rule limiting the number of wives a man may have. The caste however is not a wealthy one and it is unusual to find a man with more than two wives while a second wife is commonly taken only in the event of the first being barren.

All the sub castes except the Barki Dangi allow a widow to marry again by the *sagai* or *sanga* form and impose no restrictions on her choice of a second husband. It is however deemed the right thing for her to marry her late husband's younger brother (*tuwar*) if such a relative exists and the fact that a woman who marries an outsider must give up her male children to her late husband's family tends on the whole to make marriage with the *dewar* a very common arrangement. The *sanga* ritual as performed by the Koiris of Manbhum is a very simple one. Late in the evening the bridegroom accompanied by a few of his friends goes without any special display

to the bride's house where he is received by her relations and given a seat in the courtyard. There he is joined by the bride who is brought in by two widows and takes her seat on a *sul* leaf in front of the bridegroom. The bridegroom presents to her a new *sari* and touches with the little finger of his left hand some powdered vermilion which is brought to him in a *sul* leaf. A widow then smears some of this powder on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair; this act which completes the ceremony being greeted with a cry of *Haribol* by the lookers on. The proceedings end with a feast provided by the bridegroom who takes his wife home quietly the same night. In the north of Manthum (th nas Jharla and T'p'ch neh) a different custom prevails which may perhaps represent a state of transition towards the abandonment of widow marriage. There is no ceremony of any kind is performed but if a man wishes to keep a widow as his mistress he announces his intention to the head men. If they agree he simply takes the woman to live with him.

The practice of the caste in the matter of divorce appears to vary with the surroundings of the caste and to depend on the extent to which they have been influenced by the examples of the higher castes. In Ch'ita Nagpur and parts of Behar considerable license of divorce is allowed. Reference is made to the caste *panchayat* and if it is found that the husband has just cause of complaint he is permitted to put away his wife. Divorced wives may marry again. The Koiris of Bhagalpur and Litchana on the other hand profess not to recognise divorce and a woman who goes wrong is simply turned out of the caste. In Champaran the rule is said to be that a man may obtain from the *panchayat* authority to divorce his wife for adultery or for sexual faults of temper. A woman so divorced may marry a man of a different (presumably lower) section but may not marry within her own section without the express permission of the leading members of the group—the caste Brahmins and the local zamindars. For this permission certain fees have to be paid. This seems to imply the opinion that a woman having by marriage become a member of her husband's section does not revert to her own section when divorced and thus is not precluded from marrying a man who before her marriage would have been deemed a blood relation.

Koiris profess to be orthodox Hindus belonging to the Śaiva or Sakta sects and Vaishnavism has hitherto made little progress among them. The quality of their orthodoxy however seems to vary with locality and may perhaps be gauged by the degree of consideration accorded to their Brahmins and by the character of their minor gods. Thus in Ch'ita Nagpur the Brahmins who serve the Koiris as priests are not received on equal terms by other members of the sacred order while among their minor gods we find the aboriginal Marang Byru or Barpahari alongside of Bokhá Parameswari Mahavira and Hanuman. Mounds of dried clay representing the deities are found in every house and there is often a larger mound with a *tulsi* tree in the courtyard which according to Colonel Dalton is sacred to the entire group of deities. In addition to the Hindu festivals of

Janmāṣṭami and *Sarat* they observe the aboriginal feasts of *Karma* and *Jittu parab* and invoke Marang Buru at certain intervals specially when rain does not fall in due season. In Behar on the other hand the Kanauiā Srotri or Tirhutīā Brahman who is employed by the Koiri for religious and ceremonial purposes seems to hold a fairly high position and not to be looked down upon by his brethren. Their village gods are Bandi Goraiyā Śkhā Hanuman Rām Thākur Kurlī and Dharm Rāj who are worshipped by the head of the household with the usual offerings of sheep goats and sweetmeats of various kind. In Arrah the Koiris like the Kānīās worship the Lūchīlur and hold a festival in their honour on the ninth and tenth days of the Dasahara in Āswīn (September–October). A few are found following the tenets of Kabīr Nānak and Dīrya Dās.

Koiri women are undressed for twelve days after child birth at the end of which time the mother bathes twice and after each bath plasters the house floor with cowdung. She then marks with red lead five spots on the rim of the well, draws a jar of water and her purification is complete. The dead are burned, the body being laid on the pyre with the head pointing to the north and the ashes thrown into the Ganges or into any river that may happen to be handy. The ceremony of *śrāddh* is performed in the regular method on the thirteenth day after death. Cakes and libations of water are offered every Āswīn for the propitiation of ancestors in general. In Chota Nagpur a curious custom prevails under which on the day of death the friends and relatives of the deceased and even the members of other castes give the family a few handfuls of rice and receive in return a small quantity of milk.

The social position of Koiris is respectable. They rank with

Social status

Kurmis and Gāṣās and Brahmins will take water from their hands. In the matter of food the practice of the caste in some districts at any rate seems to fall below the ordinary Hindu standard of purity. Thus the Koiris of Champaran eat fowls and in North Bhaṭṭālpur field rats are mentioned as a legitimate article of diet. On the other hand they will not touch the leavings of even the highest castes nor will they take personal service—a point wherein they consider themselves to be raised above the Dhānūks Kewats and Amāts. They will however eat *jalkā* with and take water from men of these castes and will smoke in the same hookah when on a journey. Their pursuits are purely agricultural but they are distinguished from the Kurmis and other purely cultivating castes by their skill in rearing tobacco opium and other special produce requiring more careful cultivation than the staple crops. In the neighbourhood of large towns they

Occupation

work as market gardeners growing and selling all kinds of vegetables. Many Koiris are tenure holders and here and there members of the caste have risen to be petty zemindars. Most of them are prosperous cultivators holding occupancy rights and comparatively few have sunk to the position of landless day labourers. In fact their skill and industry are so notorious that a Koiri, even if he has no land of his

own is usually rather in demand as a partner on the *bhag jot* system of cultivation

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Koiris in 1872 and 1881 —

D	1872	1881	D	1872	1881
B d	70	114	T j l	529	232
Bask a	237		C l	17	1
B l l m			N k l l g	8	8 7 8
M d p	214	3	j	1	1 2
H l l		1		1	1 2
H w r a l			l l l d	1	1 2
24 P r g a n a s	1	16	l l l t { M a p p	227	1 1 7
N d y	672		{ D l l	41	3 4
K l l				7 7	7 7
J s c r e	9	47	C l	7 7	3 4
M l l d	7		l l	7 7	
D j u r			l l	4	
B a l l			l l		
B a k p	21	2	l l		
B a r a	7	21	l l	31	11 4
P l			C k		3
I j l		4	l l		9 7
J l p		1	l l		
K h B h a			H l	27 21	41
D	98	2	l l l	2 2	23
F d p	1		M l l	4 28	2 4
B k r j			T l	1 20	3 61
M m s u h	3	4			

Kokarsá a section of Sonars in Behar

Kokás a sub caste of Bahun in Behar who are said to have come from Gorakhpur and work only in wood a sub caste of Lohars

Kokenamba ne who rises with the sun a sept of the Lanthar sub tribe of Limbus in Darjiling

Koki a *thun* or sept of Gurungs in Darjiling

Kokras a section of the Satnuha Maghrya sub caste of Kandus in Behar

Kol a sub caste of Gonorhis in Behar which though endogamous as regards the other sub castes of Gonorhis allows of intermarriage with the Laibatti Kurin sub caste. The Kols say they are not Gonorhis and distinguish themselves as Gonorh

Kol or **Kolh** a generic name applied by Himhus to the Munda and Oraon tribes and sometimes also to the Bhumij and Kharias. Herr Jellinghaus¹ thinks that it means *poor* killer but the question is a very obscure one and it is at least equally likely that the word may be a variant of *lor* or *loro* the Mundari for *tribe* which is used by both Mundas and Santals in speaking of themselves

Kolandh a section of the Lahung sub caste of Doms in Behar

Kolu Paramanik a sub caste of Nápts in the 24 larganas

Kolasa a sept of Maghs in the Hill tracts of Chittagong

Kleman or **Kalu** a hypergamous group of Telis in Bengal

Kolh Asur a sub tribe of Asuras in Chota Nagpur

Kolita *Kolita Tasa Orh Tasa* an agricultural caste of the Southern Tributary Mahals of Chota Nagpur whose traditions say that they came originally from Mithila in the days of Rama. Colonel Dalton describes them as of fair complexion with good features and well proportioned limbs and pronounces them to be mainly Aryan in blood with a light deterioration arising from intermixture with the less comely aborigines. They generally allow their daughters to grow to maturity before giving them in marriage and Colonel Dalton saw many full grown girls in the villages that he visited. Nothing is known about the internal structure or the religion of the caste. They usually call themselves *Tása* a corruption of *Chása* and I think it is an open question whether they are not merely *Orh Chasas* who have settled in the Tributary Mahals and acquired the name *Kolita*.

Kolita an endogamous sub-division of *Kayasths* in Assam

Kolkatári a sept of *Kaurs* in Chota Nagpur

Kol Munda a sub-tribe of *Mundas* in Chota Nagpur

Konári an endogamous division of *Páschátya Bardik Brahmins* in Bengal

Konárk a *pur* or section of *Sákadwipi Brahmins* in Behar

Kondongwa the vagabond a sept of the *Ahtharai* sub-tribe of *Lambus* in Darjiling

Kongaddi crow a totemistic sept of *Mundas* in Chota Nagpur

Konhár a sept of the *Rautar* sub-tribe of *Tharus* in Behar

Konkpát a title of *Mundas* in Chota Nagpur

Konkpát Munda a sub-tribe of *Mundas* in Chota Nagpur

Konr Gop a hypergamous division of the *Purbha Kulhá Sadgops* in *Murshedabad* who take their wives from other *Sadgops* but give their daughters only in their own group

Kons grass a totemistic sept of *Lohárs* in Chota Nagpur

Kopetah a section of *Maghayá Dhobis* in Behar

Kopinyar a section of *Awadhia Hajáms* in Behar

Koput a sept of *Gonds* in Chota Nagpur

Korá a sub-caste of *Tántis* in Bengal a *mul* or section of the *Kanaujiá* sub-caste of *Sonárs* in Behar a sept of *Hos* in *Singbhum*

Korá *Kaora Khayrá Khayrá* a Dravidian caste of earth-workers and cultivators in Chota Nagpur. Western and Central Bengal probably an offshoot from the *Munda* tribe. The *Koras* or *Khayras* of *Manbhum* and *Bankura* have well marked totemistic sections of the same type as the *Mundas* and the latter admit that some sort of affinity may at one time have been recognised. The *Korás* of the *Santal Parganas* on the other hand claim to have come from Nagpur. The *Bard* section of the *Koras* have a curious legend concerning their totem. They say that one of their ancestors went out hunting

with his two brothers in the jungle but found no game. While they were wandering about they noticed a bundle wrapped in *sal* leaves hanging from the branch of a *barda* or *pythah* tree. The bundle contained meat which being very hungry they cooked and ate without further inquiry. Afterwards they found out that what they had eaten was a human placenta and expressed their horror by making the fruit of the *barda* tree taboo for themselves and their descendants. The *Alu* section on the other hand believe that their first ancestor was born under a *Phal alu* tree and for this reason they will not eat the bulb like fruit of this tree or any bulbs such as potatoes which bear a resemblance to it. Both stories seem to be attempts to find a rational explanation for a prohibition which seemed unreasonable to men who had got beyond the stage of believing in their actual descent from trees. Further east these characteristic section names have been dropped but the caste is divided into four sub castes bearing the names *Dhalo*, *Molo*, *Sikharía* and *Bádá* three of which the first three still preserve the memory of their original settlements. Thus the *Dhalo* sub caste say that they came from *Dhalbhium* the eastern pargana of *Singbhum*, the *Molo* from *Manbhium* and the *Sikharía* from the tract of country between the *Damodar* and *Barakar* rivers bounded on the east by *Samet Sikhar* or *Parasnath Hill*. In

Bankura again besides the *Sikharía* we find three other groups—*Sonarekha*, *Jhetia* and *Gurí Báuá*, of which the first is associated with the *Sonarekhá* or *Subarnarekhá* river which rises in the *Mundari* country while the second bears the same name as one of the sub castes of the *Bagdis*. In *Bankura* all four sub castes are strictly endogamous in the districts further east *Molos* and *Sikharías* intermarry. In *Manbhium* no sub castes appear to have been formed and the caste is still more or less in the tribal stage.

The Hinduised *Khairas* of Central Bengal have developed a legend of the common mythological type to the effect that they were generated by the bellowing of the miraculous cow *Kamadhenu* when *Viswamitra* came to take her away from the sage *Vasishtha* and that they with other soldiers born from the cow drove off the intruding *Kshatriya*. Another tradition current in the *Santal Parganas* says that the *Khairas* came from the west and that their special function is to prepare catechu (*khair*) for use in conjunction with betel. There is nothing to show that the *Koras* ever followed this particular occupation and the statement is referred to here merely as an instance of the striving after a meaning which meets us so frequently in the popular derivations of caste names.

Where the exogamous groups have been preserved the rule is that a man may not marry a woman of the same totem as himself but on the mother's side the totem is not taken into account and the rule of exogamy is supplemented by the standard formula *man + chachea* etc. calculated to three generations in the descending line.

The Koras of Western Bengal marry their daughters both as infants and as adults and in Chota Nagpur sexual intercourse before marriage is regarded as a venial offence. This measure of tolerance of the aboriginal races is no longer recognised in India where sexual relations are visited with severe moral penalties although adult marriage still maintains its ground. In Longlur proper the caste has fully adopted the more fashionable custom of infant marriage.

The marriage ceremony of the Bankura Koras corresponds precisely with that described at length in the article on the Lohas with the curious difference that vermilion is applied to the bride's forehead with the handle of the cutter (*chinta*) used for slicing after a nut. In Manbhum the bride and bridegroom are made to stand one behind the other on a bundle of straw laid on the top of a bullock yoke (*joran*) and the bridegroom who places is in the rear, reaching on his hands the bride's forehead forward and marking it with vermilion three times on the bride's forehead. This which is deemed to be the binding portion of the ritual has clearly survived or been borrowed from the marriage ceremony of the Munlas. The Eastern Koras follow the regular Hindu ritual.

Polygamy is everywhere permitted and in theory there is no limit to the number of wives a man may have. Custom however and the standard of living imposed by the comparative poverty of the caste combine in actual life to bring about the result that hardly any one has more than two wives and most men content themselves with one.

Among the Koras of Manbhum and the Santal Parganas a widow is allowed to marry again and her second husband is unfettered save that she must observe the prohibited degrees and that she may not marry her deceased husband's elder brother. She may marry his younger brother but she is under no special obligation to do so though such marriages are deemed both respectable and convenient and very commonly take place. The ceremony (*sangra*) is much the same as that described in the article on the Koiris. In the Khasi ritual however the bridegroom does not himself apply the vermilion to the bride's forehead. He merely touches the powder which is then smeared on the parting of the bride's hair by the widows who are present. In Bankura and the district further east the example of the rest of the population has induced the Koras to abandon widow marriage. The working of the same influence may be observed in the matter of divorce which is prohibited in the external districts while in Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas aboriginal usage still holds its ground and divorce is granted by the caste council on the application of either husband or wife persons so divorced whether men or women are allowed to marry again.

Like the Bauris and Bagdis Koras admit into their community members of any caste ranking above their own in social standing. The occasions on which this privilege is sought are doubtless rare.

and usually occur only when the outsider has been turned out of his own caste for carrying on an intrigue with a Kora woman and eating food which she has prepared. A case of this kind which has been reported to me from one of the districts of Central Bengal throws a curious light upon the working of the caste system at the present day. A man of the highly respectable Aguri caste fell in love with a Kora girl and after keeping the intrigue secret for some time was ejected from his caste and turned out of his household. He then went to live with his mistress and at first thought of turning Vaishnava. Finally however at the girl's suggestion he decided to join the Kora community and his case was laid before a meeting of the headmen (*mandal*) of the caste. He was thus the next day propitiated with a liberal feast and was thereupon formally admitted to be a member of the Kora caste.

Like most of the other castes the Koras settle the bulk of their civil disputes through the agency of the *chowni hijet* and very seldom resort to the regular courts. In fact the value of the property in question is usually too small to be worth the cost of a regular suit. In matters of inheritance and succession they all set to be governed by the standard *adars* recognised in the locality. The Dayabhaga in Bengal district and by the Mitakshara in Chittagong. Their custom however imperfectly as it has been impossible to ascertain them was usually in accordance with the ordinary Hindu rule of law. In Bankura the custom of giving the eldest son an extra share (*guthangs*) is in full force and even in the eastern districts for a few districts still survive. The Koras of Manbhum on the other hand live as a man of property equally married his son but where he leaves only more than one wife they follow the custom known with a slight change as *hulnant* under which the son however many of one wife gets no more than the sons of one or two of the other wife.

In matters of religion Koras affect to be orthodox Hindus. In worshipping the regular gods and calling them by names like Sakti or Vaishnava a corollary is they maintain the cult of Kali, Durga and Manasa or to that of Lachha and Krishna. Manasa the heavenly patroness of snakes and Lachha the virgin laughter of the lachete house whose worship has been described in the article on the Bagdis are their favourites. Their village and household deities are Bhairab Bhakur or Mondri and Kulra to whom goats fowls pigeons rice sugar and plantain are offered on no fixed dates and are divided between the worshippers and the Deogharia Brahmans who serve them as priests and keep in order the shrines (*Kudastha* and *Bhawaltha*) of the village gods. In Manbhum the Koras do not employ Brahmans but a number of the caste styled the Laya or Nayaets is priest and sometimes remunerated by a grant of land held on the tenure known as *hijet*. Further east they are served by Laya Brahmans who are looked down upon by their members of the sacred order and occupy about the same position as the Brahmans who look after the spiritual welfare of the Bauris and Bagdis.

Like the Bauris the Koras of Chota Nagpur admit both burial and cremation as modes of disposing of the dead and when burial is resorted to the corpse is laid in the grave face downwards and with the head pointing north. In Bankura and further east the rule is to burn burial being confined to the case of those who have died of cholera small pox or any disease supposed to be infectious. Here also the fashion of placing the body face downwards is observed the idea being apparently that this affords some security against the spirit of the dead man walking and giving trouble to the living—a danger which is always supposed to be greater in the case of those who have died by a comparatively sudden or violent death. A meagre imitation of the orthodox *śraddh* is performed on the eleventh day after death and annual offerings of rice ghi and *gur* are made to deceased ancestors in the months of Kartik and Chait.

The social position of Koras is very low and they are usually classed with Bagdis Bauris Bunas and other dwellers on the confines of Hinduism. Their own practice in the matter of diet varies in different parts of the country. In Chota Nagpur they eat beef pork and fowls and all manner of fish whether scaly or scaleless but refrain from eating field rats snakes lizards and animals which have died a natural death. Further east they are more particular. No Kora will touch beef and some members of the caste abstain from fowls and from strong drink in the belief that by doing so they acquire some sort of social distinction. These comparatively ascetic Koras have not as yet formed themselves into a sub caste but there is no reason why this should not hereafter take place. In Bankura Koras will eat sweetmeats etc. with members of the Bagdi caste but will not take water from their hands or smoke in the same *h okah*. Boiled rice they will take only from members of the Nabasákha group.

The caste believe tank digging road making and earthwork generally to be their characteristic professions and it may be surmised that their adoption of a comparatively degraded occupation necessarily involving a more or less wandering manner of life may have been the cause which led to their separation from the Mundas who are above all things settled agriculturists conspicuous for their attachment to their original villages. As earth workers they rank next to the Beldars but unlike these they carry earth in a pair of triangular baskets slung on a shoulder yoke (*bahangi*) and will on no account carry it on their head. Beldars on the other hand always use single baskets borne on the head and refuse to touch a *bahangi* deeming it an indignity to carry anything on their shoulders. Within the last generation many Koras have taken to cultivation holding land as occupancy or non-occupancy raiyats and working as agricultural labourers. In Bankura, however and in other districts of Western Bengal their connexion with the land must be of very ancient date for we find a certain number of them at the present day in possession of substantial *ghatwal* tenures—a fact which indicates that they were among the earliest settlers in that part of the country.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Koras in 1842 and 1881 —

D	1	D	CT	1872	1881
B rdw		Chitrago			4
B k ra		l		1	
B l m		M hy		331	2927
M d		Bawalpur		74	11
H l l		M l h			232
2 l r as		S l Parga as		2 1	3760
N l y					
Kl l		l t k			
J		l l			
M rd dybad	7	l l			
I		H l			
Ra (as)	1	hagh			
Ra		I l gk			
I w		M h m			
I		T y b t			

Korā a synonym for *Korā* in Western Bengal

Korāit a synonym for *Korā*

Korānch a title of *Korā* and *Kandus* in Hazaribagh and to refer to the mythical land *Korānchdwar* a district of *Bihar* and of *Awadh* *Hajj* *Misir* *lehar* a sub caste of *Hilwais* and *Kandus*

Korāngi a *thar* or sept of the *Das Gurung* sub tribe of *Gurungs*

having derived its name from *Korā* a place in *Tibet*

Korānkār a *pu* or section of *Sakadwipi* *Brahmans* in *Behar*

Korār a sub caste of *Chamārs* in *Behar*

Koriar a section of *Korānch* *Kandus* in *Behar*

Korisa a *m* or section of the *Chhimulia* *Malhesia* sub caste of *Hilwais* in *Behar*

Korla fig a totemistic sept of *Chiks* in *Chota Nagpur*

Korwas a Dravidian tribe of *Sarguja* *Jashpur* and *Lalamau* who claim to be the original inhabitants of the country of *Orissa* and whose claim is in some measure borne out by the fact that the priests who propitiate the local spirits are always *Korwas* from this tribe. The hill *Korwas* of *Sarguja* have the singular belief that they are descended from the scare crows set up to frighten wild animal by the first men who raised crops in *Sarguja* who were animated by the great spirit to save his votaries the trouble of continually making new ones. The male *Korwas* are described by *Colonel Dutton* as short of stature dark brown in complexion strongly built and active with good muscular development. Their foreheads are narrow and the lateral projection of the zygomatic arches very marked. Some of the wilder specimens have black skins flat faces and projecting lower jaws while their matted hair has acquired a tawny shade from constant neglect. The women says *Colonel Dutton* appear ground down by the hard work imposed on them only a few straggles tied round their persons and in their untidy and unclean. On them falls the double task of labour in the fields and of providing the daily bread for the miserable household

They have all the burdens but none of the privileges of women. The man may follow his instincts as a hunting animal and bow and arrow in hand search the hills for the meat that his soul loveth but his day after day returns unsuccessful and in the meantime the woman has been hunting for and digging up wild esculent roots or cutting wild vegetables hewing wood and drawing water and wood beside her if she has not been more successful than her lord.

The Korwas appear to be divided into four sub-tribes the Agaria Korwa probably a cross with the Agarias the Dand Korwa the Dih Korwa who are settled in regular villages and the Paharia Korwa who live in the hills and are the wildest branch of the tribe. Colonel Dalton mentions that he failed to find among them any tribal distinctions by which restrictions on intermarriage were imposed such as recognizable cognate stocks. I am indebted to Mr. W. H. L. Driver of Ranchi for the interesting list of sects given in Appendix I. Most of these it will be seen are forgotten. Among the terms we find the tiger the snake the parrot the wild goose two kinds of eagle the /ok/ bird the mung myra I am hurried in ploughs and the used for pounding grains a curious group called Muri all good to drive its name from the fact of its ancient having made a hill out of far shall and cocked their dinner on the unannoyed sort of fire. Thus early a sect of the nine types which are common among the Libtars, Lumbas and the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. I repeat the totems mentioned above are the sects which bear their names a point on which no certain information is yet forthcoming. The prohibition is for a prohibition of intermarriage and the only prohibition of the name that really holds its ground is the rule forbidding marriage within the circle which it defines.

Korwas says Colonel Dalton are considered formidable as bowmen but he was not struck with the accuracy of their aim. Their bows are surprisingly strong and they use arrow with barbed heads nine inches long by an inch and a half wide. The feathers are arranged in a spiral which is supposed to give great steadiness to the flight of the shaft. They make the axe from the head of their own smelting and are very expert in the use of this weapon.

Their system of agriculture primitive. They cultivate only virgin soil resorting freely to fire for the purpose of clearing away the jungle and changing their homesteads every two or three years as the land becomes exhausted. Rice with various millets yams, chillies and arrowroot are their standard crops and they eke out the scanty yield of their fields with a variety of jungle products (such as they store under ground) in small packets of leaves and thus packed they say it will keep for years. They also trade in honey bees wax urwrot resins and sticks and iron.

Of their religion little is known. According to Colonel Dalton the Korwas of Suvar sacrifice only to the spirits of their ancestors and as this must

be done by the head of each family they have no priests. In Jashpur on the other hand Baigas serve them as priests and the Khuria Rani a bloodthirsty goddess dwelling in a cave overhanging a stream is worshipped with offerings of slain buffaloes and goats. The families of the Dewan of Jashpur and the Thakur of the Khuria estate—the only Korwas who now hold any considerable landed property—seem to have adopted Hinduism and pursuing all uses with the ordinary Korwas have continued interbreeding for several generations although they do not altogether disown the spirits of the hills and forests that their ancestors adored and they have each at their head quarters a Korwa Baiga or pagan priest to propitiate the gods of the race.

Korwar a sept of Rajputs in Behar

The *Mahar*, a weaving and cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur who believe their ancestors to have immigrated from Sambalpur Rajah and Chhattisgarh in the Central Provinces. The caste call them selves *Manara* and the name *Koshita* is used only by outsiders. The extreme sections of the *Koshitas* are shown in Appendix I. With three exceptions they appear to be totemistic but there is nothing to show whether the members of the sections pay any reverence to the totems whose names they bear. As a rule they marry their daughter after they have attained maturity and infant marriage is also resorted to occasionally by comparatively wealthy men who believe that they perform an act of social merit by giving a daughter in marriage before puberty. The marriage ceremony differs little from that in force among the lower classes of Hindu. *Sandhan* or the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair is deemed the essential and binding portion. A widow may marry again by the *sagai* ritual and is expected to marry her late husband's younger brother if one survives him. Divorce is permitted on various grounds. No special formalities are prescribed. A simple declaration before the *panchayat* that the parties propose to dissolve their marriage is all that is necessary. As a rule the husband is the person who moves and it is a doubtful point whether a woman is entitled to take steps to obtain a divorce from her husband.

The principal god of the *Koshitas* is the Gond divinity *Dulha Deo* a boy bridegroom raised to divine honours by reason of his tragic death in the midst of his own bridal procession. There are also many Kavi-panthis owing to it is said to the activity of the misadventures of this sect among them of recent years. *Koshitas* have no Brahmins the village *gaur* (*uma*) presides at marriages and on all other occasions the heads of families are priests unto themselves. Both burial and cremation are in vogue. Members of the Kavi-panthis are always buried.

In respect of diet *Koshitas* observe most of the rules held binding by middle class Hindus but they do not consider themselves bound to abstain from strong drink. They eat *pak* and drink with Brahmins Rajput Khandaits Kharwas Jhoras Ahirs Kumbhars. *Kachehi* they can take only from Gonds and Rautias a fact

which taken in connexion with their tradition of origin and their worship of Dulha Deo seems to imply some affinity with the former tribe. It is curious to find that the children of Koshta men by women of any of the *Jalachar* or *ju* castes from whom a Brahman may take water are readily admitted into the Koshta community.

Koshia a section of Coālas in the North Western Provinces and Behar

Kotā a sub caste of Baruis in Bengal a section of Madhesia Kandus in Behar

Kosuar fish a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Kotābandab a totemistic sept of Juangs in Orissa

Kotah Kaisi a small vulture a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kotal Kotwal a small Dravidian cultivating caste of Central Bengal frequently employed as village watchmen. They believe themselves to be descendants of Cūlak Muni the traditional ancestor of the Chandals and it is possible that they may be a branch of that caste separated from the main group by their adopting the profession of *Kotwal* or village policeman. In Murshedabad they are divided into four sub castes—Atpara Dhukursani Kutabpur and Manoharsahi. They have no sections and regulate their marriages by counting prohibited degrees down to the seventh generation in the descending line. Kotalis marry their daughters by the regular ceremony followed by the lower castes of about their own standing. The binding portion of the rite is *sātpak* the carrying of the bride seven times round the bridegroom. Polygamy is permitted when a man's first wife is barren but is rarely resorted to. Neither widow marriage nor divorce is recognised.

By religion the Kotalis are Saiva Hindus worshipping Kali in the month of Kartik and Dharma Raj in Jaishta. Sasthi and Lakshmi are held in special reverence by their women. Their priests are a low class of Brahmans who are looked down upon by other members of the sacred order.

Their original occupation they believe to be to perform the duties of village watchman an office for which they sometimes hold small allotments of land rent free. Of late years however and especially since the introduction of the Chukidar Act they have rather tended to abandon these functions their place being taken by members of other low castes. As cultivators they usually hold land as non occupying rayats or work as agricultural labourers. Their social rank is much the same as that of the Chandals. Some of them drink spirits but this practice is by no means universal. For the rest their practice in the matter of diet is very much that of orthodox Hindus in general and they look down upon the Bagdis and Haris as unclean feeders.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kotals in 1881. The figures for 1882 are included with those of Chandals

D	1881	D	1881
B 1	10 4	Raj 1 ly	4
B 1		1	93
J 11	73	1 1 1 1	3
M 1 1	1	1 1 1 1	13
H 1 1	5	1 1 1 1	5
N 1 1	9	M 1 1	7
N 1	21	1 1 1 1	1 489
J 1	1		
M 1 1 1 1	1 8		

Kotalipára a *ama* or local group of the Bhadrakul *joti* of Las hatya Pandik Brahmans in Bengal

Kothádomar a section of Sonars in Behar

Kothipai a section of the Karan sub caste of Kayasths in Behar

Kotolá probably a corruption of *Kotal* a title of a class of rural policemen who hold allotments of land for keeping watch and ward in the town of Darbhanga in Behar

Kotri a small deer a totemic sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Kotsá or *Kot* a *mul* or section of the Chhamulia Madhesi and Bhujuria sub castes of Halwais in Behar

Kotsobhani a *mul* or section of the Numuli or Mujjat sub cast of Gwalas in Behar

Kotval *Kot* a *pangat* or section of Benghor Dmi and Dosahis in Behar a title of the high Chandal Hari and other castes in Bengal employed as chaukidars

Kotual a synonym for Dami

Kotwar a title of Khandáits and Lútiás and a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Kowriar a sept of, Chiks, and Kharwar in Chota Nagpur

Koya the wild dog a totemic section of Rautias in Chota Nagpur

Kraunchdwipi a division of Brahmans in Benar including Jaisi Jotkhi or Jotsi Dakutis, Bhadaris or Bhareri Jadwa, Sagunis Sanicherá

Krishak *Krishan* *Krishi* a title of those who work in the fields whether as day labourers or as cultivators of their own land

Krishnakandari a title of Patnis *qv*

Krishnatreya a *ra* or section of the Brahmin *Madya* Kayasth and Granthibanik castes in Benar and the Jhoras in Chota Nagpur

Kritanya a group of Gaura Brahmans in Behar

Krong Khyungtsa a sept of Mobs in the hill tracts of Chittalong

Krubchhagi a *thar* or sept of Mangars in Darjiling

Ksham a title of Dakshin Rárhí and Bangaja Káyasths in Bengal

Klati *Sankoch* a synonym for Kóchh

Klitya the warrior caste in the tribal Hindu system. The word owed mainly as a synonym for Rajput

Kshem a title of Dakshin Rárhí and Bangaja Káyasths

Kshetragrami a *gotra* of the tribal Hindu *gotra* of Barendra Brahmins in Bengal

Kshir a sub caste of Tanti in Bengal

Kshom a title of Dakshin Rárhí and Bangaja Káyasths in Bengal

Kshuri *rivor* a title of Bhándaris in Orissa

Kuar a hypergamous division of the Múhaya sub caste of Biháris in Behar

Kuardar a sept of Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Kuásanchha a *thar* or sept of Kharibáris in Darjiling

Kuchal a section of the Bihárijati sub caste of Khatris in Bengal

Kuchhainá a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kuharia a section of Awadhias in Hajjams in Behar

Kujri fruit from which oil is made a sept of Mundas a section of Goraitis in Chota Nagpur

Kujur a fruit the oil of which is used in anointing horns of cattle at the Sohora festival

a totemistic sept of Oraons a section of Goraitis

Kuka a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kukar a group of the Aoghar sect of Saivaitics founded in Gujarat by a Dárámi merchant named Brahaman. See Aoghar

Kukkuti a *gotra* of the Batiya *gotra* of Barendra Brahmins in Bengal

Kukrar a *mul* or section of the Káruja sub caste of Sonars in Behar

Kuktaiare a sept of the Agnia sub tribe of Meches in the Darjiling hills

Kukur *Kukura* dog a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kukurbandha a *mul* or section of Sáláwáji Brahmins in Behar

Kukurbans a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kukuria a sept of Lais in Chota Nagpur

Kukurjhampar a section of Káruja Lais in Behar

Kul a group of the Barendra sub caste of Sunnis in Eastern Bengal

Kulabhi a *gotra* of the Sandilya *gotra* of Rárhí Brahmins in Bengal

Kulil a synonym for kumbár

Kulchulia a *gotra* of the Surya *gotra* sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Kulden a section of Murmis in Darjiling

Kulha a section of Pabhlans in Behar

Kulhai a tiger a tota tribe sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Kulharia a sept of the Suryavanshi subtribe of Rajputs in Behar

Kulhasia a sept of Hindus in Chota Nagpur

Kulin (i) a hypergamous division of the Brahmins in Bengal attributed to the Julai Sen who is said to have instituted similar divisions among the Bulyas and Kayasthas. Other Hindu castes below the latter in rank have adopted the same system as they have done in the case of *joti* or sections (ii) a hypergamous division of the Rajmukhyas includes the Bhukh, Bhukh, and Sur and of the Furbba Kalya Sargops in Mithapur including Biwas, Noga and Sur (iii) a hypergamous group of Chasachha and Subanbans in Bengal of Kurn in Orissa (iv) a hypergamous group of Jugs comprising four families—Raghu, Mdhah, Nimai and Igmah. For a full treatment of the subject see the article on Brahman

Kulin ras a section of Malos in Eastern Bengal

Kulisá or **Kulkuli** a *gan* of the Sandilya *gotra* of Rárh Brahmins in Bengal

Kulkhwár a *mul* or section of the Narya caste in Behar

Kulsreshta a subcaste of Kayastha in Behar

Kulsunri a subcaste of Sunris in Behar

Kulthari Mallik a section of Kanauji Lokhs in Behar

Kulu or *Kachhu* a section of Kharia in Chota Nagpur

Kulung a *tho* or sept of Khimhus in Daizung

Kulusurhi a section of Gwalior in Dahar Gwalior in Behar

Kulwant or **Kulwat** a subcaste of Mallhs in Behar

Kulya Rishi a section of Tanti in Bengal

Kum a section of Rautias in Chota Nagpur

Kumair a section of Awadhia Ilajun in Behar

Kumar a section of the Larghat in Behar and of Laut in Chota Nagpur as a subsept of the Ilmona sept of Santal

Kumar or *Koran Bhag* a subtribe of Mal Paharys

Kumara a subtribe of Kharys and a title of Mithil Brahmins in Behar

Kumbhaka *Kum* a synonym for Kumhar in Bengal

Kumudwar a section of Bahans in Behar

Kumhar a sept of Munlis in Chota Nagpur

Kumhar *Kumar* *Kumbhaka* the potters caste of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Concerning their traditional parentage there seems to be a wide difference of opinion among the recorded authorities on that subject. Thus the *Brahmavivartta* *Samana* says that the *Kumbhakár* or maker of water jars (*kumbha*) is born of a Vaisya

woman by a Brahman father the Parāsara Sanhitā makes the father a Mālākar (gardener) and the mother a Chamar while the Parāsara Smṛiti holds that the ancestor of the caste was begotten of a Tili woman by a Pattikar or weaver of silk cloth. Sir Monier Williams again in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* describes them as the offspring of a Kshatriya woman by a Brahman. Conjectures of this kind do not pretend to have any historical basis and their only object is to reconcile the fact that there are many castes with the Brahmanical theory that there are only four. All beyond the canonical number are therefore supposed to have arisen from a complicated series of crosses between the original four and their descendants and if a new caste is formed it is some one's business to find a mythical pedigree for it. Such pedigrees however are not taken very seriously even by the people most concerned and stories ascribing the origin of a caste to an act of special creation seem to be quite as popular as traditions of mixed descent. The Kumhars for example say that at the marriage of Siva a water jar (*ghat*) was wanted but no one knew how to make one. The god therefore took a bead from his necklace and with it created a potter while with a second he made a woman who became the potter's wife. This man was the father of all those who work in pottery and in memory of their creator all potters bear the title Rudra Lal.

The endogamous subdivisions of the caste are very numerous and vary a good deal from district to district. In Dacca for instance we find the five subdivisions Barā Bhagiya Chhota Bhagiya Rajmahalia Khatya and Magi. The Barā Bhagiya Kumhars have separated into two divisions. The first descended from Tilak Lal only make black utensils the second sprung from Madhava Pāl like the Chhota Bhagiya only manufacture red. In both sub-castes again there is a further grouping into Lal and Sada so called from the custom of wearing red or white clothes at the marriage ceremony.

The Rajmahalia potters are quite distinct from the Khatya Kumhars on the one hand and the Bengali Kumhar on the other. They originally came from Rajmahal with a member of the Bangal Adhikari family and having tarried in Dacca for several generations lost caste while those who subsequently arrived from Minidip were in their turn likewise degraded. There are about two hundred houses belonging to these potters in Jafarganj Sultanganj Bazar and Karwan umbels of Dacca and the caste still speaks a language made up of Hindi and Bengali. Having been settled in Bengal for many years the clean Śūdra castes drink from their water vessels while the Śūdra Brahman and other servants work for them. The *sradāha* moreover is celebrated after thirty days as with the Nava sakha.

The Khatya or debased Kumhars of Dacca claim to belong to the Maghaiya potter family of Patna. They drink water from the vessels of the other Kumhars and may give water to them but hold no communication with the Rajmahalia Kumhars. None of the other Bengali Śūdras however admit their equality. In Dacca they are all Nanak Shahis in word the Mūlant of the Shujaatpur

Akhāra being the Guru. Unlike the other sub-castes they work throughout the month of Baisakh and on the Dashara make oblations of rice, wheat, flour, clay and red lead to Mūhadeo their patron deity.

Khatya Kumbhārs only work with *chukni motti* or potter's earth manufacturing with the *chal* or horizontal wheel long necked flasks (*surahi*), lotahs, pipes, water spouts, balusters (*jarriha*) and toys but never idols. On the tenth day after death the Khatya Brahman performs a religious service at which he tastes the oblation rice. On the following day the *sraddha* is celebrated as among Chāngals and Ekadāsī Jogīs.

The Magī subdivision is outcasted, having a purohit of its own. Their debasement is referred to the days when the Maghs harried Eastern Bengal, and entering houses defiled the inmates. There is some reason however for concluding that these degraded potters are the offspring of Maghs by Kumbhār women, as they resemble in every feature the genuine stock of potters.

One of my correspondents in Dacca describes an entirely different arrangement of sub-castes thus—Chhota Bhagiyā Bīkrampuriyā Jahāngīrnagarīa Fāitabājiya Bhagaldaspuriya. The last four names have a purely local significance. Jahāngīrnagar is the old name of Dacca and its derivative is applied to the potters of the city. Fāitabāj is the name of a *pargana* and Bhagaldaspur is a village in Bhowāl. It appears however that these groups are not invariably endogamous and that intermarriages between them are not absolutely prohibited. At present then they cannot certainly be ranked as sub-castes, and it is possible that they are merely organizations for trade purposes. Dr Wīe mentions that in the city of Dacca the Kumbhārs have two *dals* or trade unions—one known as Islāmpur the other as Bhāgalpur after two quarters of the city where the potters chiefly reside. While outside the city every four or five villages have a *dal* to promote the interests of the trade. The headman is styled Iaramānik who on account of the increase in the size of the caste is obliged to employ assistants Naiks or Gumāsthas. They are treated with little deference and merely execute the orders of their master.

The four sub-castes found in Noakhālā—Bhulāiya Saralāya Chatgāniya and Sandwīpa—appear to be based on differences of original habitat. In Pabna five sub-castes have been formed—Sīras than Majhāsthān Chāndansāra Chaurāsī and Daspāra. The first are believed to have come from the North Western Provinces and are said to be descended from Premāhāndr, third son of the original potter Rudra Pal. Their habits are supposed to be unclean and Brahmans will not take water from their hands. The Daspāra are said to be descended from Kulavānda the eldest of Rudra Pal's sons. The Chaurāsī according to local tradition were originally a branch of the Chāndansāra sub-caste who settled among the Daspāra but were not admitted by them to equal social rights. The immigrants waited their time and took the first opportunity which offered of righting themselves. When the Nawāb of Murshidābad chanced to be travelling in that part of the country, they

presented to him a number of artificial flowers and fruits made of pottery. The imitation was so exact that in reward for their skill the Nawáb gave the settlers eighty-four villages and permitted them to call themselves by the title Chaurasi. From that time their social supremacy was secured and they were able to impose upon the Dajim sub-caste the condition that only those who admitted the superiority of the Chaurasi should hold the title **Parámanik** that those who served them with *jan* at marriage and social ceremonies should be called **Panpatra** and that those who still insisted on holding aloof should be degraded to the lowest rank under the denomination **Mujgarni**.

In Murshedabad and Hughli the sub-castes **Bérendra** and **Rárhí** are met with the theory being that the original settlements of each group were in the large tracts of country whose name it bears. Some however say that the Barendra Kumhars are descended from one of the sons of Rudra Pal who had forcible intercourse with his own sister. The Daspura sub-caste is also known in Murshedabad where it is believed to be the offspring of one of Rudra Pal's sons by a maid servant. Its special function is supposed to be the manufacture of the shell bracelets which are worn by married women. The Jessore sub-castes appear to be only local.

In Behar Chitr Nagpur and the Sylhet Parganas a wholly different set of sub-castes is met with. The **Maghaiya Kanaujia** and **Tirhutia** are named after large tracts of country; the **Ayodhia bási** claim to be immigrants from Oudh; the **Bangali** or **Rarhi** are Bengal Kumhars who have settled in Behar and the **Turk Kumhar** are Mahomedans. Of the rest the **Biahut** forbid widows to marry again and the **Chápuá** take their name from a particular kind of earthen vessel which they make.

The Kumhars of Orissa are divided into two endogamous sub-castes—**Jagannathi** or **Uriya Kumhars** who work standing and make large earthen pots and **Khatya Kumhars** who turn the wheel sitting and make small earthen pots, cups, toys, etc. The latter are immigrants from Upper India whose number is comparatively insignificant.

In the matter of exogamy the practice of Kumhar differs widely in different parts of the country. In Eastern Bengal where the influence of Mahomedan usage is strong only one or two sections are known to the caste and marriage within the section is permitted. The **Maghaiya Kumhars** on the other hand and probably most of the Behar sub-castes have a long array of sections, mainly of the titular type but referring in some instances to local and territorial areas. A man may not marry a woman of his own section or of the sections to which his mother, paternal grandmother or maternal grandmother belonged. The **Jagannathi Kumhars** of Orissa who hold a tolerably high social position in that province are subdivided for matrimonial purposes into the following exogamous sections—**Kauntinya** tiger, **Sarpa** snake, **Neul** weazel, **Goru** cow, **Mudir** frog, **Bhad** **bhadria** sparrow, **Kurma** tortoise. The members of each section express their respect for the animal whose name the

section bears by refraining from killing or injuring it and by bowing when they meet it. The entire caste also abstains from eating and even go so far as to worship the *sal fish* because the rings in its scales resemble the wheel which is the symbol of their caste. The Khatya Kumhars in Orissa have only one section (*Kasyapa*) and thus like the Rajbansis of Ranpur are really endogamous in spite of themselves. The reason probably is that there are too few of them in Orissa to set up a proper exogamous system and they content themselves with the pretence of one. Both sub castes appear to be conscious that the names of their section are open to misconception and explain in that they are really the names of certain saints who being present at Dakshas's horse sacrifice transformed themselves into animals to escape the wrath of Siva whom Daksha like Peleus in the Greek myth had neglected to invite. It may well be that we owe the preservation of these interesting tribal groups to the ingenuity of the persons who devised this respectable means of accounting for a series of names so likely to compromise the reputation of the caste. In the case of the Khatya Kumhar the fact that their single section bears the name of *Kasyapa* while they venerate the tortoise (*kachhap*) and tell a story by way of apology for the practice may perhaps lend weight to the conjecture in itself a fairly plausible one that many of the lower castes in Bengal who are beginning to set up as pure Hindus have taken advantage of the resemblance in sound between *kachhap* and *Kasyapa* (*chh* and *s* both become *sh* in colloquial Bengali) to convert a totemistic title into an eponymous one and have gone on to borrow such other Brahmanical *gotras* as seemed to them desirable. If for example we analyse the matrimonial arrangements of the Bhars of Manbhum many of whom are the hereditary personal servants of the pseudo Rajput Raja of Pachete we find the foregoing conjecture borne out by the fact that two out of the seven sections which they recognise are called after the peacock and the *lele* fruit while the rest are eponymous. But this is an exceptionally clear case of survival and if at all it is hardly possible to simplify the diagnosis of non Aryan castes by laying down a general rule that all castes with a section bearing the name *Kasyapa* who have not demonstrably borrowed that appellation from the Brahmans are probably offshoots from some non Aryan tribe.

In Behar Orissa and Chota Nagpur Kumhars still permit girls to be married as adults though they hold infant marriage to be more respectable. In Manbhum and the Tributary States of Orissa adult marriage is the rule. The Kumhars of Bengal on the other hand have long conformed to the usage of the higher castes and marry their daughters before the age of puberty.

Everywhere a bride price (*pan*) is paid to the father of the bride and in determining the amount of this the comparative social position of the parties is not usually taken into consideration. It is considered says Dr. Wise a dishonouring act for a Kumhar to accept a wife without paying money to the father. Of late years the price has risen so much that the poorer young men find it

the Kanthá Brahman celebrates a religious service and tastes the oblation rice on the tenth day after death and the regular *śrāddh* performed on the eleventh day. Some however say the thirteenth and it is possible that the practice may differ in different parts of the country. Tibations (*tīpan*) for the benefit of ancestors in general are procured forth in the month of Āświn every year.

The social standing of the caste is respectable. In Bengal they are recognised as members of the Navasakha group and in Behar and Orissa Brahmans take water from their hands. The Jagannath Kumhars of Orissa though professing Vaishnavism and deeming it praiseworthy to abstain from the flesh of any living creature nevertheless eat goats which have been sacrificed to the gods, deer, wild boars and all fish except the *al*. They also partake of the offerings of Brahmans and at the *malotsab* or sacred feast of the Vaishnava sect they will eat cooked food with Khandyats, Orh Chásas, Gurias, Chhutárs, Kamárs, Góalas, Telis, Napits and Tantis. On no other occasion will they eat with or take water from a man of a caste lower than Telis. Smoking from a hookah is governed by the rule about water but cigars may be taken from any one. Khatyá Kumhars eat goats and all kinds of scaly fish and also the offerings of Nanak Shahi priests. Neither sub caste permits the use of strong drink. In Bengal the Kumhars eat sacrificial animals—deer, ducks, geese and pigeons. Boiled rice they take only from Brahmans, water and sweetmeats from members of the Navasakha group. The Kumhars of Behar eat cooked food and smoke only with their own caste but take sweetmeats and water from Kóris, Gangotás and the large group of castes from whom a Brahman may take water. Goat flesh and mutton and all kinds of fish except the *baga* are lawful food. Strong drink is also indulged in but it is thought more respectable to abstain.

In Dacca says Dr. Wise the manufacture of pottery is still in its infancy and no improvement can be looked for so long as the obligation of breaking all cooking utensils after a death or any sort of ceremonial pollution limits Hindus to the use of the cheapest kinds of pottery. The wheel in use is the Roman *rota*, a circular table of baked clay weighted along the rim revolving rapidly on a pivot cut from the heart of a tamarind tree. The neck and shoulders of all globular vessels are made with the wheel (*chák*) but the body is fashioned by hand often by women. A round ball of hardened clay (*bo la*) is held inside while with a wooden mallet (*putna*) the material is beaten from the outside into the requisite shape and thinness. Two kinds of earth are used by the Dacca Kumhars, one called *bah*, the other *kala matti* and one part of the former mixed with two of the latter are employed in the production of the strongest pottery. For making the common red earthenware vessels red laterite earth from Bhowal is used, the colour of the rim being deepened by coating it with a mixture of catechu (*lath*) and fuller's earth. The cheap red and black earthenware are both prepared with the same clay, the latter being blackened by covering up the kiln at a certain stage and adding oil cake to the fire. Bengal potters cannot glaze or fix the

colours on the ware but are content to paint the vessel after it has been baked. Their colours are always mixed with mucilage obtained from *bila* or tamarind seeds. Red paints are prepared with red lead, yellow with arsenic (*hartal*), green by mixing yellow arsenic and indigo, and black with lamp black charred rice or *nil* reeds. A gloss is often imparted with the white of duck's eggs but as this washes off before long *gargan* oil is more generally used. Idols, toys and tobacco bowls are also painted with these colours and the images of deities are further embellished by having powdered mica sprinkled over them while the paint is still wet. The Dacca Kumhars manufacture bricks, tiles, earthenware of all shapes and sizes, idols and toys, the two last being moulded of small size.

The manufactory of the Kumhar well repays a visit. Beneath the same thatched roof are the kiln, storehouse and dwelling house while at the door the clay is prepared. The kiln is called the *pa* from the Sanskrit *Pravara* that which purifies, and the hut the *ganjar*. The kiln is divided into compartments in which the newly made vessels are arranged, earth being heaped over all. Wood is never used to heat it but grass, reeds or bamboo stems are the ordinary combustibles.

Although Kumhars are prohibited from using the *chal* during the month of Baisakh because of *Viswakarma*, the great artificer rested in his labours during that month, they are permitted to dig and store clay. A potter never cultivates the soil or serves as a domestic servant but he has no objections to become a trader, a cloth merchant, a writer or a servant to a shopkeeper. The village potter occasionally holds his own land on the condition that he supplies the vessels required at all festivals observed by the zamindar or the village community. Hindu households generally contract for their annual supply of earthenware while a few pay the market rate for what is wanted. The pottery made at Rai Bazar in Dacca bears a great name throughout Eastern Bengal and in the cold season boats laden with cocoanuts arrive from Sondip, Nonkhali and Barganj returning full of pots and pans from this mart. Vijayapur in Lypurrah is another bazar famous for the excellence of its pottery.

Rajmahali Kumhars have a curious custom which is a source of much wit among Bengalis. They thatch the drying houses with green grass merely fastening it down with weights but never tying it and when dry the thatch is used for lighting the kiln fire. They manufacture cooking pots for vegetables, milk-pans (*ras l hana*) and salvers on which sweetmeats and other delicacies are handed round at weddings but will not make idols or platters used in offerings to deities.

Like the Bengali Kumhars they do no work during the month of Baisakh and on the first Saturday of that month celebrate the worship of *Viswakarma*. They work double during the previous month (Chaitra) and it is lawful to bake the pottery in Baisakh. At the time of worship their trade implements and manufactures are arranged on the top of the kiln and ornamented with *bet* leaves while the usual oblations are presented. The purohit meanwhile mutters a few incantations, soliciting the favour of the divine workman. Once a year when the kiln is filled the caste Brahman

officiates at the Aoni Pujá Offerings are made of rice plantain cocoanut sweetmeats and a piece of cloth

The wives of these Kumhars assist their husbands fashioning the globular part of the vessels while the men make the necks and rims Kumhars are singular in placing over their wells an earthenware rim or *chal* admirably suited for preventing the ingress of filth It is made by themselves but has not been adopted by any other class

The foregoing description of the occupation of the potter caste is substantially correct at the present day Kumhars however are not so exclusively devoted to their characteristic profession as Dr Wise makes them out to be In Orissa some of them follow the trade of carpenters and bricklayers and everywhere certain proportion of the caste is engaged in agriculture This however is a comparatively recent departure and few of them have risen above the status of tenure holders or occupancy raiyats Cultivating Kumhars still regard the *chal* as the symbol of their caste and brand their ware with a rude representation of it In Chota Nagpur the Mahuraya Kumhars are looked down upon by the Kanauraya sub-caste because they castrate bullocks

The following statement shows the number and distribution of Kumhars in 1872 and 1881 —

D	187	1881	D	187	1881
B rdw	1 947	13 000	T pperah	1 4	97
B k		7 722	Ci as	4 6	3
Hug l m	75 8	8 892	N klal	2 1	24
M d l	2 1 2	8 0	P t	2 8	2
H h l		9 0	Gy	2 8	2
H w h	14 872	5 71	h h b d	31	4
2 P k as	16 474	12 36	T r h t { M ff p	4	3 4
N d y	2 420	15	h { Darbh ga	21 91	2 6
Kh		1	Ct para	17 1	1 7
J w	22 (2	1	M ly	2 1	31 7
M rah-d bad	11 278	10 7	Hl p		1 9
D p		1	P k h		1 712
Ru h l	7 1	5 06	M ld b	3	1
R k	7 1	5 06	S i P rg as	1 7	21 19
H rp	17	5 71	C tack	1	17 1
I b	1 2 2	9 4	P		2 1
J l k	3 2	7	R l	1	2 1
J l	3 21	18	Ta y St t	1	2
K l Bel		1	H hagh		1 7
I	14 87	1 7	I l duc	1	7
F l		7 3	h m	2	3 44
B k g j h	13		M bl	0	9
M m h	13 223	18	T i ta y Sta n		

Kumharia a section of the Banodhi and Jaiswar Kulwars in Behar a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Kuna a stone quarry a title of the Karanga caste in Sing bhaga

Kunbarong a sept of Lim bus in Darjiling

Kuhli a synonym for Kurmi

Kunchbandhwa a maker of the *kas kas* brushes (*kunch*) used by weavers to smooth the threads of the warp before it is put into the loom The occupation is usually followed by Nats and by Mahomedans who combine with it the castration of cattle

Kúndail a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kundaial a *gan* of the Sibarna *gana* of the Brahmins in Bengal

Kunda k a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmins in Behar

Kundi a section of Awadhia Hujjams in Behar

Kundiar a section of Kurmis in Chota Nagpur and Orissa a section of Mahlis in Western Bengal

Kundil a section of Rautias in Chota Nagpur

Kundkar a turner denoting more particularly workers in horn who are always Mahomedans. The Kundkar makes combs, pegs for small boxes (*tilija*) for keeping medicines and various pills and lids. They despise the Kasis and the Kutis and decline to intermarry with them.

Kundri a vegetable used in making curry a totemistic sept of Orains in Chota Nagpur

Kundu Kula a title of Agari Gandhianiks Kaibarttis Karyas, Jantis, Ichis, Sunklari, Strallari and certain other castes in Bengal

Kundula a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kunjakuli a section of Ians in Chota Nagpur

Kunjalwar a section of Bhatis in Behar

Kunjasi a section of Ians in Chota Nagpur

Kunjilwar Malangia a *mul* of the Katyayan section of Maithil Brahmins in Bengal

Kunjilwár-Sater a *mul* of the Katyayan section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Kunjilwár Ullu a *mul* of the Katyayan section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Kunjilwar Bhakrain a *ul* of the Katyayan section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Kunjilwár Digaun a *mul* of the Katyayan section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Kunjilwár Bhakhrauli a *mul* of the Katyayan section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Kunjrá a greengrocer who sells *tarkari* and *alji*—an occupation usually but not exclusively followed by Mahomedans in Behar. In Dacca according to Dr Wise Kunjra is used as a term of abuse and the fruit sellers call themselves *Mwafarosh*, *Sabzi-farosh* or *Bejari*.

Kunkál a title of Kumhars

Kunot a sub caste of Gonorhis in Behar

Kuns a section of Binjhas in Chota Nagpur

Kuntia a sept of Hogs in Singbhum

Kunwar a section of Bhats

Kunwardar a section of Cheros in Chota Nagpur

Kura a sept of Chikmáns in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kurai a *pur* or section of Sakadwipi Brahmins in Behar a sept of Ians in Chota Nagpur

Kurál a title of Kaibarttis in Bengal

Kurambi a synonym for Kurmi

Kurga a sub caste of Karan gas in Western Bengal who are employed in making bamboo baskets

Kuri a sub caste of Dosádhs who make their living as bird catchers and occasionally as pedlars A synonym for Mayara Madhukuri or Madhunapit q v

Kurin a sub caste of Dosálhs and Kurhus in Behar of Mallahs in Behar usually employed as boatmen

Kurisarjan a subdivision of the Meches also called Mechaurs who sell oil

Kurji a section of Goálás in Behar

Kurjya a sept of Chakm's in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kurkut red ant a totemistic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kurki Dholiar a *thar* or sept of Damis in Darjling the members of which are drummers by profession

Kurma tortoise a totemistic section of Jagannathi Kumhars in Orissa

Kurmi, *Kunbi* *Kurambi* a very large cultivating caste of Upper India Behar Chitt Nagpur and Orissa Their origin is obscure and their meagre traditions throw no light upon the subject being for the most part mythological tales of a trivial character or legends relating to recent migrations of comparatively small sections of the caste Writing of the Kurmis of Bihar Luchanan classes them among the aboriginal Hindu nations that were not of sufficient consequence to be admitted into the order of Khatris but too powerful to be thrust into the class of impurity In another place he mentions as not wholly untenable the opinion that the Kurmis of Gorakhpur are the same as the Pharus adding however that the Kurmis strenuously deny the connexion they being nearly as pure as the Ahts The only evidence in support of this view seems to be the fact that the title Dholphor or Dhol breaker given by Luchanan as the name of a Kurmi tribe is found also among the Pharus This however proves nothing as the term might obviously be applied to any class of regular cultivators On the other hand it is perfectly possible that a branch of the Tharus on taking to settled cultivation may have sought to connect themselves under the name of Dhelihr Kurmis with the leading agricultural caste of the Gangá Valley Sir Henry Elliot³ Mr Sherring⁴ and Mr Nesfield treat the caste as an accomplished fact and venture on no conjecture regarding its probable origin Sir George Campbell speaking of the Kurmis of Hindustan says they are an average dealer and belong to the

P t n I d a 160
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R f th A th W t P p 1
H d T b a i C t } }
B f v ew f t l (t S j t p 14

than Brahmans and Rajputs but still quite Aryan in their features institutions and manners¹ Colonel Dalton regards them as the descendants of some of the earliest of the Aryan colonists of Bengal—a brown tawny coloured people of average height well proportioned rather lightly framed and with a fair amount of good looks They show well shaped heads and high features less refined than Brahmans, less martial than Rajputs of humbler mien even than the Goudas but except when they have obviously intermixed with aborigines they are unquestionably Aryan in looks (grey eyes and brownish hair are sometimes met with amongst them) The women have usually small and well formed hands and feet²

The foregoing description clearly refers only to the Kurmis of Behar who are on the whole a fine looking race though perhaps hardly so Aryan in appearance as Colonel Dalton seeks to make out The cast bearing the same name in Chota Nagpur and Orissa belongs to an entirely different type Short sturdy and of very dark complexion these Kurmis closely resemble in feature the Dravidian tribes around them In Munbhum and the north of Orissa it is difficult to distinguish a Kurmi from a Bhumiya or a Santal and the latter tribe who are more particular about food than is commonly supposed will eat boiled rice prepared by Khamra and according to one tradition regard them as half brethren or their own sprung from the same father who begot the Kurmis on the elder and the Santals on the younger of two sisters The distinct and well preserved totemism of the caste is noticed at length below

The question then arises—Are these Kurmis a degraded branch of the Kurmis of Behar and Upper India or should they be treated as a separate caste formed out of Dravidian elements and owing their name to the accident of their having devoted themselves exclusively to cultivation? Colonel Dalton does not distinctly commit himself to either view but it is clear from his account of the caste that he was conscious of the difficulty and was inclined on the whole to dispose of it by the hypothesis of degradation This theory however fails entirely to account either for the remarkably uniform type of the Chota Nagpur Kurmis or for their totemistic usages The latter point however appears to have been unknown to Colonel Dalton and might possibly have induced him to change his opinion Three hypotheses seem to be more or less tenable — (1) that the class Kurmi is made up of two distinct stocks the one Aryan and the other Dravidian (2) that the entire group comes of an Aryan stock the type of which has been modified to a varying extent by mixture of blood and vicissitudes of occupation (3) that the entire group was originally Dravidian but that those portions of it which lay in the track of the Aryan invasion were refined by intercourse with the immigrants while those who settled in remote parts of the country preserved their primitive type

The internal structure of the Kurmi caste is shown in a tabular form in Appendix I. In Behar the chief sub castes are the following — Ayodhiyá or Awadhiya Chanaur Ghamela Jaiswár Kachaisá Ramaiyá, Sanswar. The Ayodhiya claim to be of the highest dignity and purest blood coming as their name indicates from Oudh where they are usually cultivators while in Bengal they often enlist in the native army or serve as constables. The Jaiswár less punctilious than the Ayodhiyá are husbandmen proverbial for industry and skill who from indulging in spirits and permitting their widows to marry are held to be degraded. In Manbhūm we find four endogamous groups — Kurum Adh Kurmi or Madhyam Kurmi Sikhariá or Chhota Kurmi and Nich Kurmi. The Kurum aver that they are the original nucleus of the entire caste and explain that the other groups were degraded for eating fowls and drinking spirituous liquor. To these ceremonial offences the Nich Kurmi add great sexual laxity and pay little regard to the chastity of young girls before marriage. In the north of Chota Nagpur two sub castes appear to exist Magahia who are supposed to be immigrants from Behar and conform on the whole to Hindu practices and Bagsaria or Bagsaria whose usages are more of an aboriginal type. The latter group is popularly supposed to derive its name from Buxar in Shahabad but the traditional reverence with which its members regard the tiger and the occurrence of the same name as a section among wilder cognate castes incline me to look upon it as totemistic. There is no evidence whatever in favour of the opinion that this sub caste came from Buxar and this notion is merely another instance of the common striving to find a rational explanation of terms the meaning of which has been forgotten. In Orissa we have Gaysari Maisáari Bagsari and Gadasari.¹ The first two are more Hinduised than the others and are said to have given up eating pork fowls etc. The two lower divisions have no objection to marry into the upper divisions but such marriages are extremely rare and entail degradation of the members of the higher groups. The sections in use among the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur and Orissa are purely totemistic and it will be seen from Appendix I that a large proportion of the totems are capable of being identified. In Behar on the other hand the section names are titular and the tendency is to discard the primitive rule of exogamy in favour of the more modern system of reckoning prohibited degrees by the formula quoted in the article on Bais. Where the section rule is in force it is usually held that a man may not marry a woman of his own section or of the sections to which his mother and his paternal and maternal grandmothers belonged. These facts tell in favour of the theory that all Kurmis are derived from a Dravidian stock for if the Behar Kurmis had been originally Aryans they could have had no motive for discarding their original section names whereas a Dravidian tribe intimately associated with Aryans and

¹ Some interpret these names as having reference to the cow the buffalo the cat and a pit or hollow in the ground (*gadd*). I mention the explanation for what it may be worth.

however as possible that we may have here a survival of a still more ancient idea—the notion that a virgin before being married must be dedicated to some god who exercises the right to her person which in the first beginnings of communal life is supposed to have been claimed by the tribe.

On the completion of the rite by the bridegroom (the bride as I have stated goes through it separately in her own home) his friends form a procession and escort him to the bride's house the time of starting being arranged so that the party shall arrive in the evening. On reaching the house the bride's people come out to meet the bridegroom and daub sandal wood paste on his forehead using the point of an arca nut for this purpose. He is then taken to a wedding canopy made of *sal* branches where the bride joins him and both march seven times round a sacred fire represented by an earthen vessel with a lamp burning inside it. Meanwhile the maternal uncles of the bride and bridegroom exchange plates of rice in token of friendship and social intercourse. After circling the fire the wedded pair sit down together on a platform of dried clay built under the canopy and the bridegroom touches the bride between the breasts with a drop of his own blood drawn by cutting through the nail of his little finger and mixed with lac dye. This symbolical transfusion of blood marks the transfer of the bride from her own to her husband's section and is evidently the original form of the widespread custom of *vil rān*.

Oddly enough the next stage of the ritual is *si lu lan* performed in the ordinary way by smearing vermilion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair. At the same time an iron bracelet (*tharu*) is put on the bride's left wrist. This double observance of *si lu lan* in its original and its derivative form may probably be accounted for by supposing the latter to have been adopted from the Hindus after its connexion with the former and less civilised practice had been lost sight of. It gives an excellent illustration of the facility with which custom like myths pass from tribe to tribe and are adopted by men as the fancy strikes them without any one taking the trouble to inquire into their original meaning.

The Kurmis of Behar usually employ Brahmins to preside at their marriages and to recite sacred texts (*mantra*) at certain stages of the ceremony. In Chota Nagpur and Orissa Brahmins are not called in; the eldest male of the household the *Lyt* of the village or in some cases the brothers in law of the bride and bridegroom take the leading part in the ritual. In the matter of polygamy the Behar Kurmis profess to hold that a man may only take a second wife in the event of the first being barren but this rule is frequently transgressed in practice by those who can afford to maintain several wives. In Orissa again polygamy appears to be regarded with disfavour and it is deemed more respectable for a man to have but one wife. The Kurmis of Chota Nagpur on the other hand recognise no restrictions at all except those imposed by the standard of living common in the caste.

All Kurmis except the Ayodhiá sub caste in Behar allow a widow to marry again and require her to marry her husband's

younger brother or younger cousin even though he be already married on pain of forfeiting not merely all claims to a share in her husband's property but also the custody of all children whom she may have had by him. The reason seems to be that she has been bought at a price and belongs to the family that bought her. If she is perverse enough to fall in love with an outsider no active measures are taken to prevent her from marrying him but she may take nothing with her—not even the child not gotten on her by her late husband. In some cases she is allowed to retain temporary charge of female children or of infants at the breast but she is bound to make them over before they attain a marriageable age in order that her late husband's family may not be deprived of the bride price payable for the girl. The ceremony in use at the marriage of a widow is comparatively simple consisting merely of putting on bracelets and applying vermilion which is touched by the bridegroom and then smeared on the bride's forehead by some of the married women of her own or the bridegroom's family. Others again say that this must be done by widows and in parts of Manbhūm the widow has to undergo the indignity of receiving *indur* from the bridegroom's great toe.

Divorce is permitted with the sanction of the *panchayat* on the ground of the wife's ill-temper or barrenness or if the couple cannot get on together. The husband pours some water on the ground or tears a leaf in two to symbolise separation while the wife must give up the iron ring (*kharu*) which was placed on her wrist at her marriage. Three months alimony is usually given to the wife. Divorced women may marry again by the same ceremony as widows. The Midnapur Kurmis profess not to allow divorce and there are symptoms among them of a tendency to abandon widow marriage.

In the matter of inheritance Behar Kurmis follow the standard

Hindu law

while in Chota Nagpur and Orissa traces of an earlier tribal custom may still be discerned under which the eldest son gets twice the share of his brothers and a son by a *bihari* wife married as a virgin by the full ceremony has a similar advantage over sons by *sagai* wives. An actual instance will illustrate the working of the rule. A Kurmi dies leaving three sons and three *kharis* of land. The eldest gets a *khar* and a half the two younger three fourths of a *khar* apiece. If there were two sons—one by a *bihari* and the other by a *sagai* wife the former would get two *kharis* and the latter one. Daughters and daughters' son are excluded by male agnates such as cousins but in Orissa an only daughter may claim something on account of her marriage expenses.

The religion of the Behar Kurmis differs little from that of

Religion

other Hindu castes of similar social standing. Maithil or Tirhut Brahmins usually serve them as priests and are received on terms of equality by other members of the sacred order. By preference they appear to incline rather to Vaishnavism but votaries of Siva and the Śaktis are also found among them. Besides the minor gods ordinarily

worshipped in Behar the members of the Sinswari sub caste have a special deity of their own called Mohini Mahato who is said to have been a Kurmi. I have been unable to ascertain on what grounds he was deified. He kids are sacrificed to him occasionally and various kinds of sweetmeats offered but there appear to be no fixed days for his worship. In Eastern Bengal members of the Ayodhya sub caste employ Sakadwipi Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes and have Atit or Vaishnava mendicants for their Gurus. The majority are followers of Kabir Duri Das or Ramanand. In the same parts of the country the Jaiswar Kurmis favour the Panch Pirya creed eating any animal offered in sacrifice to a Hindu deity and at the same time keeping the Muharam and fasting during the Ramadan while a few are followers of Nanak Shah and Kabir.

In Chota Nagpur and Orissa the Kurmis are in a still earlier stage of religious development. The animistic beliefs characteristic of the Dravidian races are overlaid by the thinnest veneer of conventional Hinduism and the vague shapes of ghosts or demons who haunt the jungle and the rock are the real powers to whom the average Kurmi looks for the ordering of his moral and physical welfare. Chief among these is Bar Pahar the mountain deity of the Santals. Gosain Rai perhaps a variant of Gosain Erá Ghát any striking hill pass such as the Dhangará Pass near Chatra, which figures in the early traditions of the caste Gáoár who watches over cows Grameswari the patron goddess of the village Kinchequeswari Boram devi Sat bahani Dakum Buri and Mahámái. The functions and attributes of these deities are not susceptible of close definition and the worshippers seem to be conscious of little more than a vague notion that by sacrificing goats sheep fowls etc. and offering libations of rice beer certain material calamities such as diseases and bad harvests may be warded off. In this worship Brahmans usually take no part and either the head of the household officiates or a professional hedge priest (*dchasi* or *jaga*) is called in but to this rule there is a curious exception in the Bumangliti pargana of Moharbhany where Brahman priests offer fowls to the goddess Kinchequeswari on behalf of her Kurmi votaries. Jitibhum again a deity whose attributes I cannot ascertain is said to be worshipped only by women assisted by degraded Brahmans. In respect of the employment of Brahmans the practice of the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur and Orissa is by no means uniform. In Midnapur they call in the assistance of Brahmans on all religious and ceremonial occasions but these priests are held to be degraded by rendering this service and are not received on any term by other members of their own order. In Malbhum Lohardaga and Moharbhany Brahmans assist only in the funeral ceremonies of the caste and all other religious functions including marriage are discharged by the eldest Kurmi who is present at the time. The Moharbhany Kurmis affect to get their Brahmans from Sikkharthum and some of these claim to be of the Karhi sub caste though such pretensions would of course not be recognised by the Brahmans of Bengal.

Besides the *Bāndhnā Parab* which is common to them and the

But also the *Akhan Jatra* or cake festival
 F t 10th does not attract as being peculiar to the Kurmis

On the last day of the month of *Paṣ* (in the middle of January) when the granaries are full the people make cakes in the shape of a double cone called *jai jai tithi* put on their best attire and assemble on a green outside their village and the young men and women form circles and dance and sing. This is followed by a joust of archery a cock is thrown up in the air and this is continued till one of the young men manages to shoot the bird with an arrow. The successful archer is then treated as the hero of the day.

As a general rule all Kurmis except the very poor burn their

adult and perfect male relatives according to the regular *śrāddh* more closely according to the standard of ceremonial purity recognised in the caste. Thus the *Jaiwar* Kurmis celebrate the *tithi* or the thirty first day after death following the traditional period of mourning ordained for the *Sudra* the *Ayolhi* observing higher rank and greater purity of blood mourn for twelve days only and perform the *śrāddh* on the thirteenth while the Kurmis of *Chota Nagpur* and *Orissa* like most *Dravidians* working up to Hinduism observe the term of mourning laid down for Brahmins and hold obsequies on the eleventh day. In *Orissa* unmarried persons of either sex are buried but this appears to be merely an extension of the common practice of burying children which is probably traceable to the desire to avoid the expense of cremation. Burial is also resorted to in *Chota Nagpur* and *Orissa* in cases where death has been caused by cholera or small pox and the body is laid in the grave face downwards the idea being that the spirits of those who die by a rapid and fatal disease arising from the malice of a special demon can be prevented by this device from returning after death and spreading infection among the living.

A Kurmi woman is unclean until three ceremonies have been performed. On the sixth day after birth the *Gulhatti Chhathi* is observed at which the mother is obliged to drink rice gruel. On the twelfth day the *Baṭhi* is kept and a feast provided for ten or twelve children. Lastly on the *Bai* or twentieth day the mother paints the well with red lead, draws water and is deemed clean.

In *Behar* the social rank of the caste is respectable and Brah-

mans will take water from their hands while
 See 1 tat they themselves profess to follow the rules of diet which are binding on all respectable Hindus. The *Jaiswar* sub caste however are supposed in some districts to eat fowls and field rats. In *Chota Nagpur* and *Orissa* their practice is far more lax. By abstaining from beef and pork they have raised themselves a step higher than the *Santal*, *Orans* and other non-Hinduised tribes but the fact that they eat fowls and field rats both abominable in the eyes of the orthodox and indulge freely in spirituous liquors excludes them from the circle of castes.

from whose hands a Brahman can take water. Their standing in these districts though not very clearly defined is sufficiently indicated by the circumstance that in the north of Orissa Magahiya Kumhars Bhuiyas and Rajwars are the highest castes who will admit that they can take water and sweetmeats from Kurmis. On the other hand the Kurmis themselves have some curious prejudices in the matter of food in which perhaps we may discern traces of the traditional antipathy to Brahmans which distinguishes the Santal. A Kurmi for example will not touch food cooked by any Brahman except his own *guru* while a Kurmi woman will not eat food prepared by her husband's *guru*. Santals will eat food cooked by a Kurmi but the Kurmis will not return the compliment though they will smoke from the same hookah as a Santal and will take water from his hands. In Eastern Bengal according to Dr Wise Kayasths but not Brahmans will drink from a Kurmi's water vessel and smoke from his hookah.

Agriculture is regarded by the Kurmis as their original and characteristic profession and no marked tendency to engage in other occupations seems to be traceable among them although of late years a few have taken to trading in grain. In Behar Kurmis are sometimes employed as personal servants in the households of the higher castes and this practice which seems to have been more widely prevalent in Buchanan's time¹ must have played an important part in the refinement of their physical type. The great majority of the caste are occupancy or non occupancy raiyats some have acquired substantial tenures. In Orissa many are *pradhans* or village headmen holding service lands a small proportion make a livelihood as landless day labourers while at the other end of the scale the few who have risen to be considerable zamindars have managed to transform themselves into Rajputs and cannot now be recognised as Kurmis. Two instances of this have come to notice. The zamindar of Khelar in Nayabasan pargana of the Midnapur district is said to have been a Kurmi who attempted to reform his brethren by urging them to abandon the custom of widow marriage and to give up yoking cows to the plough. His efforts however were unsuccessful and the Khelar family now call themselves Kshatriyas, and strenuously disown all connexion with the Kurmis. Another case is that of the well known house of Pachet in Eastern Manbhum. The Pachet Raja claims to be a Go bansi Rajput and traces back his ancestry fifty two generations to a child discovered in the woods by the Kurmis being suckled by a cow. The Kurmis of those parts say they have been there just the same number of generations and Colonel Dalton seems to have thought that the Pachet people were probably of Kurmi extraction basing his opinion partly on the coincidence in the number of generations and partly on the fact that the family cannot rationally trace back their origin out of the district while there is no particular reason for supposing them to be Bhumi or Munda. Any attempt however to account for

the fact that hardly any Kurmi zamindars are to be found at the present day must from the nature of the case be purely conjectural. The settlement of the caste on the land must have taken place in very early times and in Manbhum many Kurmis claim even now to hold their lands at a moiety of the current rates of rent on the ground that they were the original clearers of the soil. Some of these pioneers of cultivation must in the nature of things have developed into zamindars or local Rajas but on attuning this position they would undoubtedly set up as Rajputs and in the course of a generation or two would be accepted locally as members of that very heterogeneous group.

Kurmis are excellent cultivators and a large proportion of the rajputs who grow opium in Behar are drawn from their ranks. They are said however to be less painstaking and less skilful in the management of special crops than the Koiris who show a remarkable talent for spade husbandry and all forms of gardening. Kurmis on the other hand are noted for their industry in the management of the staple food crop and are particularly successful wheat growers. To render thanks for the harvest already reaped and garnered as well as to ensure an abundant crop next year in the Ayodhya sub-division they annually celebrate a harvest home in the following manner. In the centre of a piece of ground levelled and plastered for the purpose a tall pole is erected to which the cattle are tethered and made to tread out a portion of the new wheat crop. This being finished the pole is removed and the hole filled with water and sweetmeats (*halwa*) consecrated to Mahadeva and Laxmiesvara for which a feast of polished barley and various kinds of confectionery is given to the Brahmans of the village. All Kurmis worship the plough at the time of the Dasahara festival.

The following statement shows the number and distribution of the Kurmis in 1872 and 1881 —

D	9	11	1	18	1981
R l		1	(l t t g	47	105
R k r		11	N k l l	13	3
R h			H l l t	1	7
M d n p	40	0	P	165 463	1 4 2
H g l	9		C	26	9 838
H w h	7		h h e b a d	58,540	66 84
l l m	4 275	3	T l t { M n p	142,303	11 117
N d y	1 4	801	{ D b l g a		61 060
h h l			r n	101 015	112 70
J	3 3	544	l n p r a	77 641	7 7 35
M r a h d b d	3 2		V n l j	33 029	35 610
D j p	400	4	B l l j	168 7	30 423
R a j h y	14 1	278	V l d l	5 416	1 78
R a g p	1 3	4	S t l P g a a s	1 593	3 985
B g	26		t k	9 777	13 240
P b	449	233	P	191	365
D j l g	266	69	H l u s	45	69
J l p g	12	94	F b r y St t e e	223	5 912
K h Behar		563	H b a n k h	11 51	19 8 0
D	508	241	L h n l g a	45 538	62 144
f d p	38	784	b g b l m	35 688	40 530
B k a r g a j	20	137	M a j b h m	19 667	5 708
M n a n s h	639	1723	F b u t y St t e e	137 934	168 380
T p p h	221	372		1 545	14 472

Kurminia *Karminia* a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kurmuri a *gain* of the Batya *gotra* of Baendra Brahmans in Bengal

Kurnat a section of Awadhia Hajjams in Behar

Kuru the local and popular name of a fragment of the Parthia a hunting tribe of Savars who are found in the south of Juggan Bira in Lhardaga. The Kuru speak a dialect of Mundari but do not eat or intermarry with Mundas Kharias or Orons marriage is both infant and adult and the practice of marrying one or both of the parties to a mango tree is in vogue. The *Sukul* and *Annam* festivals are observed in spring and autumn.

Kurus eat beef and pork and it is doubtful whether they can be classed as Hindus at all though the fact that they will take water sweetmeats etc. only from the hands of Brahmans Rajputs Rautias Kharwars Jhoras and Khandais seems to indicate a desire on their part to rise in the scale of social distinction. For the most part they earn a miserable livelihood by collecting jungle products and watching the crops of their more civilised neighbours. Some however have taken to cultivation and a few are recognised as having acquired *Korhar* rights.

Kurum a sub caste of and a synonym for Kurmi in Western India occasionally used in Behar

Kurumanik a synonym for Kurmi

Kurumbár a sept of the Suryabansi sub tribe of Rajputs in Behar

Kurumbhong the divider of the village a sept of the Chhothar sub tribe of Lambus. The founder of this *thar* is said for reasons not stated to have divided his village into two parts by drawing a line down the middle.

Kurunhh a synonym for Oraon

Kurur a sub-caste of Muchis in Bengal

Kusdál or *Saptagrami* a sub caste of Tumbulis in Bengal

Kurno Beheri a *thar* or sept of Dámis in Dauling the members of which are musicians by profession

Kurram a sub caste of Tumbulis in Behar

Kursi fruit a totemic sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kusal a *thar* or sept of Newars a section of Brahmans

Kusala a *gain* or sub section of Saptasati Brahmans in Bengal

Kusári a *gain* of the Sandilya *gotra* of Barhi Brahmans in Bengal

Kusarpákrí a *mul* or section of the Chhamuha Madhesia sub caste of Halwais in Behar

Kusbhabáni a sept of Rajputs in Behar

Kusbhansi a sept of the Chandrabansi division of Rajputs in Behar a title of Bagdis in Bengal

Kushthar a synonym for *Arkasiya q v*

Kusiet a *mul* or section of the Ghosin Sub-caste of Goálas in Behar

Kusik a section of Káyasths in Bengal.

Kusmáre-Sabás a *mul* of the Káyapa section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Kusmáre-Dhanauli a *mul* of the Káyap section of Maithil Brahmins in Behar

Kusmetiá *Kusmatia* or *Kusputra* a sub-caste of Bágdis in Western Bengal said to be named after the *kusa* grass and apparently totemistic

Kusro a sept of Gonds in Chota Nagpur

Kussum a fruit a totemistic sept of Bhuiyás and Kharwars in Chota Nagpur

Kusuar fish a totemistic sept of Lohárs in Chota Nagpur

Kusurn a sept of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Kusumbaha *kusum* flower a sept of Mundas in Chota Nagpur

Kusumkali a *gan* of the Sándilya *gotra* of Bárhú Brahmins in Bengal

Kusurni a tree or its fruit a sept of Chiks in Chota Nagpur

Kusuwa fish a totemistic sept of Oraons in Chota Nagpur

Kutabkháni a *pathi* or hypergamous sub group of Bárendra Brahmins in Bengal

Kutabpur a sub caste of Kotals in Chota Nagpur

Kutabpuri a sub caste of Telis in Bengal.

Kutár a section of Goálas in Behar

Kutari *Kathura* (*Kuthar* an axe) a degraded sub caste of Sutradhars who work as carpenters and also deal in lime

Kutba a *mul* or section of the Ayodhya sub-caste of Sonáris in Behar

Kuti a subdivision of Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal deriving their name from the Hindustani *Kutna* to pound or beat. They are regarded as a most degraded class, it being the popular belief that they joined the ranks of Islám only a few generations ago while like all new converts they are most intolerant affecting to be more orthodox than their neighbours and regarding foreigners with extreme suspicion. They are either followers of Dudhu Miyan or of Maulavi Karámat Ali and although punctilious in their religious duties out of doors cling to many Hindu superstitions. In October they worship the Dhenki used for husking grain at the same time making offerings to Lakshmí the goddess of plenty and every morning bowing thrice before it while nothing according to them is more ominous of evil than for a stranger to sit down or to rest his foot on it. When small pox attacks their

families the Sítala pujah is observed the same offerings being made to the goddess as among Hindus

Kutis are divided into the three following classes who inter marry and hold social intercourse with each other—Páon Kutí Hath Kúti Chutkí Kutí The Páon Kutí by far the most numerous are masons thatchers goldsmiths boatmen water carriers but their principal occupation is husking rice Bepári is their ordinary title while those who are expert at weighing grain are called Kayyál the equivalent of Dándi dár or weighman

The wives of the Kutí alone among Mussulman women appear unveiled in public making purchases in the bazár fetching water from the river and boiling and husking rice in the open air Among the richer families the women are expert workers of Kashida cloth and often take service as wet-nurses The Páon Kutí have a panchayat of their own like any Hindu caste and a headman called Sardar The Hath Kutí pound bricks for road metal with an iron pestle or mallet and makes surkhí for mortar This subdivision is a small one and is being gradually absorbed by the first

According to Buchanan the Chutkí probably take their name from carrying about samples or a pinch (*chutkí*) of rice to show the quality of the whole and as all Kutis deal in rice the designation was applied to them collectively At the present day the usual occupation of the Chutkí is extracting the kernel of the cocoanut for the manufacture of oil and polishing the shells to make hookahs

No respectable Mahomedan will marry eat or associate with the Kutí although they are admitted into the public mosques and buried in the public graveyard It is a plausible conjecture that the entire Kutí class may be made up of Chandals converted to Islam and this view gains some support from the fact that in Eastern Bengal Kutis and Chandals annually compete in boat races on the popular Shashthi Pujah—a circumstance which would account for their low rank among Mahomedans

Ketua a sept of Chakmá in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kutunjá a section of Páns in Chota Nagpur

Kwinjusa a sept of Maghs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kyabohchá a *thar* or sept of Dunuwars in Darjiling

Kyágchhági a *thar* or sept of Mangais in Darjiling

Kyaukmatsa a sept of Maghs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong

Kyaukpiatsa a sept of Maghs in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong